



# HARIJAN

AN INDIA-OWNED AND INDIA-EDITED  
DAILY PAPER PUBLISHED AT DELHI

THURSDAY, Nov. 1

VIJAYAPURAM, SOUTH INDIA, MARCHE 1, 1944

TWO ANNAS

## “WATERS OF GODHATA AND BAHARUTTA” (By Swami)

Do you know there is a Ganga Mata being told these days at Prayag? People are going there from every village for a dip in the waters of the holy Ganga. I am also eager for it, but not this morning, as you know, for the Ganga has been dry for months. What is then the Ganga that I want to behold? It is the Ganga in your hearts. This Ganga flows within in every human heart. I want to draw it out and set it flowing in and through entire hearts. Just as King Bhagirath brought down the Ganga in the western region to the earth, so I too want with the name of the Lord on our lips to draw out the Ganga hidden in the human heart into the outer life of the individual and the society. It is with that and in view that I have taken up the work in which we are engaged. And I should like to assure you that if we are able to accomplish it—and there is no reason why we should not—then you will not have to go for your yearly journey back to the distant Ganga. You will then be enabled to have it at your will near at hand in the throes of your heart.

There is a belief that a bath in the Ganga wipes off one's sins. But sins can be wiped off only if there is an ardent yearning, a burning desire to do it. If there is no such desire, no consciousness of one's sins nor any repentance, then a dip in the waters of the Ganga no matter how often repeated, cannot absolve an individual of his sins. What is therefore needed is a consciousness of one's sins and a burning desire to get rid of them.

We have received so far twenty-five lakh acres of land. People at first did not believe that we could get land merely by asking for it. I admit that what we have received is not sufficient for the purpose we have in view. I am aware that we have still to go a long way. And yet the success achieved till now is not insignificant. History has many examples of lands being donated for temples and schools and such other purposes, but this is the first time when it is being donated to the homeless as part of a campaign for rebuilding the village life on the

basis of economic justice and equity. The success, therefore, which has attended our efforts in a work so unique both in its conception and execution must be regarded as quite encouraging.

In Bihar, during the past sixteen months, we have collected more than fifteen lakh acres. It is asked of the land thus secured is all of good quality. My reply to it is that we are getting such land as there is in our country. The Government does not turn back inferior areas, judging it, but all the land that has come to us is good, but a large part is, supposing that only half of it is good, we would still be able to provide at least twelve lakh individuals, who have at present nothing to rely upon, with a permanent source of livelihood. And what do the donors get in return? Nothing material. They only get God's blessings, the goodwill of their countrymen and their own consciences which is of course most valuable than anything material.

Some people are wont to say that this is Kaliyuga is the age in which evil dominates over the good, and we cannot therefore hope to get donations from such and every person. This is obviously a plea of inaction and despair. The character of an age depends on what we make it our types. The age in which Rama lived was also the age in which Narayana lived. But Narayana succeeded in giving his character to his age. Mahatma Gandhi was born and lived in this age. I therefore hold that each man fastens his own age by the way he lives and acts. What we are pleased to call Kaliyuga will be a veritable Kaliyuga to him who loves the Lord and spends his life serving his fellow beings. Let us therefore have faith and do our duty.

What is the inner spring of India's strength? The poet has sung, Greece, Egypt, Rome have all disappeared from the face of the earth, but India exists! What is it that has sustained us down the centuries and kept us on up to this day? The secret lay in the teaching of our sages that it is the same spirit everywhere, in every heart. Even a child in India knows this truth. We are practising the same heavy but ever new truth. Let people think over this teaching and try to follow it in practice and they will see before long that all our problems and

difficulties were known. The fact that they are the young men.

But unfortunately we have sight of the source of our weakness, strength and keep repeating that it is all for Government to do all these things. Indeed, it looks as if we invoke the name of the Government more than we do that of Rama. That is true. That August 15, 1947, the day of our independence was, contrary to what we believe, a day heralding an era of dependence. First then our leaders worked and served the people. If there was in any part an earthquake or a flood havoc they flew there to give help and succour to the afflicted. And people followed them. But now when we are independent, we seem to have lost all initiative. For every little thing we look to the Government. It should be realised that people are also all stronger than the Government. There is between them the same relation as between a well and a bucket. So realise your strength and set yourselves to do whatever requires to be done around you. Produce your own cloth and oil and give, then throwing off the bondage of the cities, and distribute the land to all the landless among you and the picture will change from one of poverty to that of plenty.

The political freedom of the country has brought us Swamy, the economic freedom of the villages will bring us Sarvodaya, and the spiritual freedom, that is freedom from Karma, death and birth, will bring us Ramayoga. We have achieved Swamy; we are now out to achieve Sarvodaya and then we will march forward to Ramayoga.

\* L.S.C. signs and gives.  
(Adapted from Khadi)

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## COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING

(By D. P. Vignani)

The question of compulsory Military Training in Indian Schools and Colleges has been in the air for a long time. The majority of the people are in favour of it, though many oppose compulsion on account of its heavy financial implications.

The question of legislating in this regard came up for discussion in the Indian Parliament recently. It caused disappointment in many circles interested in the state of peace. That was understandable, because India, by its non-violent struggle for freedom against the British, had held out a new legend of peace to a world, haunted by the atom, and now by the Hydrogen bomb.

The point of view of those who advocate compulsory military training will however need a dispassionate objective analysis to discover how far we have an effective alternative solution to the problems which lead them to the course they advocate. They take their stand on two grounds:

(1) Military training will inculcate the sense of discipline in our young men; and

(2) It will train a very large number of people, who can serve as a promising ground for recruitment to the armed forces and a second line of defence in case of an emergency.

Let us examine the second reason first. It may be expanded straightaway that it is the duty of an individual to defend his country against aggression, violently or non-violently. That is an inescapable obligation. If it is everybody's duty to defend his country, it is plain commonsense that he must be trained for it. The only relaxation can be, and should be, in the matter of choice between violence and non-violence.

The next question that arises is, how a State, which takes as defence its violence—and no State has yet demonstrated that it can stand up against armed aggression on the strength of non-violence—can train individuals for non-violence? For non-violence is not an external discipline that can be given by those having mental reservations regarding its efficacy. The only thing that the State can do is to allow facilities for, recognize and encourage, those who would give non-violent training to the youths who opt for it. As the discipline of non-violence is even more rigorous and taxing than that for violence, there is little fear of any black sheep opting for it as an escape from the rigours of military discipline.

As regards the argument that military training should be imparted to inculcate discipline in the youth, the argument is based on ignorance of the nature of true discipline. For unless discipline is imparted to us through the little acts of our everyday life, and the stress is laid on internal discipline, it is superficial. External discipline comes into play only in the context in which it is imparted. In other spheres as well, very often it leads to a reaction.

ing images and disciplines of the soldier and the workaholic is not an economic consideration. True discipline can be inculcated only through disciplined living which should include, besides the control theme of all educational institutions. That was the objective of the "Khai Talim" or New Education.

#### A YEAR IN RETROSPECT

(From the first statement issued by the All-India Village Industries Board, Bombay.)

On February 2nd the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board completed one year of its existence.

Inaugurating the Board twelve months ago the Prime Minister of India had said: "In my own mind an idea is growing daily that the yardstick by which one can measure the economic progress of a country is the extent of employment. For the unemployed the Welfare State is of no account. The small-scale and village industries will help in solving the unemployment problem."

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, Minister of Commerce and Industries, also said on the occasion.

The reminder that the work on regard to Khadi and village industries is a matter of vital importance."

The Planning Commission itself realised that the development of village industries required time and direction and in view of the growing importance of the problem of unemployment the Central Government must now give the same attention to village and small-scale industries as it has undertaken in view of the "Wastage of food and raw materials to give to agriculture."

Village industries constitute the most backward and underdeveloped sector of our National Economy. No adequate data had been even collected regarding them. The Board had, therefore, to start on a virtually virgin field. Such material as was available from the Planning Commission and from the experience of the All-India Spinning Association and the All-India Village Industries Association were, of course, a double blessing and programmes were prepared on these bases and forwarded to the Government of India for sanction.

In regard to village handicrafts, further exploratory work is necessary before practical schemes of future development programmes are formulated. For this purpose organisers for each of the industries have been appointed.

The Board believes, however, that developmental programmes required an army of trained workers as also essential research for improved tools and instruments of production. Accordingly at the outset it constituted two official committees viz. "Training Survey Committee" and "Research Committee." These Committees have a detailed comprehensive plan which are now under consideration.

A Department of Economic Research for statistical studies on the problems of village industries and on the dynamics of their social significance has been set up by the Board.

The Planning Commission realising the importance of a State policy which will reflect the significance it has attached to the development of village industries stressed the need for common production programmes for village industries and the organised machine industries and laid down certain principles on which these should be determined. To evolve such programmes is among the responsibilities assigned to the Board. The Board constituted a separate Committee which has studied problems affecting the Village Oil Industry, Paddy Marketing and the Cottage Watch Industry.

The development of village industries and expansion of Khadi production are possible only with substantial State aid which has to be of three kinds. First, the State must make available cheap loans to finance the schemes, second, State purchase and third protection against equal competition from the organised industries. The Board has pleasure in noting that, in the matter of State purchase the Government of India has shown commendable initiative. Inquiries for Khadi to the tune of some Rs. 12,50,000 have been placed by various Government departments. But it cannot be said that, as regard to the other two essentials the response has been as encouraging. Procedural difficulties have hindered forward action in the scheme of programmes of the Board. This has resulted in slow progress of developmental work. As regards protection no definite steps have been taken and in spite of the announcement of State policy by the Planning Commission, no positive measures have been adopted for its application.

The Government of India placed at the disposal of the Board an appropriate sum of Rs. 2,25,00,000 for 1950-51. Of this Rs. 2,00,00,000 was on account of Khadi and the rest for village industries. The time lag between the sanction of the Board's schemes and demands and actual Government sanction has adversely affected the full utilisation of the amount for the purposes for which it was required. Thus only Rs. 58,67,694.20 could be utilised so far for Khadi schemes and Rs. 5,220 in respect of village industries.

Experience has shown that, to be effective, the Board must have statutory powers with adequate finances at its disposal. The question of vesting statutory powers in the Board is now under consideration and it is hoped that during the next financial year it will be possible to make rapid strides in the execution of the different developmental programmes for Khadi and other village industries, for, let it be realised that they stand after warlike opportunities for partial employment for the tens of millions

## HARDIAN

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[illegible]

#### AN APPROPRIATE CONCLUSION

2000 2001 2002 2003 2004 2005 2006 2007 2008 2009 2010 2011 2012 2013 2014 2015 2016 2017 2018 2019 2020

The National Congress passed in all states, including those on substance abuse, to tell the people one thing really, and that was to wear the ribbon against the smoking, environmental, and the particularly in Korea and Kashmir and Pakistan and to celebrate the Congress stand on that matter and how the Congress proposes to meet it.

Second, in view of the history of Asia during the past two hundred years military and interference by foreign Powers in Asian countries is a result of the process of liberalism which had led these countries after long struggle to a new source of freedom."

And it concluded that, because of these developments, "grave situation has arisen which demands, above all, national solidarity. The Congress insists therefore that in this crisis the people of India, whatever their internal differences, ought to will present a united front and devote themselves to the development and strengthening of the nation through peaceful processes. It is not by a competitive race towards that India will basically strengthen herself, but by unity, self-reliance and the social, economic and industrial development of the nation."

The voluntary work, self-reliance and all-around development require a bold policy of planning, and development of the cultural, moral and physical strength and resources of our whole people. In this regard the Congress cleared the way for the following:

Before 1960-1970 the vast considerable progress was in the sciences in many sectors of the industrial economy. The Congress is of opinion that the past 30 years have to be credited in particular improvement in college and post-graduate education for law, fine and human studies, greater attention must be given to the study of social sciences.

Further progress should envisage the completion of the following tasks: to make the actual situation of the soil the subject of the study. Particular attention should be paid to the industrial sector, more especially to the iron and steel industry, as well as to the metallurgical and other industries in regard to metallurgical and other industrial techniques of metal extraction, for important and various possible sources of pollution should be determined.<sup>2</sup>

And at the end it concludes by saying

The idea of planning must always be the realization of a Welfare State and full employment. The British not only foster production and export, but they have programs along all sections of the road and spending. It has been also one of the best results of the war, the maintenance of peace in the world.

educational opportunities among the population. Since 2000, the percentage of high school leavers has increased from 40 to 45 percent.

Thus the Congress can succeed the offering of the people by meeting the following important measures of reform and reconstruction—land reform, village and small scale industries and Basic Education. It is good so far as this goes. However it is very unfortunate that it forgets or would not mention Prohibition. The omission is indicative of the preoccupation of this body with those which are too big for the poor people whose life and economy therefore remains untouched by them. Along with their small industries and their child driven primary and basic education prohibition is equally necessary, if the aim of a Welfare State is to be really achieved. Will the Congress renounce the grave sinners of crime by giving a directive through the A. I. C. C. to the Working Committee? As an earnest threat it may, well pull up the Congress Government in India, to see that Prohibition was enforced.

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CONTEMPORARY & NEW DRUG TECHNOLOGICAL SOLUTIONS

© 2004 Blackwell Publishing Ltd *Journal of Internal Medicine* 255: 111–117

The reader knows that the *Art, Hand, and Village Industries Board* was constituted last year. The Board has completed its one year by now and has issued the annual report of its work. The reader will find a very many illustrations in the report, showing the progress of the work.

We must congratulate the Board for its patience and perseverance with which it did the difficult task of making a report very heavy work. As the report says the Board's task was 'difficult, complex and herculean'. It is a matter of deep gratification that the Board applied itself to its task with equal, tireless zeal and promptness. The only regret is that the response from the Central Government was not up to the mark and what it should be.

If it is necessary for smooth and efficient working of the Board and for prompt execution and speedy disposal of its schemes, that the Board should be statutory and have at its disposal adequate finance, we hope, Government will get necessary legislation passed as soon as it is convenient so far as possible and co-ordinating it with the Ministry of Commerce and Industries. It is hoped to see that the new work that should run help as out of unemployment, take rest and provision in the scheme, which in which we find a better.

The Planning Commission also owes it to the people that it directs none of its time and energies to this series of our industries and our contact with their hopes and life wishes regarding common production programmes, enterprises and help in this sector. I am indebted to

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# COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

By Wilfred Pollock

Today we speak loudly of the passing of Colonialism. It is passing, but let us beware, lest there be a halt, a subtle backward turning.

Events in Central Africa and in Guinea offer a timely warning.

The new era is appearing at a time when the economic system out of which modern Colonialism sprang is crumbling.

That system has brought fabulous wealth to a few Western countries at the cost of under-nutrition and appalling conditions to vast coloured populations. The ending of the policy of exploiting human and natural resources will mean lower prices and living standards for many Western nations.

The coloured world has awakened and is coalescing for the purpose of common action. It demands political and economic independence and to this end an agro-industrial economy with maximum self-sufficiency in all its parts. Centennism has come to its assistance, with the result that two huge powerhouses are clamouring for its friendship and co-operation for its trade and its natural resources.

## Growing Fear

Another consequence of this conflict is that trade between these two power-houses is scant and uncertain.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, all the above-mentioned tendencies are causing a restriction of markets all round and a growing fear in the countries which have developed isolated, over-industrialized economies, of losing important economic and strategic footholds in Colonial territories. In consequence most Western nations are frantically trying to hold on to every particle of economic power they possess in any part of the world, and to make numerous concessions to this end.

Colonialism is now a delicate art.

The problem of Africa is unique in that, as a tropical country, it includes wide areas in which Europeans cannot permanently settle, and areas such as the North, the South and South Central, and the Kenya Highlands, where they can settle permanently. The latter are the tenacious areas, whereas in the Tropical Gold Coast, Nigeria, Uganda, Tanganyika, etc., peasant proprietorship with co-operative marketing and processing, such as the ginning of cotton, and progressive participation in local and national government are normal practice.

## The Tenacious Areas

In the tenacious areas, such as Kenya a few thousand Europeans own vast swatches of the finest growing land in the country, the Highlands, and dominate its political life.

That land has been taken from Africans and used as kingdom for inferior races.

None of the features of that operation was the backbone of many who are now in that land.

James Kenyatta once related to Robert Buxton and myself in the House of Commons how the ancestral land of his family was taken from his grandfather. The cultivation of these lands is still done by Africans for white masters and often still under appalling conditions of servitude.

The hopeless frustrations, humiliations and racial indignities of this servitude are among the causes of such lamentable eruptions as Mau Mau.

In South Africa there are the unresolvable tragedies of Apartheid, while there are in the distant Rhodesias and Nyasaland, in the North — where there are also rich mineral deposits — are the problems of cheap coloured labour, of poverty and urban squalor, conditions that are alien to African traditions and that are playing havoc with their habits, values and morals.

What is to be done in these remote areas? Where lies hope?

## A Further Pattern

In both Kenya and Central Africa great social and political reforms are promised, but the actual benefits are relegated to a distant future, which destroys all confidence in them.

Moreover, a careful examination of them reveals the familiar social pattern of a small white apex resting on a broad foundation of "well-paid" labour, with a small middle-class of clever Africans to keep the structure in balance.

The Kenya Highlands are to be the agricultural foundation of a white area, and are to be under white managerial, financial and political domination with a small, restricted African "participation."

It won't do, and Africans will have none of it. For their leaders realize that it does not touch the roots of their problem.

What they want, as they everywhere desire, is a life of their own making and choosing.

They want our assistance, guidance and co-operation, but not our domination.

They want a scientific agriculture and appropriate industries in well-organized self-governing communities.

Thus will give them a stable and peaceful civilization, also moral stability, which can be engendered only by personal and community responsibility in the building of a good civilization.

This is the way to peace in Africa and to Africa's maximum contribution to world peace.  
(From *Peace News* London Dec. 11, 1960.)



INTERVIEW WITH THE FILM DIRECTOR, NALAI

<sup>1</sup>From the Department of Surgery at St. Mary's Hospital, Philadelphia and Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia.

A reasonably comfortable house, providing shelter against inclemencies of weather and affording room for necessary food and leisure, was an elementary need of mankind. It is clear that at the present need is to be met in any community of housing, will have to be built on a mass scale. It is probable only if the cost of construction and the materials which go to make them is brought down to a level where a house might come within the reach of a mass of people.

Ever since the dawn of civilization, or may be even before that, when man first began to live in the open, he felt the need of some kind of shelter. There was a time when the unwieldy shells he proffered to bushes and trees satisfied his need in places where trees did not grow, a rudimentary hide-out or a cave or the shade of any projecting cliff answered his simple requirement. As time passed and man learnt to manipulate the logs and branches of trees, he found logs huts rendering better service to him. Gradually, he began to think and plan; these huts with mud and so man went on progressing upon the craftsmanship and selecting better and better building material, till he found himself capable of raising such gigantic structures as the Pyramids of Egypt.

Although throughout the long march of time, known to us as Historic Era, man has been familiar with the art of construction and has been responsible for raising structures of all kinds and sizes, the need of the common people did not receive the attention which it deserved. It is at once the duty and the privilege of us all, living in this dense ratio age, to think of housing and houses in terms of the common people.

Therefore I think that this exhibition adds a new chapter to our endeavours for housing the people properly. Here you will consider houses not only from the point of view of more living space but also in respect of design and the aesthetic aspect. As Bacon said: "Houses are built to live in, more than to look at, therefore let use be preferred before uniformity, except where both may be had." I hope that you will combine use with beauty.

Another thing in this exhibition which has specifically attracted me is the Village Centre. That a vast majority of India's population lives in villages is a fact which needs no emphasis. Unless, therefore, we base the principles on which we are building houses on the pattern of our village life and the special requirements of the country people, our efforts in respect of providing adequate housing facilities will remain abortive. We shall have achieved a great deal

doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0142002.g002

Another important question to expect from the exhibition is more light on the use of various building materials available in this country. Worthy enough you have not spent a separate section dealing with building materials. With our limited resources in money and material we have to go ahead with our plans to increase the national stock of housing. That is possible only if we devise ways and means of putting the easily available materials to the maximum use. Incidentally, that is also the best way of ensuring that the cost is kept as low as possible. All this points to the necessity of discovering cheaper building materials and evolving new building techniques so that the materials locally available are put to the best possible use and shortage of any particular material is not allowed to hamper our building programs. Besides, use of locally available material not only saves cost of transport but also reduces the pressure on our transport system. When considering the utility of local material, we should also bear in mind that all our old buildings and structures that have stood the strain of time and successfully resisted the vicissitudes of weather in this country of varied and varying climatic conditions, were made with these materials and some of them at local prices, now available.

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Subscription, Single Volume. One year, Rs. 4, Six months, Rs. 3. Foreign. One year, Rs. 6 or 10s. or £1.  
Printed and Published by Jagan Nath Nath, Narayana Press, Calcutta 2

# HARIJAN

35 Pages

 PUBLISHED BY MANJIBHA GADGIL  
 FROM: MUMBAI P. BOMBAY

3078

VOL. XVIII No. 2

AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, MARCH 10 1934

TWO ANNAS

## SOME IMPORTANT QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS\*

(By Vinoba)

Q.—While on the one hand the Zamindars are donating lands for Bhodan, on the other they are evicting the tenants. Is this an indication of their change of heart?

A.—Eviction of tenants is obviously undesirable. The question is: How to stop it? The best thing we can do is to go to the landlords and persuade them to accept the view that in case the evictions results in the Kisan becoming landless then the land in question should be returned to him as a Bhodan gift. We will not concern ourselves with finding out whether the evictions in any case were right or wrong in the legal sense. If the evictions leaves the Kisan totally devoid of any other source of livelihood, then something had to be done to help him rehabilitate himself and the best thing would be to persuade upon the landlord to give the land back to him.

The evictions which are taking place are due in most cases to a feeling of insecurity on the part of the landlords. They do not indicate any heartlessness. They are gripped with the fear that they will be nowhere if they lose all their land. And so in some cases they have taken to evicting their tenants. But this does not mean that the donations which they have made to us have no sincerity behind them. The donations are certainly actuated by a spirit of love and anxiety. Only they suffer from fear and that they have to give up.

So this kind of loving and intelligent meditation by trusted workers would be the best solution of the problem of evictions. A night thought can never fail to improve and finally convert an individual if it is presented to him again and again. People suffer partly from greed and partly from fear. The workers should persuade them to give up fear. It would be wrong to frighten them. True, we have been saying that if land is not distributed today may have to pass through a bloody revolution. But we do not say that to frighten the people. It is only intended

to make them appreciate the gravity of the problem. We only mean to point it out to them that the Kisan would benefit them too. As to greed or fear has it in greater or lesser degree. Who has fully got rid of it? It can be given up only gradually.

Only today I asked the Zamindars who had come to see me to set me free of this work and take it on their own shoulders. It was very necessary at the present time. I told them that the relations between them and peasants mirrored cordial. This work will not only do good to the poor but also to the rich. I am not anxious so much for getting more and more land as for establishing love and cordiality between the rich and poor. And nothing would serve this purpose more successfully than the rich themselves taking up my message and doing my work. Indeed I would like my position to be like that of a priest at the wedding ceremony. The priest is not expected to find out the boy or the girl. He is only called in to bless the wedding. In the same way it is for the Zamindars to find out the landless and give them land. I should be called in simply to bless this meeting of the hearts.

Q.—You aim at abolishing the ownership of land, while the Janata Party which claims to be working for the Bhodan says in its manifesto that they will try to protect that right. This hardly indicates a change of heart.

A.—It is true that we aim at abolishing the ownership of land. But what the Janata Party or any other party says about that question is not our concern. I never said that any party would undergo a change of heart. A party as such is not heart. The change of heart can take place only in the individuals. Of course, the individuals who have their hearts changed may be expected to influence their respective parties and bring about a corresponding change in their views.

Then the change of heart is not anything which may happen abruptly in a flash. It is a slow process taking a long time. Jyotirajbhai for example is working for the Bhodan. True with all his heart and soul. But others though sympathetic are not as earnest as he. The party

\* From a speech at Darga Chhatra on 3/3/34

will change when others are also infected with the same enthusiasm for the work. It is therefore the individual alone who can experience a change of heart. When it is his place, then he not only influences his party but also the country at large.

Q The Americans have hundreds of acres of land while the Koreans have in most cases no more than five or often less than an acre. Both are asked to donate land with all their possessions. Would it be too optimistic?

A We accept land from this point in order to make things and to let the people acquire the courage and feel the joy of participating in a noble cause. When the poor volunteer to donate the land it has a tremendous effect on the minds of the rich. The sacrifice of the poor moves them too to act in the same way. There are believed to be more than one-million homes in the north. We want to them. God has given to us more than the other people have. We must share. We must have equality all at once. It will come gradually in the course of individual ownership and increasingly replaced by that of communal ownership.

(Adapted from *The Ky*)

## MOTOR TRANSPORT AND STRENGTH OF THE NATION

By Yuh-tai-hsin, M. K. Kwan

The tenth anniversary of the All-India National Union Conference, held last month at Hapur in British India, in the Conference emphasized the important role of the private sector of the road transport service and demanded protection and encouragement of the hands of laborers at in the interest of expansion and growth of road transport in the country.

India, with the total area of 13 lakh square miles has a road network of only 1.75 lakhs, out of which hardly 10 per cent is paved and all-weather roads. The total number of vehicles belonging to private enterprise, about one lakh compared to other countries, is a low figure. Though various State Governments are launching service of all-weather road transport and extending their scope, this will not be able to meet the growing needs of the nation, the Conference observed. It pleaded for encouragement for the private enterprise.

Among other points, speakers at the Conference made the following two noteworthy observations:

1. It was a good to talk of bullock carts and our village economy. But those who have witnessed the two World Wars or other of these, know it fully well that the real strength of the nation lies not in her warren alone but in her war equipments too.

2. Whatever be our efforts to raise the present level of our industrial and agricultural

productions without a well-developed system of road transport capable of delivering goods, we cannot have an equal or equitable distribution of our national wealth.

The above observations seem to suggest that the real strength of the nation lies in war equipments which, according to them, is expansion and growth of motor transport service so as to cover all villages of the country and setting up an automobile industry in the country. A question of vital importance suggests itself here. Whether making buses and trucks run in rural India and thus help draining away the wealth of the villages would build the strength of the nation or building villages on self-sufficient and self-supporting lines would do it?

For an agricultural country like India where 75 per cent of the total population live in the villages will it be meaningless to talk of the village economy? Does the Conference suggest that the interest of 25 per cent of the city people should outweigh that of the village people? If the real interest of 75 per cent of the rural population of India is to be served, is it not imperative to create short distances for bullock carts?

What will ensure plenty and prosperity of the nation. Whether growing of more crops by agricultural and develop more village industries, or exporting raw produce of the villages by mass transport? How will the expansion and extension of motor transport in villages and setting up an indigenous automobile industry provide employment to village people? Assuming that it would do so, what about the necessary oil that will be required? In times of war what will serve more—whether the oil-free buses and trucks or bullock carts?

Considering all this from the point of the real strength of the nation it is obvious that the more the villages become self-sufficient and self-supporting and add to their wealth the more will they build the real strength of the nation. The linking of villages to cities by means of motor transport service may open new avenues of investment of money, and earning of profits may lead people to spend more on travel and will facilitate transport of goods from one place to another. But will this superficial help by add to the nation's real strength? Will it guarantee enduring capacity to stand erect and face hard conditions in times of distress?

Let it be realized that underneath the rule and ignoring the interest of bullock carts would not serve the country. Instead wars and wars should be devised to build a new mind culture wherein both should have their right place. And where it is necessary to expand and develop motor transport it should be done more on a co-operative basis than on private enterprise basis.

5-3-64  
Srin. Nagar



# HARIJAN

Mar. 13

1964

## ARMED AND ARMING AGGRESSION

(By Maheshwar P. Datta)

On February 25 President Eisenhower declared to the world that under the authority granted to him by the Congress he had accepted with Pakistan's request for granting military assistance to it. The grant will be made in terms of or subject to the "purposes and requirements of the Mutual Security legislation" of America. The purpose, in the words of that legislation, will be "to maintain the security and promote the foreign policy of the U. S. by authorizing military, economic and technical assistance to friendly countries to strengthen the mutual security and individual and collective defenses of the free world."

The U. S. President has paraphrased the aim in his declaration that "regional groupings to ensure security against aggression constitute the most effective means to ensure survival and progress." We should strengthen efforts towards regional political, military and economic integration." Of course this should be within the framework of the U. N. Pledge he further says that "any recipient country must also undertake that it will not engage in any act of aggression against any other nation".

Thus it is clear that the purpose of the triple American aid — economic, military, or technical, — is the same viz. to further build up and buttress the U. S. foreign policy of waging a global cold war against the Russian bloc. Pakistan has, by accepting military aid, chosen to directly join into cold war.

The situation created by this step raises a serious question for America and the U. N. O. as well. Does Pakistan fulfil the condition of non-aggression against another nation? One must, with regret, admit that the answer is in the negative. Pakistan invaded India about seven years ago. Then Pakistan has to its credit an act of aggression against India in Kashmir. Further this has been a matter of complaint by India to the U. N. O. The crimes of the two countries are at present pitched on both the sides of the ceasefire line which, thank God, was possible under the U. N. Charter. The question is hanging fire since then, and Pakistan is not ready to negotiate about it on the basis of a no-war or non-aggression pact with India. Under these circumstances, it is clear that any assistance in or alliance with Pakistan of a military nature would naturally amount to strengthening and abetting that aggression. Obviously such aid can in no way be considered to be for legitimate self-defence or group security.

What has been said in international practice for the last century stands to come in with military aid to Pakistan. When India's complaint against Pakistan aggression is standing against it before the U. N. O.? Ironically it is because internally India has not increased its military budget this year in spite of such unprovoked provocation. The military aid to Pakistan not only disturbs the peace of the Middle East and S. E. Asia but it also disturbs people's confidence in the U. N. Charter if it can violate its condition and which is, on the face of it, aiding and abetting the standing aggression by Pakistan in Kashmir.

On the eve of his latest declaration of military aid to Pakistan, President Eisenhower wrote a personal letter to our Prime Minister on February 18. India feels thankful for such courtesy and good will. Therein he professed world's military aid to India also and said, "your request would receive my most sympathetic and able attention." Perhaps in his overzeal to appease the Middle East, defence potential on which he seems to be very keen, the U. S. President could not see that such an offer revealed a touch of armed offence to India by the rights donor India, in all humility, requests the U. S. President to appreciate its true position of peace and friendship to all and to realise that military aid to Pakistan, before the Kashmir aggression is called off, cannot be true in the framework of the U. N. O., it does not help peace.

4-3-64

## Doing a Worse Thing

The *Week* of February 23, 1964 gives a fairly long summary of the recommendations and observations of the Ramaswami Committee on Drink or Andhra. I have already written about it in the last issue. One thing requires to be noted further.

The above-mentioned *Week* report says, "The Committee found that administrations in the three departments — Co-operative, Prohibition and Police — had lamentably broken down. There was also the danger that disregard for law and rules in regard to the working of prohibition and of jiggery co-operative societies might produce a general disregard for law" (italics mine).

In a way the latter observation is true. A bad, inefficient and corrupt administration obviously tends to demoralisation among the people. But it is so strongly for it to suggest a thing which is a potent disregard of the fundamental law or the Constitution of our country, — I mean, to suggest scrapping of prohibition, which is what has been really recommended by the Committee. If such bare-faced disregard on the part of a Government Committee, in its people's cost and money, becomes wide-spread, it will spell not merely disregard of law but of the very Constitution of our land.

4-3-64

M. P.























1. The first part of the book is a general introduction to the subject of the history of the world. It is divided into two main sections: the first section deals with the history of the world from the beginning of time to the present, and the second section deals with the history of the world from the present to the future. The first section is further divided into three main parts: the first part deals with the history of the world from the beginning of time to the present, the second part deals with the history of the world from the present to the future, and the third part deals with the history of the world from the future to the present. The second section is further divided into two main parts: the first part deals with the history of the world from the present to the future, and the second part deals with the history of the world from the future to the present.

2. The second part of the book is a general introduction to the subject of the history of the world. It is divided into two main sections: the first section deals with the history of the world from the beginning of time to the present, and the second section deals with the history of the world from the present to the future. The first section is further divided into three main parts: the first part deals with the history of the world from the beginning of time to the present, the second part deals with the history of the world from the present to the future, and the third part deals with the history of the world from the future to the present. The second section is further divided into two main parts: the first part deals with the history of the world from the present to the future, and the second part deals with the history of the world from the future to the present.

3. The third part of the book is a general introduction to the subject of the history of the world. It is divided into two main sections: the first section deals with the history of the world from the beginning of time to the present, and the second section deals with the history of the world from the present to the future. The first section is further divided into three main parts: the first part deals with the history of the world from the beginning of time to the present, the second part deals with the history of the world from the present to the future, and the third part deals with the history of the world from the future to the present. The second section is further divided into two main parts: the first part deals with the history of the world from the present to the future, and the second part deals with the history of the world from the future to the present.



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# HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY BHANUJI DASANI)  
EDITOR: BHANUJI P. DASANI



Vol. VIII, No. 1

ALHABAD—SATURDAY, MARCH 20, 1934

TWO ANNAS

## THE GREATEST ACT

(By Gaddipati)

—According to Bharti of Varanasi, Aithya, drew  
—According to Bharti's article "The Greatest Act"  
—According to Bharti, particularly in Gaddipati's  
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these Provinces or States that have lagged be-  
hind are bound to bow to the inevitable

We have the right, therefore, to expect the  
sympathy and support not only of all the parties  
in India including the Europeans but the best  
mind of the whole world in this, perhaps, the  
greatest moral movement of the century

If, then, prohibition is to mean a great moral  
awakening in India, the closing of liquor shops  
should merely mean the indispensable beginning  
of the movement ending in the complete winning  
from drink and narcotics of those poor people  
and some rich people whom the habit has ruined,  
ruined, body and soul

At the risk of repetition of what is stated  
by Mohanlal Dasani in his recent let, we summarize  
what should, in my opinion, be the comprehensive  
programme.

(1) A drink drug map showing the locality  
of liquor and opium shops in each province

(2) Closing them as liquor shops on the  
expiry of the license

(3) Immediate earmarking of liquor re-  
venue whilst it is still being received, exclusively  
for the purposes of prohibition

(4) Conversion wherever possible, of the  
liquor shops into refreshment and recreation  
rooms in the hope that the original visitors will  
continue to use them liquor contractors being  
themselves persuaded to conduct them if they  
will

(5) Employment of the existing order staff  
for detection of illicit distillation and drinking

(6) Appeal to the educational institutions  
to devote a part of the time of teachers and stu-  
dents to temperance work

(7) Appeal to the women to organize *veils*  
to the girls and girls to the drink and opium  
habit

(8) Negotiation with the neighbouring  
States to undertake simultaneous prohibition

(9) Engaging the volunteers on, if neces-  
sary, part assistance of the medical profession  
for suggesting non-alcoholic drinks and other  
substitutes for weakness and methods of  
winning the addicts from their habit

(10) Revival of the activities of temperance  
societies in support of the campaign against  
drink

4171 **Improving employment of labour to open and manage a city park—low management costs** **44442**, **44443**, **44444** and **44445** **44446** **44447** **44448** **44449** **44450** **44451** **44452** **44453** **44454** **44455** **44456** **44457** **44458** **44459** **44460** **44461** **44462** **44463** **44464** **44465** **44466** **44467** **44468** **44469** **44470** **44471** **44472** **44473** **44474** **44475** **44476** **44477** **44478** **44479** **44480** **44481** **44482** **44483** **44484** **44485** **44486** **44487** **44488** **44489** **44490** **44491** **44492** **44493** **44494** **44495** **44496** **44497** **44498** **44499** **44500** **44501** **44502** **44503** **44504** **44505** **44506** **44507** **44508** **44509** **44510** **44511** **44512** **44513** **44514** **44515** **44516** **44517** **44518** **44519** **44520** **44521** **44522** **44523** **44524** **44525** **44526** **44527** **44528** **44529** **44530** **44531** **44532** **44533** **44534** **44535** **44536** **44537** **44538** **44539** **44540** **44541** **44542** **44543** **44544** **44545** **44546** **44547** **44548** **44549** **44550** **44551** **44552** **44553** **44554** **44555** **44556** **44557** **44558** **44559** **44560** **44561** **44562** **44563** **44564** **44565** **44566** **44567** **44568** **44569** **44570** **44571** **44572** **44573** **44574** **44575** **44576** **44577** **44578** **44579** **44580** **44581** **44582** **44583** **44584** **44585** **44586** **44587** **44588** **44589** **44590** **44591** **44592** **44593** **44594** **44595** **44596** **44597** **44598** **44599** **44600** **44601** **44602** **44603** **44604** **44605** **44606** **44607** **44608** **44609** **44610** **44611** **44612** **44613** **44614** **44615** **44616** **44617** **44618** **44619** **44620** **44621** **44622** **44623** **44624** **44625** **44626** **44627** **44628** **44629** **44630** **44631** **44632** **44633** **44634** **44635** **44636** **44637** **44638** **44639** **44640** **44641** **44642** **44643** **44644** **44645** **44646** **44647** **44648** **44649** **44650** **44651** **44652** **44653** **44654** **44655** **44656** **44657** **44658** **44659** **44660** **44661** **44662** **44663** **44664** **44665** **44666** **44667** **44668** **44669** **44670** **44671** **44672** **44673** **44674** **44675** **44676** **44677** **44678** **44679** **44680** **44681** **44682** **44683** **44684** **44685** **44686** **44687** **44688** **44689** **44690** **44691** **44692** **44693** **44694** **44695** **44696** **44697** **44698** **44699** **44700** **44701** **44702** **44703** **44704** **44705** **44706** **44707** **44708** **44709** **44710** **44711** **44712** **44713** **44714** **44715** **44716** **44717** **44718** **44719** **44720** **44721** **44722** **44723** **44724** **44725** **44726** **44727** **44728** **44729** **44730** **44731** **44732** **44733** **44734** **44735** **44736** **44737** **44738** **44739** **44740** **44741** **44742** **44743** **44744** **44745** **44746** **44747** **44748** **44749** **44750** **44751** **44752** **44753** **44754** **44755** **44756** **44757** **44758** **44759** **44760** **44761** **44762** **44763** **44764** **44765** **44766** **44767** **44768** **44769** **44770** **44771** **44772** **44773** **44774** **44775** **44776** **44777** **44778** **44779** **44780** **44781** **44782** **44783** **44784** **44785** **44786** **44787** **44788** **44789** **44790** **44791** **44792** **44793** **44794** **44795** **44796** **44797** **44798** **44799** **44800** **44801** **44802** **44803** **44804** **44805** **44806** **44807** **44808** **44809** **44810** **44811**

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#### PRESENCE AND ABSENCE

Age Group	Education Level	Percentage (%)
18-29	High School	~45
	College	~55
	Graduate	~65
30-49	High School	~55
	College	~65
	Graduate	~75
50-69	High School	~65
	College	~75
	Graduate	~85
70+	High School	~75
	College	~85
	Graduate	~95

Finally, the availability of the full text of the 1991 *Survey of Public Employee Compensation* (Rosen, 1991) to all researchers based on the size of the study project may be problematic.

Long before I arrived that, by the Report, more concerned with the administration of this department, "we have broken down" and "we have" have been discussed and have found corresponding changes. Departmental information and all the other - some - reports on the work in the past. After the officials were aware of and failed to warn the Government, the Government ignored the warning and did not take any further action. In the meantime, the Government had other things to be discussed. It is clear that the Government should be a minimum of delay in administration to be maintained. On the other hand, the Government continued to which case the situation was not completely resolved.

The House agreed that Prohibition did not protect us. Therefore recommended its repeal and the removal of those in danger as a direct result of prohibition.

attention to the "imperative need for men of honesty, as of skill (1937) in any system of administration that is to succeed. Apparently, the Report perceived that, while men of integrity and honesty were not, or could not, be found to violate Prohibition, they could be found to administer it. Hence? Or, that the same persons could be honest when administering Customs, but corrupt when administering Prohibition?

The Andrus Report lauded the system of Native nations. The majority of the Native Proctor's Probationary Committee, which, like the Andrus Committee, found Probation an utter failure, observed that the system of Native nations was a "praiseworthy source of a variety of worthwhile suggestions" and was "largely responsible for occupying the Native administration in the west districts" and recommended its abolition. (Emphasis added.)

Regarding the value of the evidence, it is misleading to recall that the very same issue of the *Madras Pradesh Gazette*, which announced the appointment of the Committee to review Prohibition policy, published also the Government's own favourable review of Prohibition's Government officials, who had earlier given favourable reports when they thought that Government favoured it. It turned round with unexpected sharpness to denounce Prohibition as a failure, when the appointment of the Committee was made. It is not, that Government had changed

The Anti-Smoking Committee feared that if Prohibition was continued, it "might produce a general disregard for law." The Madison Prohibition Committee found that the selected officers under the Prohibition Act in the dry half of the State were fewer than under the Enforce Act in the wet half of it, (p. 35) and that relatively and even more years the Police Act was violated more often than the Enforce Act, and the Enforce Act more often than the Prohibition Act! If it happened if a law was wanted to repeal the Police Act would have to go first, then the Enforce Act and last, then the Prohibition Act. The Madison Prohibition Committee observed that since independence there was a general and growing disregard for human life that drinking had degenerated into a vice, and that Prohibition was not alone in contributing to the disregard of law in general, (p. 35). The Inspector-General of Police saw no difference between enforcing the Enforce Act and the Prohibition Act except that it "never brought into existence the Prohibition and the

#### REFERENCES AND NOTES

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# STANI SIVARATI'S FAST

(By Maheshwar P. Desai)

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## HARIJAN

FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI  
EDITOR: HANUMANTH P. DESAI

Vol VIII No 4

AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, MARCH 25, 1934

TWO ANNAS

## ANDHRA'S ANXIETY

(By Prabhu)

It is now some time since Andhra was constituted into a separate province. The process was preceded by the sacrifice of a godless life which was quite unnecessary because the way it has now been turned had already been recommended by the I V P Committee. All that the committee wanted to achieve was that the internal differences among the Andhra leaders were considerably removed and their bright light was in accord to the foundation of the province was fulfilled. The members of the committee thought that the road had now been finally cleared for the building up of a harmonious order of society so, they thought the administration will be carried on in our own language.

But they were mistaken. They forgot to take more, or rather that the right to use one's own language was not such a plain matter if it was properly examined. For the common, while it may be used in making the plans of the Lord, may equally easily be used in vilifying one another. The trial of things now emerging into view however seems to have opened their eyes. They are now growing apprehensive that the State is set on a course which is ominous in the extreme at the very beginning.

The power of money to defame is indeed amazing. The Kurn is divided in its far flung members. The traffic of desire tempts it to be their friend. It is the same with the Government who are constantly occupied with deriving ways and means for getting more and more money.

The Kurn is wrought up as it because he has despoiled the village industries whence he is compelled to buy all his needs. How can he then do without money? As for the trader, money is for them their business. Besides, I have a suspicion that he interprets the words "Kart Kari" with which he begins his account books as one who takes away wealth\*. He is solely after acquiring money by whatever means he can.

Money having lost any fixed value, he thinks the more money he has the more security he would have.

The Government acts in the same boat. They are seized with the fear that the village industries will retard the progress of the country. This fear paralyses them from utilizing the vast human power available in the country. They are on the contrary afraid of our growing population. To be afraid of the population is to be afraid of the human power itself. The machine power is not available and the human power, which is available, is going to waste because of the dislike of village industries. Hence the entire planning is made to depend on money. And the loss of the tripod on which the society rests that is the Kurns, the traders and the Government, who are the three giant supporters of the society, is disconcerting.

The Andhra State from its very birth finds itself faced with the problem of getting money. It is painful, all the same it is a fact that this before its pre-natal state was very rich. It acquired a rich inheritance at its birth. Royal had added enormously to the wealth of the State in Madras by carrying out Prohibition. The Andhra State had inherited this wealth. It was a rich fortune. No child is born with ornaments, darning its limbs. But this one was. However as it grew would have it, those who were charged with nursing it were in doubt whether they were real gold ornaments or fetters. They therefore set up a committee of experts to find out the truth. The members of the committee unfortunately were colour blind. They mistook the gold ornaments for iron fetters and said in their decision that those were fetters and must be broken and removed in the interest of the safety of the infant. Those in charge of the Government are perplexed. They have now sent the matter for decision to their superiors. It is to be expected the superiors would act.

Use of one's own language in the administration of one's province can hardly avoid such unless supported by the use of one's own intelligence.

(From Mad)

\* Kart Kari means Loot Kart. Kart being the name of Lord Krishna. But, Kart has another meaning to steal or to rob, and Kart as derived from this root Kart may be taken to mean one who takes away.

## AN INTERVIEW WITH VINODHAN

(By N. R. Maheshwari)

I visited him on the 4th of February and had the pleasure of passing a few days with Vinodhan. There, during our long walks I had talks with him on various subjects of general interest. There were a few notes taken down from memory.

Q.—It is believed that there are about five crore landless agriculturists in India. You want to take gifts, so as to distribute 5 acres of dry land to each family or approximately one acre per head. Do you think that it will be dry land, perhaps saline?—Do you think that it will hardly suffice for more subsistence? As it is we have now a national income of Rs 255 per head per year while U. K. has Rs 2,700 and U. S. A. has Rs 4,970.

A.—I am—(1) the advocate of five acres per family will just yield enough food during normal seasons. This land will give at least food to the hungry and meet a poverty wage. I expect, however, that land will be improved so as to yield better crops as in Japan. We must produce more of cereals to live. I imagine that even those who have Godan out of their tiny holdings will believe in that the remaining land gives the same yield. Before I consider the poorest agriculturists of a village, and take 100 out of the 100, they have. The poor must help the poor to live. Their charity and their goodness will help them to live and the more prosperous. When the poor give a little the rich will give much more. I wish to effect a psychological revolution in both the poor and the richer. And then I want that just as we plan to produce more, we must not forget to plan what we must produce. Today the best irrigated land is given to the wheat, opium and other big crops. I believe that if we can make use of the surplus to know the long part of income wasted on such things by the poor. Food and clothing are our primary wants and must have priority over other things. But still we must use our mind as well as our hand. Quality consumption that means more is secondary. Of course I am neither comparing our income with that of England, countries with better resources developed over the ages of hard work.

Q.—If land becomes private property of peasants the optimum use for agriculture and maximum production will be unattainable.

A.—I am not favourable for private property in land. What I am anxious about is the employment of all and the abolition of want. If private property in land has to be abolished I am in favour of it. If in a village Panchayats that is Government if any, then be reform based. Panchayats are already according to me. I am in favour. Then the poor produce will be shared according to man-hours of work, of which a record will be maintained.

Godan Yagna has already helped to reduce the price of land by half and land is being increasingly considered as property of the community, now held by owners as a waste.

Q.—Even if land is given to the peasants and put to the best use, considering our Indian population and rising unemployment it will be very difficult to maintain a reasonable standard of living based on minimum needs. And there may not tempt the law of diminishing returns by too much pressure on land.

A.—To my mind the problem left is (1) and (2) such of underemployment as of under-employment. Every agriculturist is under-employed for 3 to 6 months and occasionally there are droughts and floods and pests. Full and continuous employment for all is impossible without supplementary incomes from village and cottage industries. Amongst these Khadi holds the first place of honour. We should train every villager in spinning and spinning and then tell him that we shall supply of mill cloth after a certain stated period. He is then bound to produce his own cloth, as he does even now in certain regions by force of habit. This is all the more necessary due to the insecurity of modern times. A few well placed boms as Ahmedabad and Bombay would create a boom of cloth. They say that we intend to disperse these concentrated industries all over the country to be safe from such disasters. I tell them to do so if they dare and I have told well that they dare not do so. Diversification of such industries is therefore the only course for more reasons. Of course Khadi may be started in hilly dry desert places and give them every possible aid. But I believe that it can and should be produced in all places where cotton can be grown. It double and triple cropped areas and cultivators have time to spin and card. If Kharabkhar (Kharabkhar) could spin though a permanent model, then anybody can spin. Lastly, reservation of markets is essential for the protection of village industries. Today the sale of village industries is going on open, after "competitive"—as in Manipal in Assam Mills have been left free to destroy them. But I know that Government will be compelled by the force of circumstances to protect and stimulate village industries to remove chronic and vast under-employment.

Q.—If village products are produced in villages without the technical and mechanical advantages enjoyed by the mill, such products are bound to be dearer. It is now almost impossible to buy dear to encourage handloom. Do you think that poor villagers can bear high costs or exchange at dear prices?

A.—Villagers must be organized on a basis of barter. If dear cloth is exchanged for dear cloth or dear pots or deer furniture, the effect of dearness will be mutually set off. Each such price will, as it were, cancel the other and everything



## HARIJAN

March 27

1954

## MEDIUM OF ADMINISTRATION AND INSTRUCTION

(By Hagenbhan P. Datta)

In their issues of March 11 1954 some papers considerably reported two noteworthy statements, one by Dr A. B. Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor, Transvaal University, while addressing the Bihar University Commission at Patna, the other by Shri Bhabhano Prasad Education Minister, Bombay State, while speaking in the Bombay Legislative Council on the Universities Amendment Act. The coincidence through accidental is significant. Dr. Mudaliar said, "We are shutting the door against this (ie English) vast treasure-house of knowledge, shutting the door against progress itself, by banning the study of English" (Holk nake).

Further he said "The place of language in schools and colleges, the medium of instruction, the compulsory study of what was termed the national language in all States and educational institutions had evoked most bitter controversies in every parts of India."

And he said that it was desirable to have a language which was generally understood, in course of time, by the thousands of the Indian Republic. "I also feel that in no country has it been possible to have every citizen turned into a scholar in that national language."

And he added by way of an explanation of his position on the question, "as one who realises the need and inevitable emergence of a widely spoken national language, the policy of hastening slowly is best calculated to achieve the objective."

And on this matter he had a dig at the politicians in the following words:

"Those who show impatience at the pace of progress in this direction, those who feel that they can see their dominant position and their political authority in averted disastrous options are doing a great disservice to the cause."

However, he admitted, educational leadership does not and cannot ignore other forms of leadership. "It was not suggested, he said, that universities should consider themselves as having been built on an academic hill, far from the reading crowd and that education, either in a university or in a school, was something far apart from the life of the Nation. "What is pleaded and what ought to be emphasised is that the needs of the State or the public having been made known, the authorities in charge of education must be left to meet these needs."

Professor Hagenbhan Datta, from the faculty and in the West goes on to say: Datta was giving out his mind on the same question, though in another vein. In his Datta report says he said that Government trials in the universities go far back to 1930 pointing out the need of changing the medium and suggested that Hindi should replace English as the medium. And he charged the universities with having failed to move in the matter and added that he had therefore taken the initiative of sending the Hindi Ministry a Government message with a view to giving a 'nudge shock' to them, so that they might move.

The accusation and counter-accusation contained in the above two weighty statements only show that both the University and the Government should realise that it is now high time that they move in the matter of the language policy of free India, both in regard to education and administration. In this matter not only the universities but also Governments in India too have allowed previous time to pass by without seriously giving their mind to it.

It is obvious that there is vital inter-dependence in this matter between public administration and public instruction. The language requirements of administration in the peculiar context of our century-old history of foreign rule holds a dominant—almost a vital—position over public instruction. If the former does not move, the latter hesitates and lingers in doing so. Therefore, though accusations and counter-accusations might be understood and be pardonable as the first symptoms of awakening on the part of these two sectors of our public life they help no way and should rather give place to joint thought for immediately planning the transition with the least possible disturbance and harm to national progress. This must be hastened, slowly if we will, but surely and immediately any way. It is here that the heterogeneity of view-characters and teachers in our country, I am afraid, exhibited a rather conservative attitude. We as a people are at present at such a juncture in our history, when we keenly require a dynamic sense of adventure and pioneering. Such a spirit is naturally more reflected in our legislature today than in our administration or even the universities. I do not say this in any sense of criticism but only as an observation of what we really find today. These two arms of our public life must now catch the spirit of the new age we are in and should begin to move together in doing so both of them should be guided by the democratic ideals and the fundamental policy of our Constitution. And it is from that point of view, that a few remarks about the above two statements are called for.

It is apparent that Dr A. B. Mudaliar's remarks at Patna were perhaps occasioned by the language policy of the Government of



Hindus, and the same holds true for Muslims. No wonder if by stages, say, till 1935, the Government of his mind comes to realize the value of the Sanskrit or Persian or English. It must be clear that this is not a free description of what is being contemplated, namely, the place of Hindi. What is being contemplated restricting the use of English is in connection with the true principle of education and knowledge, which is, as we know, the Constitution of India under Art. 344 requires the President to see that there is progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union and consequential restriction on the provincial use of English. This has evidently a very vital bearing on the working of our schools and universities also. Not rarely it is not knowledge of the study of English. It is restricting, as it should be in national interest. It would be good the universities were realize this and prepare themselves for this change.

On the other hand there is a similar realization necessary on the part of the Government, chiefly of the States of the Union. It is regarding their official language. They should be clear on the point that not Hindi but the regional languages of the States are to be their official language. Again it is the responsibility of the Government to see that these languages are encouraged, enriched and promoted to grow to their full height. They are important in free India that they are considered one of the dual issues for strengthening the administrative map of India, and a high power Commission is working at present to go into that question. In matters educational Government should be guided by competent academic authorities, to wit, in this case the Rukhminar Commission, which says that regional languages should be the normal medium of instruction in our colleges. Hindi is thought of as the common language of the Union administration and for inter-State communication. It was never intended to, nor should, take the place of the language of the region, which should be used for all the purposes of that region—administrative, educational, and cultural. It is high time our State Governments acknowledge this vital principle of our national development and progress. Otherwise, as Dr. Bhabha says in Hindi if imposed in a wrong place, will defeat the very purpose we have in view and it will be treated as an encroachment on the legitimate and rightful place of our great Indian languages. The sooner we clear our minds on this question the better it will be for introducing in the schools free Indian languages as media of public administration and instruction in place of English which should naturally suffer reasonable restrictions, as—surely not extinction of—status and study in our schools and colleges.

## LADY PETHICK-LAWRENCE AND MAHATMA GANDHI

(By Pethick)

It is perhaps generally not known that Gandhi's bond of relationship with many a leader in public life—co-workers, friends and even opponents—was more often rooted in his appreciation of certain traits in their personal and private lives—which Gandhi regarded as crucial—than in an affinity for their political policies or views. Sometimes it was their mutual devotion to common life—sometimes absence or attainment of common life—in a result of their mutual devotion, at still other times it was some lesser trait displayed on the face of a personal dilemma or conflict such as crops up in the working of organized lives of individuals, which provided him with the criterion on which he tested their real worth. That was how, for instance, Sir Malcolm Hailey, who, Gandhi was told, had spared the prospect of the Viceroyalty of India for the sake of his wife who was suffering from a mental malady, Lord Amhurst who never married so as to be able to give his undivided loyalty to the service of his country, Quaker Anne Jemshy by virtue of the rare devotion and self-dedication of his great sister, which he commended and recognized—and in respect some of his Indian co-workers—was his deep regard which no amount of difference or clash in the political and social elements of life.

It was the same in the case of Lord and Lady Pethick-Lawrence. Gandhi held very strong views on equality of status between husband and wife in married life—so much so that in his Ashram he had got even the ancient marriage ritual modified to bring it in line with his ideal. The fact that Lord Pethick insisted on taking Emmeline's name in return for her brought him nearer to Gandhi than anything else could have done. Lady Pethick became the link between the two.

It was during one of his visits to London from South Africa that Gandhi first met Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence at one of the meetings for securing voting rights for women. It was a typical suffragette meeting. Gandhi, who regarded himself as a more thoroughgoing suffragist than the most ardent of suffragettes so called, was not in sympathy with some of the suffragette tactics in vogue at that time, developing as they did physical resistance, sometimes even physical violence though of a mild type. Being called upon to address the meeting, he offered her-off to criticize the tactics of the suffragettes on that score. It immediately brought to his feet the redoubtable Mrs. Pethick, who took every exception to his remarks. Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence on that occasion related Mrs. Pethick's remarks and showed an intelligent appreciation of the power of non-violence.

would have been a great success. It is not for nothing that the birthday message of greetings which Lord Petrick Lawrence sent to Gladys in October 1944 on his 75th birthday, revealed her deep spiritual nature which Lord Petrick shared with her and her children and both in the presence of long-closed and love as the gateway of the world's life and as the means for the illumination of the Apocalyptic vision of the Transfiguration of God upon earth. As Lord Petrick wrote of his wife in his birthday card mentioned it happened to be also the anniversary of their wedding day. Lady Petrick's letter ran:

"Gladys! The month of October brings the anniversary of your birth into this world of conflict—conflict between good and evil and evil. May you be during this month year with further blessings of your heavenly vision. Our beloved postscript follows:

I give you the end of a golden riding  
Only what I like a ball  
to my best wife is at Heaven's gate  
Walk in Jerusalem with

"Devotion was for spiritual and by Blake of his poem of the "Blazon of Gertrude" which he followed, "and by the way, published in 1795. A. L. B. and G. shared with the presence of the shared world with being as unity through the historic spiritual illumination and vision in 1944 the "Kingdom of Heaven."

"Your life and being have enriched the human race and will always remain as part of the light which shines in the darkness. May all faith and joy be yours in the love of the creator of your birthday."

Lady and Lord Petrick-Lawrence were as the best kind of ideal couples of which English public life in the present century holds such rich examples—Sir Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Sir Stafford and Lady Chipps, Lord and Lady Mountbatten, the Dornes and the Aclands to mention only a few. But one wonders if the completeness of merger with each other that characterized Lady and Lord Petrick-Lawrence was or is surpassed or perhaps equaled by any other.

Lady Petrick has passed away full of years and honour at the ripe age of 86. It were futile to mourn a death like hers.

It is best, as the saying is, to leave her as she is. The heart should hang on the fringe of day  
What deeper love than this?

One can imagine what her last years were to Lord Petrick. But one also knows what a reservoir of inner spiritual resources stands and forth he is blessed with, to enable him—the Christian man that he is—to bear the Cross that God has sent him.

New Delhi 77-6-54

## THE LAW JOURNAL

(By Bhagabhai P. Sengul)

Lawrence of Arabia has finally made up his mind, following the way it wants to go. It has agreed to end such Turkey crowding close eastern world affairs as also political and cultural collaboration between the two countries, with the obvious purpose of obtaining military aid from America.

It is well to recall Turkey appears a little nervous at the moment a few months ago when President Truman's initiative to establish World relations between Turkey and America had expressed his disapproval of the idea and even asked Pakistan to be removed from her husband and realize that in the end, as a lack we are living it was far more desirable to have a weaker State than a strong one, and this has now been conveniently forgotten and the two have thought it fit to enter into a pact in regard to the expressed opposition to such a pact by a number of the intervening Muslim countries, which because of their geographical position are concerned over its possible repercussions for them. The reason for the pact, however, is obvious. Both these countries claim not action not according to what their own independent judgement might see, but in deference to what America says and America is today widely observed with how to down Russia as a dominant international force. As regards Pakistan it is a step politically and economically too weak and helpless to pull on without outside help. Unfortunately it has not felt persuaded to develop friendly relations with India, though that would be the most natural thing to do for both.

After the conclusion of the pact with Turkey, Pakistan Prime Minister Mr. Mohammad Ali declared that he had requested the U.S.A. for military assistance. The request, we now know has been granted. The Turkey-Pakistan agreement in fact was only a prelude to this end.

Mr. Mohammad Ali has also said in his statement that Pakistan is a peace-loving country and a member of the U.N.O. and that it wants to work for its development and prosperity keeping strictly within the framework of the U.N.O. We are also asked to accept the assurance that if and when in Pakistan will not be permitted to be used against India. Mr. St. Laurent, the Canadian Prime Minister said recently, when he was here on a short visit, that the American desire and to Pakistan was not at all intended to foster bitterness between India and Pakistan and expressed the hope that the differences between the two countries would be amicably settled and both would be able to live as good neighbours like America and Canada.

Thus, the problem which had been exercising the Indian mind for the past few weeks is now getting more clearly defined. The Pak-American military link-up has been forged through the

English nation. I am surprised which immediately extends the political frontiers to American intervention and accompanying consequences on the political equilibrium in this region of the world. Of course, we must teach the education of our people, but we had be ready to try it. The United Nations must, thank, teach to the children of the West, occupy almost the same position as the nations of world-famous in the 19th century, when in Europe history. Following relations with America and its consequent effects on the world could war further aggression by nations. We have then to consider how nations living in all under the circumstances.

India stands for peace. All these peace not only for herself but throughout the world, and especially in the subcontinent. And she knows that her policies, both national and international must be so designed as to facilitate this aim. The big powers over the world. But seriously enough they want to reduce through military means that it is hindering and preventing their great right. They spend most of an enormous portion of their wealth and resources. They oppress a world. In the same countries like Pakistan who do not have as much wealth ask for it from America. She has it. And America is only too ready to oblige them. But she thinks it would be a mistake that she is her point of view and policy.

We Indians, however, reject this policy. We are convinced that if world order depends on prestige and living power and happiness. The world is not determined to be a perfect order. We are determined to have peace, but we have to defend our independence.

In that case we must avoid the external dependence for all reliance. We must be a self-sufficient. We must seek to abolish imperialism, but we must know and make other the world have to support the strength of our people for a long time past. It means that even at the expense of spending our wealth and money, we must be in making the strength of our nation and the power of our arms we will have to do it. There is no doubt the ability of our people. If we too like other countries to preserve peace through military means it is certain that we will not merely not get peace but may even have had ourselves involved in war and a great nation, worse to others. We must keep clear of these dangers.

Pakistan is an independent country. It has chosen the way which it thought good for itself. As a friendly neighbour we would only wish that the external position, which has been continuously deteriorating will improve. But it will be possible for it to become its Constitution, to rid itself of the imperialistic wranglings and to build its own, in the building up of a state of peace, of even an Islamic Republic, as it

chooses to call it, in its real sense. Living, we thought to our own policies to maintain our house in order, which should have to great importance to us. Let us to remind ourselves, that the message which other countries may have about our attitude and intentions will be received. That can be done only if we devote all the resources of our State to the service of the poor. Our education, economy, our industries and all other things, should be entirely reorganised and if necessary rebuilt so as to serve the interests of the poor. The service of the poor should be the guiding law for everything that we do. If that is done neither Russian Communism would get a footing here—for then, there will be no cause for it—nor would the countries like America and others which oppose freedom as against the Russian totalitarianism will have any ground for the suspicion that behind the cloak of our neutrality we might be siding with the Russian bloc. If the world needs to learn today one thing more than any other it is the age old teaching which was proclaimed to India centuries ago by Lord Krishna and repeated not only in words but through a supremely devoted life by the Father of the Nation—the teaching that

"Not all my time are enemies appeared here through enmity, but they are opposed through non-enmity. This is the eternal law." (Bhagavadgita 1-28)

Arms can only lead to more arms, not to peace. Only peace and love can bring both peace and love. Russia and America by choosing to disregard this truth which lies at the root of mankind are creating huge difficulties in the way of world progress. If those difficulties and the divided they involve are to be worked out, then the countries of the world must take to the way taught by Lord Krishna. It is not the "Third Way" as it is now being called, but it really the Only Way which can bring us what is our goal. All other are merely stepping-stones leading to wreck and utter ruin—ruin waiting round the corner.

12-3-54

(From the original in Hindi)

## DRINK, DRUGS & GAMBLING

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## SMALL-SCALE CULTIVATION: THE SEVAGRAM EXPERIMENT—II

(By Seelaji)

I draw the following conclusions from the experience we have had in the course of our work and the figures of production given in the *Hansan* issue of 12.3.34

1. Improvement in agriculture is possible only through small-scale cultivation. It will at least avoid any further deterioration in the productivity of the land by enabling the cultivator to give his full attention to his work.

2. A two and half acre farm can provide enough food for per household that is five persons, besides meeting all other needs and yet leave enough balance to give each man in terms of money, at least Rs 20/- as his saving at the end of the year. For each man it is enough for this purpose to work four hours every day and for three hundred days during the year.

3. There are a number of agricultural operations which have to be done at the same time. We spent for our two and half acre farm 420 hours in sowing, 525 hours in weeding and 1175 hours in the series of operations from the reaping of the corn to the carrying of the grain to the storehouse. If these important operations are not performed at the right time, there is much loss and wastage. Naturally they also a lot of trouble to the State as indeed they did to us. We agree to do these operations to take help from suitable labourers. It might considerably ease the situation if the Government were to keep the schools, colleges and offices closed for some days on such occasions so that men and boys from the cities freed from their occupations may go to the villages and voluntarily help the cultivators in their work. As a gesture of goodwill on the part of the cities towards the villages that will have high value and may well be expected to bring the two sections of our people closer together.

4. We had not only to work very hard in respect of these three items but also exercise the strict vigilance. The result was in keeping with the labour done—out of twenty-eight mounds of Jowar that we produced we had only five damaged or otherwise spoilt ears of corn.

5. We were required to irrigate the cotton crop with our hands and were there because there was no rain at the time when the crop needed it. Besides we found the beds fertile enough with our hands with results many times more satisfactory than if we had done the same thing with the help of the bullocks. From five mounds, that is, one-eighth acre we got 215 lbs. of cotton. This is more than twice more than the average yield of cotton in India.

6. I am convinced that, always in connection with it, only by the right methods of cultivation can both in Government and non Government small holdings are greatly improved) be the success of the right type of social development. They are trying to develop small enterprises which will solve this difficult problem after a great deal of trial and experiment. I have reached the conclusion that the best working experiment is the hand. I have been able to construct few appliances with the help of which an individual can draw straight lines spaced at 1, 2 or 3 feet. It takes two hours to draw such lines in a field, one acre in size. We are thus now doing these lines with his hand. I had thought that hand-sowing would not save in the case of wheat. I therefore managed to make for this purpose a plough-like sower which saved me very work. Besides I have developed and perfected many other implements to be used with the help of the bullocks, such as different kinds of hoes and ploughs.

7. There are three main reasons for the present low productivity. Lack of good implements, want of training and want of labour. I have solved the problem of the lack of implements in some extent. We have also acquired some training since we started working without the help of labourers. As for labour, its importance cannot be too highly emphasized.

(From *Hansan*)

(Continued)

By Mahatma Gandhi

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Subscription Rates.—Annual One year Rs 5, Six months Rs 3, Three months Rs 2 per year or Rs 4.

\* Printed and Published by Shree Mahatma Press, Ahmedabad 9

## HARIJAN

(PUBLISHED BY MANMATHA CHANDRA)  
BOMBAY: BHAGYANATH P. DESAI

Vol. LVIII No. 1 AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY APRIL 3, 1934

TWO ANNAS

## ANDHRA'S OPPORTUNITY

(By Jagabandhu P. Dasgupta)

Today's morning papers announce the good news that Swami Sivananda of Andhra ended his fast at 12 noon, March 24. He began the fast on March 4, and it is a matter of very great joy indeed that before the April Sivaratri night coincides to the critical good news had by victory and leaders of Andhra could by giving due satisfaction reward upon him to end the fast. All who stand by the Constitution of India and wish that Prohibition should prevail in the land, may well congratulate themselves that God in His mercy has blessed us with sparing the Swami to serve Andhra further more.

The cause of Prohibition is a national responsibility. It is fast on its way to be a world movement for the greatest humanitarian reform of our times. If mankind wants to live in peace, happiness and unity and banish war, it will have to bid out and remove some very hard-hearted causes—social and individual—which lead to or provoke aggressiveness, belittlement, greed and self-interest, unchastity, lust, passions etc. Human flesh is here to share when I may admit. But we also know that, in spite of that, it is the abode of God, and if at all civilisation, culture, education, religion etc. have any meaning, it is to achieve control over the lower and to witness the higher truth of our being.

Alcohol is emphatically held to be one of the potent poisonous causes for the flesh to go wrong. Opium is fast growing in another direction. Killing birds and beasts for food, medicine, etc. is another thing requiring us to probe deep and find out whether vegetarianism may be more than mere dietetic reform—whether it has the far-reaching a social, spiritual and human meaning and implications also. In these days of food and food scarcity, we are told it has consumer implications as well. In India we have been taught by our great religions to abstain alcohol and to avoid meat-eating. These have been generally held to be only personal virtues of piety. They are no doubt that, but they are more because of it, as they assume to have a social and cultural significance as well. This is increasingly dawning upon us due to the words of the modern age and the dangers of the mass mind that is sur-

ging itself more and more thanks to the technological and commercial revolution that is making swiftest its stride. Mankind must in its search for civil peace come to realize that these aspects of human life are not only personal but also social and economic. Swami Sivananda's ordeal was therefore not a mere fasting abstemious or asceticism, but it must remind us that when the Indian people, during the last half a century of their history, continuously strived to achieve Prohibition, they were beginning the modern world's greatest humanitarian reform movement. To lead a State must first achieve it herself. I congratulate Swami Sivananda for helping the cause by his very life, which God-God inspired in us. May the fast of the Swami provide Andhra to fully round Prohibition and to see that such an unalloyed good should not be constantly given up for petty and doubtful aim of tainted money.

25-3-34

## SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIRECTIVE PRINCIPLES

(By P. Kandasami Rao)

There seems to be some difference of opinion regarding the status of the Directive Principles of the Indian Constitution, particularly in relation to the Courts. One of the interesting questions is whether the result of a set-up taken in furtherance of a Directive Principle is constitutional and justiciable.

Article 37 of the Constitution read that the Directive Principles "shall not be enforceable by any Court", but added that they were "nevertheless fundamental in the governance of the country and it shall be the duty of the State to apply these Principles in making laws." It is obvious that if a State failed to implement the Directive Principles, the Courts cannot declare it unconstitutional. But if a State goes back on its implementation, some authorities have taken the view that the Courts could reverse it and declare it unconstitutional.

Dr. N. C. Sen Gupta said:

Further, the Courts may, while they will not enforce any of these provisions, still take account of them as fundamental principles in determining constitutionality for though this will be of the validity of any law, and also to interfere in the provisions of any statute the violation of these principles" (N. C. Sen Gupta: The Constitution of India, p. 20).

## The Advocate-General of Mysore said:

"Although the provisions of Part IV are not as binding, in terms of law, it is an intention to persuade to accept that Directive Principles of State Policy enumerated in that Part are intended to effect political action or to put an obligatory character on behaviour in the State. It stands by the clasp of the State" contained in Art. 31 of the Constitution.

It is true that a legislative act by a State to discharge the principles stated in Part IV of the Constitution may not be constitutionally unconstitutional, merely for that reason. But it seems to me that, apart from any question of a technical infraction of the constitutional provisions which may not be a consequence of the proposed amendment, it would not be proper for the State to make a legislation, which far from giving effect to the principles enumerated in Part IV contains provisions directly repugnant to it."

The Law Secretary to the Mysore Government said that it would be quite within the scope of the Courts to take cognisance of the Directive Principles in reviewing any legislative or executive action of the State, and that a step repugnant to them would be "constitutionally bad". For example:

"Though it is not a law in which no provision is made for the non-employment primary education, one approach a Court for review I think that, if there is a State in which there is legal provision made for the primary education, the one challenge attempt made is that the existing law in the State is in dissonance."

Mr M. C. Sathyal, the Attorney-General of India, in his paper on "The Indian Federation" read at the International Legal Conference, held in Delhi on the 28th Dec. 1952, said that the Court did not would take the Directive Principles into consideration in their judicial review of executive and legislative action. He said:

"They found a social system of their policy through of an legal effect. Even several powerful fundamental rights in the law field in the context of the Directive Principles that legislation making legal restriction of the exercise of the rights of the State, the larger part of the fundamental rights is a discipline of law for public purposes. Restrictions imposed by law on the freedom of the citizen are not be reasonable if they are imposed in furtherance of the Directive Principles. Thus, these Principles have helped the Courts in controlling their own judicial action. They will, therefore, not only be a guiding landmark in all State and a legislative or executive, but also be a guide to the Courts in the future."

According to him, the Courts took note of the Directive Principles in controlling the Fundamental Rights and even made the latter subsidiary to the former.

It should be noted, however, that the Supreme Court in *Mahar v. Chakrabarti* (2nd April 1952) took the view that the Directive Principles could not override the Fundamental Rights and had to be subsidiary to them. It would seem, in any event, the Courts could and would veto any action amounting a step taken to implement a Directive Principle, particularly when it did not reflect with any of the Fundamental Rights. Prohibition has been held by the High Courts of Bombay and Nagpur and by the Supreme Court also to be an infringement of any of the Fundamental Rights.

## A PLEA FOR PEACE AND SANITY

(By J. C. Kaverappa)

[The following is an abridgement of that J. C. Kaverappa's two articles, "Endemic of Hate" and "Our Prisoner" that appeared in the *South Indian Herald* 2 weeks, of March 1954.]

In the world today the Capitalist machinery and the Socialist organisation stand in juxtaposition in battle array led by the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. respectively. Between these two there is little difference in their methods or the quantum of violence resorted to. Yet they are both warring adjacent nations and countries to serve their own ends.

In this context where do we stand with our neighbours? Our erstwhile joint family is divided and some members are being inclined to seek modern military bases and equipment. What is our duty?

We must realign the world powers into a pattern that will eliminate the violent forces and bring them into constructive co-operation. When we look at the warring elements we find a great deal of the belligerency is created largely by vicious propaganda and unthinking following and such feelings can be countered by a cool and calm approach.

China and India have never had any quarrels through the ages. Britain and Germany are halfway to becoming Welfare States and their differences with the wholehearted Socialist States cannot be irreconcilable. Hence if spheres of influence within these groups can be actively promoted by our statesmen in a spirit of give and take and we form a pattern of world powers and are the economic sanctions against any belligerent State in a country adopting non-violent non co-operation, we should be able very quickly to bring back the warring elements into sanity. Further attempts at armaments will only destroy humanity. Already the bulk of human energy is being led into arid fields of fruitless efforts.

The U.S.A. is stalking the world as a giver of all good gifts. It is boasting of the service it is rendering, not only to Germany and Japan, but to humanity as a whole, in being able to restrain their two militarist nations.

We trust such nations realise the tremendous loss they cause by wasting their resources on such destructive expenditures. If the funds diverted towards expanding the Japanese "military forces" were used for constructive purposes, over 3,00,000 homeless families could be provided with houses, apart from various kinds of relief for millions of people. It is calculated that if the last three years military expenses had been used on land 3,00,000 hectares (about 750,000 acres) of damaged farm lands could have been rehabilitated and houses, dykes, bridges etc. could have been restored. When shall we return to reason?

## VINODBI IN GATA—II

"Speaking at a prayer meeting at Rajpuri, Shri Vinoba asked the people, 'Do you not see that land has already slipped away from the peasant owners and gone over to landlord-nanayans?' You have voted everyone with the right of vote. Pandit Nehru and his orderlies both have it equally. Do you not see then that the poor are bound to come into the possession of land? The change is inevitable, but we want it to take place in an atmosphere of love. The landholders and the landless must love each other and help each other. That is exactly the purpose we are striving to achieve through the movement. Collection of gift-deeds is merely an excuse for this real work. It provides us an opportunity to approach the people and exhort them to undergo sacrifice and even suffering for the good of the community. We are not interested so much in securing gift-deeds though it is certainly a part of our work. In its outer aspect and is important in its own way for enabling the people to do their duty. Far more important than the gift-deeds is the gain of workers—of men who will be free from ignorance and selfish devoid of selfish desire. And when we find such a one we feel as though we had found the man of our heart."

Giving friendly advice to the landholders at the prayer meeting at Gaha, Shri Vinoba said, "Land must really belong to the poor who work on it. The owner should be allowed to own a back when not used. Land, in the same way, must belong to those who will cultivate it. If you want to retain your possession of it, you too must learn to work."

Vinodaji however realised that the immediate implementation of this change would cause great difficulty to them, so he added, "We do not want you to take to work immediately, but you must begin to learn and also get your boys to learn it. You may take five to ten years for it. The labourers will continue to help you all those. But you cannot hope for this facility to go on for ever. That attitude would neither be fair nor linked in your interest. In fact it may well hinder your fall."

He stressed this same thing in his speech at Dabur that the redistribution of land is inevitable but if the landholders themselves took up this work they would not only save their prestige but also lessen the change with grace and glory. He said, "If there is love between these two classes, if the distinction between the masters and the servants is obliterated and both co-operate for the common good, our villages will once become abodes of happiness and prosperity. Otherwise there will be conflict, intestine strife and even bloodshed. Nothing will then stand us to stop it. It cannot be that those who have no land and nothing else to live upon and

who are therefore bound to hunger will continue to suffer silently. The hungry will no longer put up with such poisoning, it should I love to hear that the poor people are waking up and we on the other hand should say to the landholder you too make it and my son, 'we on our part will not come out up with tainted happiness. We will improve these lands'."

"Man can be made into a beast and, if he likes, even better than a beast. He can brutalise himself as, if he so wills, even dehumanise himself. The beast is fixed in its nature. It can neither be worse nor better than what it is. It is only given to man to improve himself. It therefore behoves him to be vigorous but he should dehumanise and to do his utmost for realising his divine possibilities." In these words, Shri Vinoba emphasised the need to advance the great superiority of man over the animals and his own responsibility to go to this superiority to the best advantage."

Many in India today carried away by the dash of scientific achievements of the West are inclined to look to the West for the light that we need in order to rebuild and recreate our material and social society. Shri Vinoba however is too clear-sighted to be taken in by this dash. He therefore wants us to profit both by the Western science and the old Indian wisdom in the task of rebuilding the society. He said, "We have to learn a lot from the West in the field of science, but as far as the science of social organisation is concerned, we must rely more on our own old experience. There is not much to learn from the West in this respect. For want in our country made social experiments in this field. The teaching of the Shastras rests on these experiments and would prove immensely fruitful in the task of rebuilding our society."

Speaking at Rajpuri he gave an illustration of the fact. He said, "The ashrama scheme of how a man should plan and spend his life is the last both from the individual and the social point of view. An individual was enjoined to acquire knowledge during the Brahmacharya stage. Then as Grihस्था he is a householder, he was to serve the family. And thereafter in the Vanaprastha stage he was to cut himself away from the narrow family circle and to devote himself to the service of the society at large." A large number of village workers were thus always at the disposal of the society for its service. It was said, he added that, today, they could not get even twenty-five such workers from a whole district. It was proof of the fallen state of our society.

(From Hindi)

L. B.

## WHY PROHIBITION

By Shri Vinoba Bhave

Pages 214 1/2 Price Rs. 12. Postage Rs. 2/-  
 NAVARATNA PUBLISHERS, RAIPUR  
 Post Box 125, ANHULWAD-9

## HARIJAN

April 12

1954

### THE NEW CENTURY IN TEXTILE INDUSTRY

(By Keshubhai P. Darda)

The textile industry is celebrating its centenary these days. The event marks the birth of one full century of our recent history. It followed an equally/centennial century before that, during which the East India Company successfully crushed down our world famous hand-loom or Khadi industry and built up on its ruin its own English loom industry. The Indian mill industry that grew up in its wake flourished as much only as it was allowed to do by the condescending English industry. If India's people, out of patriotism, had not given it the patronage and patronage, the history of that industry's century would have been sadly different.

The new century that was to now is run led out by the advent of freedom. But there is much more that is coming in its wake, though it is not apparent at present. The new century is destined to be a new age in our economic and industrial history. Naturally, therefore, questions of far-reaching importance for our nation are in the air.

Shri G. D. Birla touched this point in his address, the other day in Delhi at the meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce. He said,

"We are concerned — may be unconsciously — of the new developments that have taken place before independence. There were only two interests, the British interest and the Indian interest. We always talked of Indian interest and talked round the stages. As independence came this has been changed because the question arose as to what were the Indian interests — (quoted from a press report).

The textile industry cannot truly answer this question, because it is solely interested to exist anyhow as private enterprise. Its sole interest is profit and more private capital formation. It has given little or Indian cotton of what in Europe brought about capitalism. The industry talks very much of providing mass employment, but that is not its main work nor mission. And we should also note that it is beyond its competence. Even though a century has passed by, it could employ only a few lakhs of people. And now it intends to recreate its old machinery, thus displacing more men from employment. Its only worry is to have capital for it and therefore it cries because against increasing taxation.

The industry has another fear also, viz., nationalisation. And it seeks guarantee from Government that it will not come on them.

Looking from the industry's point of view, these fears are understandable. But the new century that sets in now is one of (Swara) — the Welfare or the Sarvodaya State. Industrialists like the Birla and others do not seem to have read the signs of these times properly well. (Shri Jivabhaiji) gave a few glimpses of these things while addressing the Federation. For example he said, "One has to remember that there are a number of social forces at work today and they should not be ignored. They look in the right direction. They may go wrong occasionally and they may misbehave occasionally, but they are obvious developments of the age." He accepted the principle of higher techniques, subject always to the human problem, as the human factor could never be ignored. He therefore had stress on cottage industries and village industries and he wanted to improve their technique regarding marketing etc., while wanting to see them to keep a large number of people in employment.

Shri G. D. Birla also referred to cottage and village industries but in a different way and from a different angle. He said, "We are all in favour of small-scale and cottage industry, but the whole question is — Are we going to replace large-scale industry by small-scale industry? Or is it going to be supplemented?"

And his other observation was, that industrialists could give employment to everybody in his cottage, in very bold statement, indeed! provided individual industries played their part all right in the industrialist's own scheme of things economic. And he emphasised saying, "When we talk of small-scale industry we cannot think of anything else except Charkha, Ghani, etc., which we have been talking about in the last 30 years."

Shri Birla's observations are justified, because they are born of the shape of things as come in the course of the in-coming century. We are above that industrialists are ahead of nationalisation. They should actually be ahead of socialisation of industries also, which is what is implied by Gandhi's principle of Sarvodaya. It says that the primary needs of our masses, viz. food, cloth, shelter etc. should be met by the decentralised efforts of our small-scale village industries spread over the whole country. Industries for these should not be allowed to continue in a capitalist way, keeping its evils in their wake to our people. It is therefore that simple small-scale industries like the Charkha, Ghani etc. are spoken of for the last 30 years. They are born of such a larger vision of a socialist economy which will avoid capitalism and usher in a new order of Sarvodaya. It is therefore not surprising that clever industrialists should now, though lightly to begin with, take new danger to their industry.

The industrialists feel safe at present that Government owns by private enterprise and



like them is not so keen about small-scale industries. However, obviously Government should have a larger view of the question and it cannot overlook unemployment in the country. It has therefore begun to take steps to rehabilitate our handloom industry and to help Khadi and other village industries. These steps bespeak increasing tide of nationalisation. Through decentralised small-scale industrialisation. Industrialists should accept that this is now the basis of the national movement. The Socialist way of nationalisation of industries has proved itself to be defective, as it is fraught with all evils of capitalism, it being only another name for State Capitalism. It is therefore that Gandhiji suggested a decentralised or organised way of rural industry, so far as the primary needs of our villages were concerned. Heavy industries like Railways, Irons, Steels, etc. which remain might be taken over by Government and its private enterprise. The new century that began requires us to change our industrial order in this manner. Though slowly, we are moving towards it. There are not sufficient people today who devote themselves to think, plan and make an outline for quickening the pace. Therefore, apparently, there is slow progress. However, we should not lose sight of the objective: whatever we shall be, the values of the new age and the nation would push like a relentless ship.

24-1-64

(From the original in Bengali)

## ACHIEVE EQUALITY AND LOVE\*

(My Friends)

The heart of India lies in the villages while the intelligence is in the cities though even here the real intelligence is to be found only in the villages. A city-dweller, when he falls ill, feels himself entirely helpless and runs straight to the doctor. The city has shackled the intelligence into bits. The lot of it concerning health and medicine is known only to a few, that is, the doctors. This division and specialisation has prevented us far ahead that there are special doctors such for teeth, eyes, ears and so on. In the villages, there are no doctors or physicians, but the people manage to do without them. This is not to deny that there is room for improvement in what they know and how they do things. But they cannot be accused of lack of intelligence and knowledge. For example, they know the art of information. Besides, they are recreational and non-egoistic. Above all they are tender and kind-hearted as birds human beings. In villages the Neelgar people bring close to one another in the same houses— their houses known as a *harid chab*, built on many as fifty rooms, each occupied by a family—do not even know their next-door neighbours! Each one is extremely busy in his own affairs and has little time to look beyond. When they do not even know one another, how can there be any

love between them? But in the villages people share in one another's joys and sorrows. The birth of a child or a person falling ill in the village is not occasions when the entire neighbourhood would collect at the place of the person concerned to celebrate his delight or to mind him his suffering. As a saying puts it, "God made the country, and man made the town." It means that while people live together in the villages out of love for one another, they crowd together in the cities out of greed. Hundreds of flies flock together on a heap of raw-dung, all intent on enjoying the filth. It is the same with the people in the cities. That is why I say that the heart of India is in the villages and that is why we are moving about on foot and through the villages. That gives us an insight into the soul of India.

People are giving food to me,—why? What do I tell them? I do not tell them either of the transformation in Moscow or the rejuvenation of New China. Nor do I speak to them of economic doctrines. I simply say to them: God has made light and water and air. In the same way, He has made the earth. We cannot be the owners of land. The idea of ownership is wrong. God is the only owner.

I cannot sit eating and enjoying sweets, while some one starves at hand in crying. Only a Satan could do it. He who shares the joy and pain of his fellow beings is a man. That is his distinctive mark which separates him from the beast.

People hoard money. They forget that money goes on to discard even between those who would have loved ardently to love and harmony with each other. I know several friends who are rich but who are unhappy, because there is no love among the members of the family. The servants say that the masterly people who hoard wealth are the proprietors of the thieves. It is they who are responsible for the thieves coming into existence. But while they are considered respectable members of the society the latter are held guilty of anti-social activity. The politicians, the lawyers, the judges, the police are all a useless burden on the society. They have to be maintained in order to maintain the thieves and with other anti-social elements from doing harm to the society. But if there is no hoarding of wealth and everyone gets provided with the means for earning his livelihood, these anti-social activities will automatically stop and there will be no need for the upkeep of this army of parasites.

What is needed is a change of values. Man must wake up to his higher nature. Let him realise that he is different from animals. Man requires in going without food so that where whom he loves may be fed. He takes delight in service and suffering for doing good to his dear ones, to his community, and to his country. That is his nature. The animals cannot do this

\* From a speech at Pithi (Patna) on 24-1-64.

Extend the invitation you look for your own house in the whole village. The village should be looked upon as one vast family. It is only when you embrace this all-embracing love that the village will be happy.

I have come to make you up to the God in you. In the words of Teilhard what I am doing is just to go to everyone, knock at the door and call out: "Friend Rama, wake up. It is morning: the birds are chirping about and singing a welcome to the rising sun."

We have placed two things before you. Achieve equality with those around you. If not in full, at least in such degree as you can. And secondly, extend your love to the whole village. Do that and you will be happy.

—Rama Swami

### EDUCATED WOMEN'S ROLE\*

(By Sushila Menon)

Whenever I address a gathering of students I begin to feel nervous, about my own student days. In spite of the hard work and examination weeks which are a part and parcel of student life, no one will deny that student days are the best period of one's life. This is the time when young people prepare themselves for the tasks ahead. And in free India the scope for national reconstruction is so vast, the challenge to put our newly won freedom on a sound footing so great that the most adventurous amongst you will find full scope for the spend of education and the desire to make substantial contribution to the task of nation building.

Our Shastras have defined true education as that which liberates the human mind — as Ram in *Upanishads*. A mind freed from the shackles created by man himself has unlimited scope to soar as high as he likes in the realm of spiritual. But to be of service in the present day world, he or she must also translate that freedom into action and to do that, tread on the firm ground of practical reality. Mahatma Gandhi has opened unlimited vistas before us by presenting to us the ideal of truth and love and by showing to us how these can be used to find a solution to every problem, human and social. It was ordinary men and women, who by joining in their thousands a Satyagraha campaign, enabled India to win independence and it is they who have led us to accomplish the task of national reconstruction. The essential requisite for it is a free mind that is as wide high, free from fear and free from hatred, full of love for the country and for humanity. Education sets free the springs of energy — in which there is no bound — by freeing the mind. That alone is the test of true education.

I hope, however, that you are getting your degrees today free from the shackles of this type of education. The *Upanishads* read on books can provide you with answers to all the questions that you are faced with as you go through life. But the *Upanishads* in person have the self-realisation which no books have taught you how to attain. Ask me three answers. What is your greatest need? If that have been your movement from the narrow groove, in that seeking which to free life with your *Upanishads*, *Upanishads* are unrolled, by the *Upanishads* *Upanishads*, in your path, they have given you true education, you have experienced the truth of the saying — in four or five days.

We have in India — Democracy and Democracy — and I am sure that in each individual part which room who like you have had the privilege of secondary education. It is not enough that each one of you should think and act entirely yourself, you must carry the people with you. Democracy is not a mere slogan, it is a fact. If there is a person like you and there is a man to be based on, and a change. Therefore wherever you go, each one of you must carry the torch of knowledge and the message of true freedom.

Most of you are deployed students. You have seen with your own eyes the degradation of men resulting from fear and hatred. Man has lost the golden rule of life, the golden rule. It is the education one gets that will bring the one as the other to the love. I hope the experience that you have gone through will have enabled you to realize once and for all the ugliness of hatred which is the twin brother of fear. Freedom from fear is the first vital of the four freedoms which constitute the goal of Democracy. The task of nation building can only be performed in the absence of freedom from fear. An essential principle of the United States of America once said that there was only one thing one should be, afraid of and that is fear itself.

On you, the educated young women of India, rests a still greater responsibility. You hold the key to progress. Finally, you must realize your duty towards those others of yours who have not had the opportunities that you have had. And that you must own the burden of keeping the men on the right path. It is the woman who imparts the education which is the deepest root. Again, every man has some woman in his, wife, sister, mother or daughter, and the woman must become conscious of her power and her duty to use that power for promoting the welfare of all mankind. True education would enable you to widen your horizon and broaden your circle of love as that it grows from the family to those who live around you and ultimately to all mankind. — Ram in *Upanishads*.

\* Being derived from the conversation address delivered before the students of Sri Ram College for Girls, Amritsar.





## HARIJAN

PUBLISHED BY SHANTANU CHANDRA  
NEW BISHNUPUR F. STATION

Vol. XXIII, No. 6

ATMEREAD - SATURDAY, APRIL 20, 1958

Two Annas

FUNDAMENTALS OF EDUCATIONAL  
REFORM

(By Maheshwar P. Bhand)

We have had at present budget sessions of the Legislatures in all the States and at the Centre. A noteworthy feature this year is that the discussion on the education demand is more interesting and longer than before. And this is not surprising. The Five Year Plan is shaping our economic things to come. If at all there is anything that should come next to it for our urgent attention, it is reconstructing our educational system. Naturally, therefore, it has attracted of its own strength, which shows the utmost soundness of our vision and approach for rebuilding India.

Just a few days back there was a debate on the education demand in our Parliament. Shri Bipinpal, Tardang and others took part in it. Ashwini Kripalani complained that education till now was restricted to the upper classes only and for their benefit. Therefore, if at all a major reform in it is immediately necessary, it is to begin to change it, so that it becomes the education of the common people. This is a true observation.

Shri P. D. Tardang and Shri Govindkar gave vent to their wrath about Hindi, only to expose their narrowness on this problem. Madans And, the Education Minister, in his frank and forthright reply said that it was such narrow outlook that brought about Pakistan and it was people who opposed Urdu on account of their queer views on language and culture that impeded promotion of Hindi in the country. These two protagonists of Hindi seem to derive keenly that the regional language of the U.P. becomes the all India medium. It would be good if only they have the due results of such an unwise policy.

There was a very keen debate on education in Bombay State also. Here the main point was the medium of instruction. A kind of overkill for Hindi is rampant at present, spilling its very cause itself. As we see, in the Hindi area it is the narrow provincial and communal view of language and culture that hampers the progress of Hindi. A similar overkill, though in a different matter, is to be found in non-Hindi area in the form of making Hindi the medium of

instruction to the exclusion of strategic use of the mother tongue. Frills of this view are children of its rights. They should remember that the English medium also began at the top and percolated down to the secondary and further down to the primary stage also in the form of 'English teaching schools'. Surely the process is bound to repeat itself now with Hindi if the Hindi medium here started a century ago. They should have thought over the possibilities, with the introduction of the new medium which will not be the language of the people will continue to rule them as before. It is a matter of deep regret that such a mistake is being committed in a programme 'Save the Mother'.

Such a thing is possible because we do not realize the truth of that Rigvedic observation noted above. This is not a new thing. We also to and fro pendulate in our course. We want to, in this education shape itself largely in class, the world of Government service and academia is a colony of a few classes. The most potent instrument to do it is to continue a foreign language or a language other than that of the people in the place of honour in education and administration and government service. It was so for English. If it is repeated with Hindi the same mistake will be a smaller one, will repeat itself and the poor of the land will be nowhere to follow in the new order.

Now, then can we save ourselves from this catastrophe? Madans And said that Government had approved Basic Education scheme by Gandhiji. All State Governments say the same thing that 'to insist on the Partition. And it was instead of it, said it also does the same wrong thing.' What is actually being done about it? Unfortunately, it need be said that the answer we may get is not satisfactory. I may not agree about it but note a point or two in this regard.

What is Basic Education? Governments have defined it for themselves in different ways. There may be right as far as they go, but there are defects. Fundamentally Basic Education defines what the education for our whole people should be like. It gives us the broad outlines of





## HARIJAN

April 16

1946

## ATOMIC DEATH DANCE

(By Magaribha P. Ghose)

When our Prime Minister, in a statement to the House of the People on April 2 announced the following two-point programme for the immediate abolition of two world as general and the U. N. O. General Assembly in particular, he was indeed joining the silent heart-felt desire of the whole of our people, in fact the whole of world's humanity. These are the four points he has put forth—

I have stated publicly as our view that these experiments which may have saved their old and useful purpose mainly support the nature of the horror and tragedy, even though last party should come. I regret that to be our considered position, that it is our hope that this view, and the great concern of nations, and which is unbridgeable will make adequate and timely response.

Pointing progress towards some solution. All a part of, in respect of the prohibition and prohibition of these weapons of mass destruction, which the General Assembly has referred, as its members, these the Government would consider, among the steps to be taken now and hereafter, the following—

1. These sort of what may be called, should be, in respect of the prohibition and prohibition of these weapons of mass destruction, which the General Assembly has referred, as its members, these the Government would consider, among the steps to be taken now and hereafter, the following—

2. Put publicly by these principally concerned in the prohibition of these weapons and the United Nations of the control of the destructive power and the interest of the control of these weapons and also adequate facilities. I do, of course, of the members, but probably, among the most, which, public opinion is, in our view, the most of other factor in helping about, the results of this.

3. Immediate, that constructive points were legal, the prohibition of the Government, Commission to consider the standard proposal, which I have just mentioned, putting definite on prohibition and prohibition, in which the Government, Commission is asked for the General Assembly to address itself.

4. And, steps by these and people of the world, who, though are already concerned with the prohibition of these weapons, are, very much concerned by the possible use of these, also at present, by these experiments and their effects. They would, I venture to hope, express their concern and ask their views and influence, in an effective manner, as possible to bring the progress of this destructive potential, which weapons, of this.

The Government, in this, will be the best efforts to prevent of these, experiments.

And when he said that "it is of great concern that Asia and her peoples appear to be always nearer their consciousness and expect, peace and their becoming emancipated, actual and potential," he was expressing, even in a very subdued tone, the deep and silent resentment

and indignation that we of Asia feel towards the mendacious opportunity and the warlike cruelty so conspicuously exhibited by the atom- and H-bomb powers of the Western world and the violence designed for the Asian life that is apparent in their stormy behaviour. Surely Asia is not the golden-age land of the warring states for their redoubtable experiments in modern human slaughter.

It was in Japan that the West first had its atom bomb war at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It is again that country which is the sufferer under the new bomb test. The new bomb is many times more devastating than the former. And the mad search for still worse bombs is still on in that part of the world. Not only the Asian world, but also the homeland of these weapons—the Western world as well—excluding the politicians and each others in two two-fold war bloom who are lost in unity, being overwhelmed by their lawless cruelty and unbridling avarice—the whole world of humanity is gasping at hearing the explosion of scientists and politicians about the results of the atomic explosion. And all are demanding with one voice that the new weapons that the world is the first time for invention is, or if death, supporting from Satan's workshop, be totally banned. This will save not only humanity, but her soul and her hard-earned wealth as well.

Japan is having at present an 'International Conference of Scientists on the Prohibition of Peace' at Hakima city, from April 8 to 10, says Shri M. Dasgupta, who kindly invited me to N. Replying him to say that I am very sorry that my work in India does not permit me to avail of his very kind invitation and offer of hospitality, I told him to convey my fraternal greetings, to all lovers of peace who will meet in Conference, in the following immortal words of Lord Buddha.

'Not at any time are enemies appeased through enmity, but they are appeased through non-enmity. This is the eternal law.'

This law is the aptest message to our warring world today. I hope the Conference will consider the terrible question posed by the H-bomb test: 'Should Japan challenge itself? Should it join America with American and in the

free world's fight with the opposite bloc? A bold and courageous step to such a selfish demand of the so-called 'free world' can be the only honourable answer to the tragedy of the atomic bomb experiments, which has even an unconscious harm to her people and their peaceful fishing industry. Peace-loving peoples of all the nations should even refuse to trade and co-operate with the atom bomb powers if they do not heed to this pitiable voice of staggered humanity, for stopping their atomic death dance, the veritable Proteus controlled by Hindu mythology.



## HYDROGEN BOMB

(By Pandit Jyotsnabhai Nalavi)

(I read a press report of the hydrogen bomb test at the Indian Institute of Poona. Subsequent news is given on 20.2.46.)

A hydrogen bomb was exploded at Bikani, a little island in the Pacific, and we have been given information about it in details. This explosion took by surprise even those who made it. Nothing is known about the number of persons who suffered. None knows how many have suffered because, apart from the immediate impact of destruction and suffering, a few more kind of after-effect. People were affected a fortnight later. It might make people blind after some time, it might affect the nature of the ocean and the animals of the coast.

It has just come to us that some people in Japan have suffered. Nobody in Japan knows if it is safe to eat fish at all although the Japanese eat a lot of fish. They have suddenly stopped eating fish in some places because fish has been affected by radioactive substance.

What do all these things mean? It is a visible indication that man is using powers today which are going out of his control completely. That has been said previously in a theoretical way. Human beings are unleashing something fierce which will be completely beyond their control after unleashing. I am reminded of the story of the genie coming out of the bottle.

We may talk about war and peace. We may talk about this bloc or that bloc. We may talk about our being neutral and our being outside the scope of war but that overbalancing fact is common to everybody. We must realize this, whether we belong to this bloc or that bloc. You must have seen reactions in certain countries to the hydrogen bomb explosion. Even in countries apart from Japan like England and Australia there have been strong reactions suggesting that there should be no more experimenting with hydrogen bombs and no more unleashing of the evils which we do not know where they will lead us to.

There is some kind of an outcry, not among the government but among the mass and thinking people in Japan, England and Australia, who say "Stop this experiment." Till now we were afraid of a great war which might inevitably involve the use of atom bombs and hydrogen bombs. Now even before a war comes, this experiment might cause havoc which might not be possible to control.

I must say that I entirely sympathize with the demand or request which is being made in England and several other countries that the type of experimenting should stop. I hope that the people who are in authority will pay attention to it. They have a terrible weapon at hand. Whether they are going to use it or not, it is not known but more experimenting with itself has become dangerous to the world.

## REGARDING THE MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

(By Mageshwar P. Desai)

A friend sent me the following seven questions on the problem of medium of instruction for higher education. They are as follows along with the replies thereto which I sent to him:

Q 1. What should be the medium of instruction in Universities?

A. The language of the region in which the University is situated is the natural medium of instruction and communication.

Q 2. What should be the place of Hindi in University education?

A. (a) Teaching of the National Language should be made compulsory upto four years of College studies. Its study should begin from the high standard of a child's education. Thus every College student will study Hindi compulsorily for eleven years.

(b) A question here arises about Universities of the Hindi-speaking regions. Because, what I said above in (a) applies to non-Hindi regions only. It is obvious that in the Hindi-speaking regions students will learn Hindi as their mother-tongue. In addition to it, they should learn another regional language of India other than theirs, from the 5th standard and continue its study upto the fourth year in the College. We know that in the whole of North India—from Punjab to Patna—Urdu also is one of the two regional languages along with Hindi. So the study of Urdu as a second regional language for Hindi-speaking students should begin from the 5th standard. Those whose mother-tongue is Urdu should similarly learn Hindi. This study should continue in the Colleges, or there might be offered an option to study a South Indian language like Tamil or such other regional language of India.

This suggestion is for the North and as much as for them to consider and act upon. For the non-Hindi regions as ours, I have indicated my views above.

Q 3. What should be the place of English in Universities?

A. Teaching of English may begin from Standard VIII and may continue in Colleges. But students who wish to learn any other modern language in its study might be permitted to do so. In short, English will occupy the place of the third language. Equipped with it, students will certainly be helped in having access to books in English.

Q 4. How will you solve the question of textbooks?

A. It will not be proper to postpone the changeover of the medium of instruction until the preparation of the new books. The right thing would be rather the other way. If we change the medium of instruction, textbooks will

... as well as. That will have an added effect. Text-books will be based on actual experience. It is not to say that we should not have a few books for general use. The new books for High & high grades are ready to go. As the strength of them we can use them in schools for preparing College level students. Writers and publishers for text books are coming forward. The language programme for each province is that general of the phenomena of modern thought is to be taught in regional and with the effect of playing.

What are your suggestions for students and students who do not know a regional language?

A. It should be natural for teachers and English going to other regions to know and use the language of that region. Thereby they will be in a position of love and regard for the region.

Q. What principle underlies the rule that students in the Bombay State, viz. it is obligatory on students to learn Gujarati and Marathi till its study is complete. Is it not understood that thereafter they will come in touch with their Gujarati and Marathi in High & high stage. It is clear in the case of the Government school students in the Bombay State.

A. It is for the purpose of inter-State communication. Communication Hindi is provided by the Government of India, similarly, if Government students of other regions feel that they will be better able to express themselves through Hindi rather than through Gujarati, that could be at liberty to use Hindi for themselves. I believe it is in this sense that the Gujarat University has used the expression "Gujarati and Hindi for its members if all Universities of our kind work on these lines, there will be no difficulty.

Q. Some have expressed their apprehension that if education is imparted through the regional language, students will find difficulty in utilising services. What is your opinion about it?

A. It is clear that English will not occupy the place it does today in Government services too. Its place will be taken by the regional language for the purpose of the region and by Hindi in inter-State and Central Government levels. Therefore Government servants will have to learn these two languages. And if we note that only a small percentage of Government servants will be in the Central services majority of Government servants will be required to be well equipped with a sound knowledge of a regional language. Again great many of the Central services will be working in regions, where they will be required to equally use the regional

language. Therefore, there will be no difficulty in making any official use, rather it will be the natural outcome of it.

Q. It is said that the Government has paid off now 1.5 crores for the purchase of typewriter equipment which is not at all. It will be required to purchase typewriter equipment if it is that we see Government and Government. It is based on that Government Government, English and on Government Government. It is a new approach is now Government Government. It is approaching for the Government Government Government.

A. It is a new approach to the Government Government Government. It is a danger to national unity. What are your views?

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3-4-48  
(From the English - Gujarati)

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# HARIJAN

12 Pages

 (PUBLISHED BY NEELAM KUNDEK)  
 100, NEW, MALABAR STREET, CHENNAI

3078

Vol. V, No. 1 AHMEDABAD SATURDAY, APRIL 17, 1954

TWO ANNAS

## HINDI, HINDUSTANI AND URDU

(By Mahadevi P. Bhatt)

In the course of the discussion on the education clause in Parliament, Shree Govindkar and P. D. Tandon expressed themselves as anti-Hindustani and Urdu. Both of them were pro-Urdu and alleged that while the Congress helped Urdu and Hindustani, it did not help Hindi. Urdu is a foreign language. Hence it would be improper to encourage it, as it would injure Indian culture — this was the main view was expressed.

Some objections were cited to show how Hindi and Hindustani were helped and it was pointed out that the Congress was not prejudiced against Urdu, it tried to intervene to say that the language was also well helped by Government.

It is pointed out that all this took place on Hindi Day. However in a way it is good to say as it revealed the true mind of the U.P. Hindi party. At all it is still worth us to show how the language policy of the Hindi Sahitya Samaksh is wrong and improper from the point of view of the Constitution, the Committee of the Union and Hindi Sahitya Samaksh leaders agreed and proved for that.

It is stated that Tandon described Urdu as a sort of Hindi — in its style, the accepted grammar, literature of Hindi and worked with Hindi. Urdu Hindi became a language. Today he describes Urdu as a sort of foreign. Consequently Urdu Hindi also becomes a dead thing — one of the regional languages of the U.P. However it is pointed out that this Hindi was the main and important Hindi.

Discussion about the language of the constitution is clearly defined in Art. 343 of the Constitution. Hindi to be the language which may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the language, culture of India and will contribute to the unity and development from the common Hindustani and other languages. It is said that Urdu, Hindi, Gujarati etc.

The language is also called Hindi by the Government. There should be no confusion

on that point. However the Hindi Sahitya Samaksh exactly does such a confusion. It is high time the Central Government clarifies the point and tells us that the Hindi of the Constitution is a different thing from the regional Hindi.

It is necessary in this connection to understand a certain difference between the official language of the Union and the common all-India language also. In a way all the languages of India are equally placed in their respect as a respectable. All these are spoken by the vast number of our environment and therefore all of them are equal right may be stated the national languages of our people. Only one of them is chosen as the Inter-State and all-India medium of expression and development is spoken by the largest number of our people. This language is no chosen, not because of its any intrinsic merit or of its literature, but because it is basically the language spoken by 15 to 20 crores of us. This is surely not the language which the leaders of the Hindi Sahitya Samaksh school of thought understand and propagate as Hindi. This literary Hindi might be the language of only a few crores. The language of the 15 to 20 crores is what Gandhi said as Hindustani. It is now upto us to develop and enrich this language, so that it may be the fit vehicle of the great literature of our people. This will also give a clear picture of the Union. Such a language does not mean to be what the nation called Hindustani merely because it is a great language. The Constitution provides that all languages have an equal status as understood in Sri Theilagi and others.

There is now another thing also which deserves to be noted. Urdu is being over the whole region from time to time. Late Shri Theilagi in his book of the language theory, propagated that Hindi was the language of the Hindus and Urdu of the Mohammedans, and thus split the regional language of the U.P. into two exclusive names. Urdu was thought of as the common language of Pakistan, as known in India was, mentioned these words for some time in saying that Urdu was not known in the Mohammedans, but was Urdu in India and Pakistan where as Urdu in Pakistan. Shree has Shree Sahasrabharan has Rajgopal, B. Boppal has











## HARIJAN

April 17

1934

## THREE EPOCH-MAKING RESOLUTIONS

(By Megadha P. Datta)

Also the agents of Sorrow there was found to be a sort of increasing fall in the enthusiasm to celebrate the great National Week from April 6 to 12. On the other hand, it was also observed that the Congress organisation was as if being overshadowed by the Government and policies of its Central and State Governments. The Presidentialship of the Congress and the Prime Ministership of the country seems required to be vested in one person and the question of relationship between the Congress Committee and the Government that often crop up in recent times are indications of the same situation. This observation is made not in any manner of criticism or fault-finding, but to note where really we are.

The Congress Working Committee that on 11 and 12 of Datta has held its eleventh session in the above situation and made a new beginning, comparatively, in its working during the first few years for which it deserves our sincere congratulations. The three resolutions—many others that it passed in its working—stand out in its past great history. They are epoch-making in this sense. The Congress has determined its applaned job of its discharging part by these epoch-making resolutions which give very much lead both to the people and the Government that it has the responsibility to guide and direct.

We all know how Gandhiji felt about British rule and the question of the medium of instruction. There he held it to be of fundamental importance in his aim of rebuilding India of his conception. Though all the aims of the constructive programme like Khadi, village industries, etc. were equally important, he said the above-mentioned two items were worthy of immediate and signal achievement. As he said if he was given dictatorial power even for a while, the first thing he would do would be to order these two of ours.

Wider objectives. Because these two items of our constructive programme differ in a way from others inasmuch as they specially require the help of Government power to achieve them with full effect, though such help is being given even in a general way for the whole programme. It is, as we know, mostly the Government that organises and controls public instruction and public health, etc.

Thus, we have had plenty of honour in our Constitution also. But we know that much remains to be done in their implementation. In this regard only I think this Congress

situation arose requiring immediate attention from the Congress. The Congress took it up with promptness and the decision it made will be considered as its greatest acts during the year-after-Swami.

Prohibition now becomes our immediate national programme. The Planning Committee has been requested to set up a special Committee for the job. It must be seen that the members of this Committee are persons who have living faith in that programme. It should place before us a three-year programme for fulfilling this duty for the national consideration from a mass of our institutions of the land should have any relevancy now. The Committee must also draw up a code of conduct and discipline for the Government wherever in this regard.

Similarly regarding the change-over in the medium of instruction. Primary and Secondary Education is under direct Government control. Higher Education is with the Universities. The Working Committee has given a decision to the country in broad outline, as it already could do. It has shown that the language of the child or the regional language shall be the medium for the entire education. Governments and Universities should now evolve their respective programmes of work according to this broad direction.

The Congress also has a great responsibility as this connection. If it does not wish to reduce small but more potent character of elementary or educational institutions, it should avoid such important constructive activities also by creating its central and State committees to look after, foster, and vigorously promote them both among the people and through the Government.

There is another similar activity worthy of attention from the Congress for some time to come and cannot go into that way.

There are two things asked to be question of the medium of instruction via the medium of administration and the public service examinations. The Working Committee has shown considerable strength in taking them up also. The Committee has done very well in giving the regional languages a place of honour with English and Hindi in these two exams. They will have to the Universities to adopt the regional languages as their medium.

There is a reference in the Working Committee resolution on the medium that Hindi shall be used also. This should not be misunderstood to mean that a Hindi is to be used as the medium language, which in terms of the resolution shall be the medium. Hindi is there for administrative purposes, for non-regional languages and teachers can use Hindi. The resolution also suggests that during the transition period there shall also be permitted for a reasonable time.

All the regional languages including Hindi will have then to play along with the English as a language in respect of the medium of all







of the Government's Government. I think that we are going to get things straight for the nation in our common way, which we will use for ourselves in the future also in their

There is to be a new way of living demands that we should live and work together in the future. The way that they play there is no more than ten to twenty thousand men on each side in the third battle of Panipat which was a huge affair judged by the numbers, meaning that three each side had come out with soldiers. In modern wars they come out with tanks, in planes. This is the age of science. In those only those will survive who are able to work and live together. The age demands that we should know its kind and know the kind of the kind will not belong to anybody, but to the whole community. The universal demands will be to be. This is the demand of the age. The change is inevitable. We are bound to keep it about in such a way that we should be able to live together. The only way we want from each of you is the same for the freedom. We want it not so much, but in a right

A friend remarked today that he found it hard to keep the promise that in changing has been to the last stage of a gift but mostly remained the same. What was his right. It was really to him to accept it but I would not say that it was not a gift. It was the doing or lead we are not asking for money as before, but for our right—the right of the Harijans. If you are not yet convinced of the justice of this demand, do not give. I will continue to explain it to you again and again until we are convinced. It is, as the Sanskrit word is, it means a thinking being. If an effort is made to explain a thing to him in right words, he is bound to understand it in the end. I will keep to this faith and persist in taking the message to every one as often as necessary.

One thing is certain. Poverty will end only when it is found and levelled up amongst all Indians. We should be equally to every one. Only then we can put an end to poverty only by a just redistribution of it and by all working so it is co-operation with one another. Redistribution may involve fragmentation up some. But that need not worry us. We are old people. We are. The union of hearts will lead us to union of hands, that is, people will then co-operate with one another. And so the production will increase.

The Vedas say, "Eat with a hundred hands and then distribute with a thousand." Let us then distribute all our riches with joyous abundance putting down the barriers which divide man and man.

(Address to Harijans)

## WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTIONS

The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress met at Delhi on April 4, 5 passed the following resolutions:

### Medium of Instruction

The Congress has repeatedly laid down the policy to be pursued in regard to the medium of instruction in schools and colleges. The Congress Working Committee passed resolutions on this subject on August 5 1940 and again on May 15, 1943. The Congress of India has recognised Hindi as the all-India national language, while it has also indicated other regional languages of national significance.

It should be the objective of the Government through the educational system and by other means to encourage and develop Hindi, both as a national language, and as the all-India national language for official and other purposes. At the same time, the other regional languages named in the Constitution, should also be given full encouragement. The object aimed at should be the development of an Indian literature through all these great languages of India, which should therefore have close contacts with each other.

While Hindi as the all-India national language, should be a compulsory subject at various stages in schools and colleges, it is necessary that people in the Hindi-speaking areas should learn at least one other Indian language.

It should be remembered that, while English must give place to Hindi in India, a knowledge of foreign languages will continue to be necessary in order to keep in touch with foreign literature and currents of thought and development. In such fields as science, there will also encourage the development of the literature and languages of India.

While some study of all the important foreign languages of Europe and Asia is desirable, it will be necessary to encourage, specially the study of English, both because of its importance as one of the principal world languages and its past contacts.

The medium of instruction at the primary stage must be the mother-tongue of the child in accordance with the wishes of the parent or the guardian of the child. Ordinarily, this will be the language of the area or the State. In tribal areas the medium during the early stages should be the mother-tongue of the people of the area.

In large cities and other areas, where there are many people speaking a language or languages other than the regional language, public primary schools should give instruction in the mother-tongue provided there are a reasonable number of parents demanding such instruction. In bilingual areas, more particularly the border areas between two States, special facilities

should be given in common education — each of the constituent States.

However, in our secondary schools should there be a common regional language? It will be necessary to find out where there is a sufficient degree of unity of people to make such a common regional language, namely Hindi, desirable. Languages of other regions

At the secondary stage, the medium of instruction should be the regional language. Each Hindi may also be used in the same way, while regional teaching will continue in the regional language. It should be open to pupils to follow courses in Hindi and other languages in English. This will facilitate their own regional intercourse.

In the teaching of science, not only should subjects be translated from English to Hindi, the regional language should be used, since it is a gradual way of bringing down the barrier, without any stage as regards to which parts of science both Hindi or the regional language and English are used as a mode may be suggested.

It is to be desired to have an adequate knowledge of a foreign language, which will be taken at the high school stage and continued in the university stage.

"The Working Committee agrees, generally, of the 10th-15th programme which the Education Minister of the Central Government is dealing up to 15th stages of five years each, so as to complete the replacement of English by Hindi at the end of that period."

### II

#### Medium of All-India Service Examinations

In view of the fact that the Constitution of India has recognized Hindi as the all-India national language and has fixed a period of 15 years for the transition to Hindi for official all-India purposes it is desirable that progressive steps should be taken to make Hindi the language of examinations for the all-India Services.

These steps should be so phased as not to cause any undue burden on the candidates from any part of the country where the regional language is other than Hindi. While Hindi as well as the regional languages must be given every encouragement to develop it must be recognized that a knowledge of English is a must and more so for English and science, to be essential for progress in the higher services.

"The Working Committee recommended that progressively examinations for the all-India Services should be held in Hindi-English and the principal regional languages and candidates may be given the option to use any of these languages for the purpose of examinations in the event of a candidate choosing Hindi as a regional language for the purpose of his

examinations in Hindi, his regional language and English."

The Committee is aware of the importance of the all-India examinations and the fact that the medium of instruction in the constituent States is not the same. It is, however, of the opinion that the medium of instruction should be the regional language in other than Hindi, unless regional papers in some other better known language are available, whose language is Hindi in both cases. English will be a compulsory subject for those who appear in the examination in Hindi or in other regional languages.

In this way Hindi should progressively replace English as the language of instruction for the all-India Services."

### III

#### National Programme for Prohibition

The Government has laid down the National Programme for the Prohibition of Intoxicants in 1946. The main object of the programme is to bring about a complete prohibition of the consumption of intoxicants for medicinal purposes, of intoxicants for religious and social purposes, and to bring about a complete prohibition of the consumption of intoxicants for medicinal purposes.

The National Working Committee being a national body, the programme of Prohibition of Intoxicants should be a national programme. It is, therefore, recommended that steps be taken for the complete prohibition of the consumption of intoxicants for medicinal purposes.

The Working Committee takes note of the fact that those constituent States have not yet adopted a policy of prohibition of intoxicants, and several other States adequate progress has not been made and various difficulties have been encountered.

It is recommended that the Government should take steps to bring about a complete prohibition of the consumption of intoxicants for medicinal purposes, of intoxicants for religious and social purposes, and to bring about a complete prohibition of the consumption of intoxicants for medicinal purposes.

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## HARIJAN

A JOURNAL OF HINDUSTANI LITERATURE  
EDITED BY BHASKAR P. DESAI

Vol. XXII No. 4

AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY APRIL 24 1964

TWO ANNAS

BASIC EDUCATION AND THE  
CONSTITUTION

(By) Bhaskar P. Desai

The Constitution of India has laid down the following Directive regarding education:

To, "secure to all citizens the opportunity of education to the free and compulsory education for all. There shall also be raising the age of compulsory education to 14."

We all know that it was late Mahatma G. K. Gandhi's ideal and vision of his perception that influenced him to whom we owe the national motto "Atmanirbhar" through our primary education. The motto is not only from and inspired from the great Lokamanya. It is the birthright of every citizen of India. It is the birthright.

Gandhi held both these great national objectives to be true. He boldly claimed for himself that he was only working for the attainment of the great ideal that these great leaders of the people had placed before us. He pointed out Self-reliance and Constructive Programme to realise the birthright of Freedom for free and compulsory primary education he put before us the idea of Basic Education and in respect thereof he went so far as to say that it was the greatest gift from him to the nation.

I am sure Gandhi had in view mainly the quantitative expansion of primary education and he cannot be at the knowledge of those who are reaching willing and enthusiastic. Even today many in our country seem to hold this notion of education.

If the work of primary education is to be continued with this conception as its centre it will be right to lead us to the house of misery every year as the national earthquake and that too with no satisfactory results. Because none is satisfied with what goes on today in the name of primary education. All speak with one voice that it is ill-conceived, wrong-based, and shorn from real life and not in the interest of the nation. So it needs a thorough rethinking and it should not be postponed any longer.

Should India from the point of quantitative expansion of education alone but considering the

quality of quality of education. Gandhi in 1937 said: "The country is a democracy. We are a social transformation in the system of education. It starts not only with the primary, which has alone but covers secondary education also and being at the base it is capable of giving shape and form to higher education as well. The central idea in it was to give a system of education that suited for our people living in the villages and not that, Government to construct an edifice of new relationship of State in free India."

This idea is not laid down in the Directive of the Constitution given above. It is a defect of the Article. Through the Central Government has adopted the principle of Basic Education and has declared that Secondary Education will be full or based on or, these basis it will gain an added weight if this thing is incorporated in the Constitution. It will then become the constitutional responsibility of the Government. It is a logical consequence that a draft as it should be introduced in the Constitution. That will be the proper tribute to the Father of the Nation. That will mean a right measure indicative of proper evaluation of the new thing that India has contributed in the sphere of education. We know that the Working Committee of the Congress has appointed a sub-committee to study and suggest amendments in the Constitution. It would be right and proper for the Committee to recommend its inclusion in the preamble to the Art. 1 of the Constitution that the education shall be in accordance with the principle of Basic Education provided in Art. 51. The Father of the Nation.

If the Committee had the time and courage to do so, it would be the possible change in the constitution in order that may follow in the wake of a change in the Government or deliberate direction of the basic idea that is apprehended. For then it will become unconstitutional to go back to the directive of the Constitution. In this regard it would be in the Hindustani Taluk Sangh makes a suggestion to the Congress.

11/4/64

(From the original in English)

## MESSAGE TO EMPLOYMENT

(By Ambassador Saito)

"After talking to a friend from the American Economic Conference in Tokyo, I have been thinking about Japan."

On my return from various Indian business conferences, I went to Calcutta and after lunching with a friend, I went to the office in Calcutta from London by air. On the following afternoon, the subject has been to visit Calcutta to advise the business firms on marketing, that is, to improve market efficiency. I have arrived.

While we are all, I heard a group of the most nature of such mechanization, the mechanization of the concept, have very little room for doubting that what is aimed at is the introduction of "labor-saving" devices among probably other measures. Because "efficiency" today is defined by "maximum production with minimum cost" and almost invariably this cost-reduction is effected by drastically curtailing the wages or driving out the wage-earners. The volume of production is then measured with the maximum of cost and the producer is then priced competitively.

Keeping this general position of the large factories in mind, one cannot help view with anxiety the above-stated drive to "improve service efficiency". In fact this sort of mechanization of — in a more successful term, rationalization — has already assumed proportions menacing to national employment. Considered with their policy of employment and their employment for the people, the Government of the country cannot overlook or lightly brush aside measures that not only not broaden the scope for employment but actually hinder it.

In the United States during the recent season of the "Automobile" was shown the working of an automatic belt making machine which produces one thousand and five hundred belts per hour. 1800 is the maximum that an expert laborer can reach in course of a 12 hour working day. This means the Automobile drives out of employment nearly 12 persons an average a day. It need not be said that rationalizing in the name of subsistence for lakhs of people, including a large number of women and children. This is one of the few home industries which afford scope even to a delinquent or a physical wreck to work and earn. Rationalization of this industry and similar other industries will obviously displace persons who have neither the education nor the capital resources to fall back upon other means of livelihood.

I hope balanced comments will agree with me that to maintain a reasonable level of national employment, state methods have to be followed in certain spheres of production. Because, as the policy-making of the new national was treated previously, it was on them that labor had been dependent of human labor and more, and more need of capital and organization. So we have to select

spheres or sectors where free capitalism is possible will not be allowed to prosper, in the name of efficiency, and labor-saving industries with many others, certainly deserves the protection. What is passing under the name of "efficiency" is in fact a clever modern device of capital to exploit labor and the laboring masses more effectively. It is high time our Government approaches this problem in a realistic manner and control the mechanization policy within reasonable limits. Indiscriminate mechanization is bound to be catastrophic to the national employment policy and its aftermath, namely, the manufacturing and business class is undoubtedly. The labor constitutes a vast majority of the buying public. To the extent employment is lost to them there is loss of purchasing power or effective demand for the manufacturer's goods. Thus, we are depressed. Let us be forewarned.

## CONFERRED THINKING IN INDUSTRY

(By T. M. Agrawal)

While replying to the general debate on the Budget the Finance Minister, Shri C. D. Deshmukh made a few observations regarding the policy of rationalization in India industry. Everybody desires to adopt a rational approach to industrial problems. But we should also try to understand clearly that rationalization cannot and should not be confined to a "tech" or an individual. It only constitutes a partial approach to an economic and industrial problem which arises from action to reason in accordance with local circumstances. Rationalization may mean one type of industrial organization in the United States of America where labor is scarce and capital is abundant, it may mean quite a different pattern of industrialization in a country like India where capital is scarce and labor is abundant. It would therefore, be wholly unrealistic to play the rationalization of industry in India as the American model.

In India the first rational problem that arises economic planners is the question of absorbing the unemployed or under-employed manpower both in the rural and urban areas. An owner of land can utilize labor power in one and rational capital which must be tapped effectively for producing additional wealth in the country. "Mechanization is good," observed Gandhiji, "when the hands are too few for the work intended to be accomplished." It is not when there are more hands than ropes. (1931, p. 14), as is the case in India. Gandhiji seems to refer, not against machinery as such, what he was against was the "crisis" and "Indian industrialization" of machinery. "I would welcome," said Mahatma Gandhi, "the machine that lightens the burden of crabs of men living in villages." "If we could have electricity in every village house, I would not mind villagers plugging their implements, and tools with electricity."

Mr David Morris, Director General of the I.L.O., in the course of his Annual Report for 1952 has declared that "it would be inappropriate to attempt to adopt in countries where labour is abundant and cheap and capital scarce and scarce the capital-intensive and labour-saving methods of production which are appropriate in such countries as the United States and Canada."

It is curious like India, therefore, the process theory of industrial reorganisation ought to be full employment plus maximum production. Any attempt to provide fuller employment without trying to increase per capita productivity of labour would be suicidal in a country with backward economy. At the same time, all plans to augment total industrial production without providing for fuller employment opportunities to the millions of our unemployed or partially employed countrymen would amount to a national crime of the worst order. The correct solution of our economic ills, therefore, lies in balancing the twin objectives of fuller employment and increased productivity.

It is wrong to think that an increase in per capita productivity is possible only through huge-scale industrialisation. Even in the age of modern science too many labour-saving devices merely for increasing productivity of wealth are very拙劣 and even inhuman. It is astonishing to find that despite many heights that America has achieved in the domain of industrial production, there are even today about 37 lakhs of people who have to be maintained by the State as unemployed labour. The lot of these unemployed "discards" is surely very unpleasant; they suffer mentally not only physically and mentally, but also morally and spiritually. In India, we would like to develop a system of decentralised industrial economy which would provide work to all rather than "doles" to some. We are not against efficiency and technological progress provided it promotes human welfare and evolution. In comparing the costs of production through merely mechanical devices, we should never lose sight of the social costs which are involved in human suffering and degradation as a result of unemployment. In other words, our ideal should be "economic efficiency" and not merely "mechanical efficiency". More technological progress results in a society where wealth accumulates, but men decay."

These days, we hear much about the urgent need for "capital formation". We are told by learned "experts" that economic development specially under a backward economy cannot be achieved without finding more capital for further investment. This is of course, true to a large extent. But it is no use refusing this also to a degree or as an economic creed. To my mind, much more important than capital formation is the urgent need for setting up an organisation for

harvesting the life man-power of India for developmental purposes. It is evident that even for utilising this unexploited man-power, some amount of capital would be essential. But the fact remains that our real capital in India is that of "untapped talents" which could be very profitably used as "investment capital" for realising New India of our dreams. Instead of talking too much about "capital formation" it would therefore be more appropriate to discuss the problems of "labour organisation". Our industrialists and economic "experts" have turned the question of capital formation into a baggy and vague word. It is high time the truth is exposed in its contextually and constructively.

It is said that our is a "mixed economy" in which the private sector must be given ample scope for expansion and development. It is also contended that the process of rationalisation is almost inevitable under a mixed type of economy. To be frank, we do not very much relish the term "mixed economy". It suggests a kind of confused thinking and indecisive action. I much better word for the kind of "golden mean" economy that we visualize would perhaps, be a "balanced" or "middle economy". We desire to avoid both the extremes of capitalism and totalitarianism by following the middle way of decentralised economy for consumer goods industries and nationalisation of the "key" or mother industries. We have no doubt in our minds that this type of "middle economy" is the best for India under the existing circumstances. The coming year has some good and bad omens. "By reorganising village and village industries the country, too shall only distribute poverty." The industrialists are now trying to use this remark almost as a logic to down village and small-scale industries. We desire to partly refute the implications of this rather and vague remark. If kinds of latest technique and resources are made available to the village and village industries, we are sure that their efficiency and productive capacity would improve considerably. In fact, even a world-renowned industrialist, like Henry Ford admits that "as a general rule, a large plant is not economical" and that "big business small-woolies through the country not only to obtain the lowest costs but also to spend the money of production around the people who produce the product." At the same, we would earnestly plead for the redistribution even of "poverty" in order to stop without any further delay this vulgar display of wealth in our country in the form of "wickets" parties, weddings, pampered houses and luxury cars. New India of Gandhi's dreams is now taking shape and the gapping wall between the rich and the poor cannot be tolerated any further.

(Reprinted from A.P.C.C. Newsletter, August, 1952)

# HARIJAN

April 21

1934

## WEAKER WINGS OF NATION'S TEXTILE INDUSTRY

(By Mahadevan P. Desai)

The Union Minister of Commerce and Industries, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, while inaugurating the Textile Industry Congress Celebrations in Bombay, dwelt at some length on the existence of conflicts in the textile industry. As we know, the industry works through three main wings—1. The Textile Mill, 2. The Handloom, and 3. The Charkha and Khadi. The three wings, so far as least as the bulk and money values are concerned, are in the same order of importance as stated above. However, that is not the true nor the whole index of their importance, as there are various other and more vital aspects from which their importance should be considered. The view that the Union Minister took of the matter was not only superficial but also it was biased in favour of the bulky and more vocal, the weaver and the deeply entrenched wing, viz., the textile mill. The following are some of the observations he is reported to have made in the course of his inaugural address:

Regarding the handloom he said, the handloom and mill industries were at loggerheads. While he deplored it, he was not perturbed about it, because he felt certain that the handloom industry could not exist without the spinning mill. And he was certain that the Charkha was not going to thrive as much as to supply yarn to the handloom, and hence the latter will always be at the doubtful service of the textile mill.

About Khadi he felt still more comfortable, because he felt that it would never replace the handloom nor the mill industry; and with some air of authority he said that, "we have, as a Government, now taken away the political significance of Khadi to some extent and have begun to emphasize the economic significance of it."

One does not know what the Hon. Minister meant by the "political" significance of Khadi apart from its huge economic and social value for our unemployed masses. It gives employment at their very doors and without displacing anybody, unlike the textile mill which cannot thrive without expelling or displacing labour and drawing away nation's hard-earned capital for private aggrandisement. However, the Hon. Minister was pleased to recommend to the textile mill industry "to think kindly of hand-

loom and Khadi" (from 100 readers' mail to be removed).

Having allowed some small courtesy to the two weaker wings of the Nation's textiles, he went off not to give any real guidance and government responsibility assigned wing, viz. the mill and suggested that modernisation of mill machinery must be undertaken, and he went as far as to say, that it was not only in their interests, but also in those of labour as well as the people in general. If anybody apart from the mill owners and the Commerce Minister is told anything of such kind, he might perhaps be the Finance Minister of India who also stands for what is called "nationalisation." I reproduce in this issue an article by Shri S. N. Agarwal, which tries to show how national and unwise it would be to undertake the "nationalisation" of mills, which will really, in the conditions obtaining in India at present, mean and result into selling and shelling the social misery of growing private capitalism here.

Shri Mahadevan Desai in his presidential remarks on the occasion well said that in any modernisation scheme contemplated by the mill industry, the Government had to take into consideration the implications regarding the labour force, and Government would not be a party to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. It will be wholly unstatesmanlike and unworthy to forget that the most urgent thing to do in India is to secure full employment of millions of our idle or under-employed people by rationalising the textile production in all its three wings on a national basis. This requires that the Charkha and the handlooms must be organized and planned to give sound work, and the textile mill must be controlled and directed to achieve that same objective. In this regard, research for technical advancement in our mill implements should be undertaken on Government and national levels. The Planning Commission in alliance and co-operation with the Khadi and Village Industries Board must now begin to apply its mind to this project, so that the new Five Year Plan might be framed accordingly. The Industries Minister will do extensive service to the people by agreeing to show his sympathy and consideration to this project. The mighty mill industry can surely take care of itself. It is the weaker two wings that should be diligently and carefully helped under Swaj.

11-4-34

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in kind (including food and clothing) throughout India. The Hindustani Pradesh Sabha is a movement in that sense without any change in its policy.

After Gandhiji's death during the discussion on the second budget of the Hindustani Pradesh Sabha, March 1942, Maulana Azad, who was one of the founders of the Sabha, and that since then has not given their own Government at the Centre, they could expect the Government to help them in their work. At Maulana Azad's suggestion, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the then President of the Sabha, wrote to the Government, and ever since the Government has been giving consideration regularly to the Sabha. A number of grants were made to the Hindi Sahitya Samakshana Samiti.

In September 1944 the Constituent Assembly adopted Hindi written in Devanagari script as the national language. Article 351 of the Constitution reads—

"It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the citizens of the composite nation as well and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without borrowing with its spirit, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India spoken by the Hindi speaking and by creating wherever necessary a vocabulary for its vocabulary, primarily on Hindi and similarly in other languages."

This was more or less identical with the definition of Hindustani as given by Gandhiji, except in regard to Persi-an script. Taking every thing into consideration, the Hindustani Pradesh Sabha, therefore, welcomed the decision of the Constituent Assembly. The Standing Committee of the Hindi Sahitya Samakshana, on the other hand, in its sitting of September 20, 1944, "after considering the whole decision" of the Constituent Assembly, extended "its deep dissatisfaction" with it, but did not oppose the grant which it continued to receive.

Hindustani Pradesh Sabha has not, and only one goal is to propagate Hindustani as defined by Gandhiji. The objective of the Sabha has been defined as follows in the Constitution of the Sabha.

To propagate Hindustani, which would be used in writing the country for administrative, social, political, trade and work other purposes and may be, used for writing the Hindustani business parlance with different languages.

For Hindustani to mean the language spoken, understood and used in their mutual affairs by Muslims, Muslims and all others in the villages and towns of Western India and which is written in Persi-an and Nagari script with whose literary forms are known as 18th and 19th century which simple words and idioms from the different provincial languages for the world mean.

All persons besides Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Maulana Azad, Pandit Jeebhairu Mehra, Kaka Sahib Khatkar, Pandit Sunderlal Rajgopal, Anant Kaur Kireepa Sahasr Abdul Majid of Aligarh, Dr. Tarachand, Shri Shrinanarayana Agarwal, Shrinath Kumarwan Netra, Mohan

Chandra, Shri Maganbhai Desai, and Shrinath Mohan Aggar are among its founder members. Dr. Hridaynath Prasad asked to be relieved of his office as the President of the Sabha when he became Rishi-an. He however continues to be a member of the Hindustani Committee of the Sabha and all the meetings are, as a rule, held in his presence. In his place, Kaka Sahib Khatkar was elected President of the Sabha.

In implementation of its policy, to give instruction in Hindustani the Sabha (1) conducts classes where both Devanagari and Persi-an script are compulsory. To this end it has been able to secure the services of nearly 200 voluntary workers in its various centres. (2) It holds examinations in Hindustani (proficiency) in both the scripts in a number of District, District Board, District Board and District Board. The number of candidates sitting in these examinations annually is about ten thousand. (3) The Sabha has prepared four books in Hindustani in both scripts for the use of candidates appearing in these examinations. (4) The Sabha has published Hindustani translations of select literature from various provincial languages and also some original books in Hindustani. (5) The Sabha has already got prepared dictionaries of various provincial languages, into Hindustani and vice versa and also a dictionary of basic Hindustani. A Hindi-Hindustani dictionary is now already been published. (6) It is also a provincial Board of Education to re-port on the use of Hindustani. One school in every centre in both the scripts. (7) It is conducting a school for higher studies in Hindustani and a number of scholarships have been made available to the students of various provinces for the same.

In the end I would appeal to all lovers of Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani to work together for the development and propagation of the national language and the regional languages in a spirit of mutual co-operation and good will instead of getting lost in the matter of unresolvable issues which is being given currency by the Government Departments in the name of Hindi. It is only when our administrative language becomes an affair in the language understood by the common man that we shall achieve the national unity and independence of India as we have achieved her political independence.

New Delhi, 24-5-54

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## IMPOSSIBILITY OF THE CONTROLLED USE OF VIOLENCE\*

(By A. J. Aiken)

There is a very interesting controversy going on in the Press presently. The U.S.A. has developed the Hydrogen bomb and there are experiments with it in the Pacific, in order to study the range and potency of its destructive power. Now the Hydrogen bomb, as you must have read in a very dangerous thing. The effects of these experiments, it is feared, may very well spread far beyond the area where they are being carried out. Hence the controversy.

England says that the experiments should in no case be carried out in the Atlantic Pacific. Nehru has expressed the view that such experiments are totally wrong and should be stopped altogether. No matter where carried out their effects would reach out to hundreds of miles. None can foresee what results men and women might follow the unleashing of the terribly destructive energy contained within these bombs. Therefore the experiments must cease.

But why manufacture them if all I say are not going to experiment with them? If experimenting is banned, what is the sense in producing them? And why ask the Hydrogen bomb who not all other weapons? Here is the explosion. Even those who believe in violence agree to the need of setting a limit to the use of such violence. Even the Hydrogen bomb might well bring about the end of man and his world — its outcome too terrible to contemplate — its use should be banned and steps taken to control or even stop its production. Only they forget that violence once started is not amenable to any limits being put on its use.

This is not the first time that attempts are being made to control the scope of violence. Such attempts have been repeatedly made in the course of the history and they have never succeeded. In the Mahabharata, which embodies the essence of human history, we find that there were elaborate rules governing the warriors from taking resources to unfair practices. But as the war progressed they proved of no avail at all, and were repeatedly broken on both sides. And this happened in spite of the fact that both parties to the war included men of the highest excellence both in regard to knowledge and the magnitude of character. The Kurukshetra had Krishna and Draupadi and the Pandavas had Yudhishtira and Arjuna and there was Bhishma on whom both could rely for correct guidance.

Why then did they break these rules? The reason is simple. Violence admits of no limits being imposed on it. One cannot guide it along a predetermined path. One may fix the limits beyond which one would not go and try to observe them, but someone else which will be

an unbridled but unbridled force intent of victory, and one cannot impose any limits on it. This is the lesson of the Mahabharata which I read contains the quintessence of all history. It is that there can be no limit to violence once it is resorted to, that it brings destruction to all and the safest course then lies in its abjuration totally.

We are now living in the age of science. Science has placed at our disposal unnumbered instruments which can be employed both for construction and destruction. For science is power and the every power may be used for both good and bad ends. The way out lies in making use of our intelligence which alone can distinguish between what is good and what is bad. "Take refuge in the intelligence," says the Lord in the Gita.

Thus approach to the problem of the improvement of society and the experience of history of our country and of the world yield the conclusion that the belief in power of violence as an effective instrument for creating peace and order or for reconstructing the society is a fatal illusion. It will not solve anything.

Let us see how this attractive but power is acquired without any about and where it leads to. To begin with they are it using the sword. Then they come to ships, the position that there must be one kind of organization which they may employ for achieving this task. So they direct their efforts to attain up to the nation. The organization having been set up, the question arises — to whom should it be? Every one is bound to think that it had better be placed under his control. And so it comes about that the ideal of service recedes into the background and there comes a most unbecoming scramble for power. I have therefore come to the conclusion that we should seek to solve the problems with which we are faced without resort to power.

Certain thinkers have advocated another course to obviate the misuse of power. They say that power should rest with the wise or the Fatahides and with the Sanyasins, that is, with men who have no attachment to worldly objects. But, for one thing, power is not endowed with intelligence to choose only the wise as its keepers. For another the wise too cannot be captured to continue to use it for right ends. It might have been possible to use the power of violence with some degree of control over it in the older days when the science was not so developed. The wise could claim with some justification that they would stop it when there was no more use for it. But this is not possible today. Controlled use of violence in the present state of science is an impossibility. Nonviolence or Ahimsa is therefore the only weapon available to us today for overcoming and solving all our problems, national and international.

\* From a speech of Aiken on 22-2-64.

(Adapted from *Shakti*).

## EXPERIMENTS ON 'VANASPATI'

By T. R. Kothari

'Vanaspati' is generally manufactured from a mixture of oil seed and is a common edible item other than rice. It is ordinarily known as 'Vanaspoti' in the market. But it is rather 'Ghee' or 'Ghee' (also spelled from 'Vanaspoti'). Yet on account of its approved manufacture with **Wax** it is differentiated with Ghee and sold as Ghee in the market and hence it is wrongly composed with real pure Ghee. It is a pity that no essential item of our diet like Ghee should be so ill-treated. It is therefore thought necessary to control the manufacture of Vanaspoti and protect pure Ghee in such a way that adulteration becomes impossible and people can clearly differentiate between the two. Such a suggestion and resolutions have not been looked in detail yet.

At Bangalore, there have been interesting discussions on Vanaspoti and its growth elsewhere, but unfortunately their conclusions have not been unanimous. Recently Shri H. D. Kothari has published the results of the experiments carried out in the Institute Veterinary Research Institute. The full report is a short summary of his article published on the February, 1954 number of *Indian Forester*.

1. Vanaspoti is a good source of Vitamin A, its value is about 1/2 that of the presence of carotene in pure Ghee of Vitamin A. Furthermore generally does not contain Vitamin A. It is a pity that it is not used in such a way that it is not used. This is a pity that it is not used in such a way that it is not used. This is a pity that it is not used in such a way that it is not used.

2. The value of Vanaspoti is not as high as Ghee.

3. The value of Vanaspoti is not as high as Ghee.

4. The value of Vanaspoti is not as high as Ghee.

5. The value of Vanaspoti is not as high as Ghee.

6. The value of Vanaspoti is not as high as Ghee.

7. The value of Vanaspoti is not as high as Ghee.

8. The value of Vanaspoti is not as high as Ghee.

It is clear from the above observations that Vanaspoti is the best of all dietary fats. It may be possible to remove the deficiencies of Vanaspoti by removing the impurities that but the present state of the Vanaspoti is not good.

'Vanaspoti' and 'Vanaspoti' Government attention. Vanaspoti is the best of the indigenous dietary oils, which is an important source of Vitamin A in our country. We should therefore support a nationally sponsored, scientific and non-discriminatory and dignified scheme of research by entering or by degrees to our own people to solve their difficulties.

## Language of Courts

The Chief Justice of Hyderabad, inaugurated the first Hyderabad Judicial Officers' Conference, and that he approved of the idea of making regional languages the language of the courts in different regions of the State, so that would enable litigants to understand the proceedings and decisions better and help in the efficient use of justice. Among the many suggestions though that go on unchallenged still as the old legacy of British rule, English is the language of courts is one. I am told that the official position regarding the language of courts up to the District level is the regional language at present. If it is true, there can be ordered an immediate reform in the wrong practice that has crept in, viz. using English where really it should not be. High Courts in India should immediately look into the matter and order their subordinate courts to work in regional languages. There need not wait till the High Courts change over to regional languages and for Allah.

T. R. K.

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# HARIJAN

CONVEYED BY BHADRAJ SANKER  
Editor: MADHUSUDAN P. KOLAR



Vol. XVIII, No. 9

AIKENIANAD—SATURDAY, MAY 1, 1936

Two Annas

## PURIFICATION OF THE HEART— TEST OF OUR WORK \*

(By Theodor)

It is well to reflect that morally we remain much the same as we were before Swaraj. Greed has not left us nor spoiled pride. And we cling as passionately as ever to the sense of individual possession. I want you to understand that so long as we do not give up these faults, we will continue—whether we are conscious of it or not—in disrespecting the Land and in consequence in doing, as Theodor says, "lift from all the worldly affections. Right love for God and attachment to those desiderata, are incompatible with each other. If the criteria is good, we will never make an effort to ever misemploy the people with whom we live and work. Exploitation of our fellow men requires disregard to God. If we shelter ourselves and consider ourselves in some way superior to others, that too implies disrespect to God. In the same way if we cling to the sense of possession of our own share, to name I am the owner of wealth I will not let others make use of it. Thus too we disrespect the Lord. For He alone is the owner and all must equally share all wealth which is His gift.

The Swaraj movement was essentially at paying the individuals and through them the society of all these faults which corrupt our natural life and constitute the most formidable stumbling block to further progress. Swaraj seeks to reconvert our entire life on the basis of respect to God. People do not yet understand its full meaning and ask why I do not get the land redistributed through legislation. They ask — "Why do you wonder about our fate?" Why do you reflect all this lament on your body and name to much sorrow and lamentation to us as well?" Being proud, as the Government, asks them to pass a suitable law, and there will be an end of the matter and all this bother to you and us." But I should like to point out to these friends that the problem before us does not rest at all with us any solution. The law will no doubt take away your surplus land— but will it bring you from the bustling haunts of such cities and of government agencies, parks etc. Can we erect and enforce a law that people should give up all pride, discard the feeling of

superiority, take to a life of simplicity and not enjoy good? Could we achieve these things by means of a law? Surely these are things which we must do of ourself of our free will. I am wondering about on how far because I want to enter in your hearts, to control your inward and and to subsume your will from within. I want you to purify your hearts.

Purification of hearts — yes, that is our objective. And we find that objective is still far from being achieved. People are giving lands in Swaraj. The number of the donors is growing daily. They are realizing the importance and value of the movement. All this is a matter of gratification. But gifts of land alone will not bring us satisfaction. We will judge the success of our efforts by one test only that is, whether or not there has been any lessening of our selfishness, greed, pride, etc. Nothing can be achieved except through God's grace. And we cannot be blessed with it, the grace unless we have discarded these vices.

If we discard greed—our greed, pride etc., we shall be able to pay devotion to God and He will be pleased with us. Now you will understand why our work cannot be achieved through legislation. It can be achieved only through the purification of the heart. And the purification of the heart comes about through work with noble souls—men who have themselves realized the purification of heart. That is why I go from village to village. I spend a whole day in even the remotest village and explain the message to the people at their very doors. This close contact with the people has for me the same joy as the devotion that is the virtue of the land. How can we get it from mere legislation "because we will mount". The law—there even when it was made in 1930—gives the land from the present 1930-31 to 1931-32 and then very very well within the situation in some respects. It will arouse some disputes in every village which will then be carried to the courts. There will be long and wearisome litigation with endless trouble to everyone concerned. But if you change in your heart and begin to distribute your land to your less fortunate brothers of your own free will, not as a mere duty but kindly and generously as a father tries to help and if you begin to derive there and share their joy and sorrow, all our present difficulties will melt away as no time and trouble there will be to the right of peace and happiness.

As the 6th of April today. We made it the following seven days from today (one national holiday and the "happening" during the week. To spare you I've brought about 30. And our wife of assistance to the Indian people. The week has been observed year after year on a fixed day. The Indian leaders have decided to make the celebration this year to Bhodan week. The celebration will remain closed during this period so as to enable the members to undertake the proposed work. I congratulate the Indian leaders on this leadership decision. What is a leader? He is after all your servant. This involves by the leaders shows that they have realized how Bhodan will enhance our people and enable them to taste the joy of freedom. What did we win for "second" in? The bringing happiness to the poor by making them morally and materially. The poor will now be concerned that their leaders are doing for them all that they can. Why do not these leaders put pen to the every legislation and have done with it? Here they go away! No, they are realize that legislation does not make the real lasting uplift which can come about only through the purification of the heart.

A few friends have just handed me a note which I will share with you. The note says that they like the Bhodan work but steps should also be taken for the protection of the cow. It is indeed a very nice suggestion—a thing after my heart. I will assure these friends that I am doing all that I can for the protection of the cow. I have supported the demand with all the strength which my voice commands. I fully believe that in India the cow including the bullock must be given full protection. They should not only not be killed but also be kept well. Indeed, they should be kept as the animal members of our families. We have therefore urged the Government to do so duty in this matter. The Government will no doubt pass a suitable legislation for the purpose. But the legislation by itself cannot accomplish all that we aim at in this regard. There is much good work to be done in this connection at Warlike where a band of devoted workers has been carrying out the activity quite systematically. We must learn to keep the cows well, to improve their breed, to increase the yield of the milk, to popularize cow milk and to give among the people. All this is as vital a part of the non-protection work as the legislation. Then there must be government for keeping decrepit cattle. Money for these government must come from our rich friends. After having of the slaughter of the cows will not ensure their protection. Our Kshatri must cultivate real love for them and learn to keep them well. Lastly non-protection too as everything else depends on Bhodan. After all it is only after man has been provided with the sheltered for his livelihood that he can become his love and duty to the upkeep of the cow. Let us therefore work for Bhodan and save the cow and secure her the position of a respectable member of our household.

(Adapted from *Bhoda*)

## THE IDEA OF A THIRD CAMP

(By A. J. Maitra)

By the term Third Camp we do not mean a Third Force consisting of power-states grouping together alongside or even against the two power-blocks which now dominate the world. For one thing, the situation does not permit the emergence of such a third power-like of the conventional type. A few years ago there were those who hoped that "Barrage" would constitute or form a major part of such a counterforce. With the right between East and West still running down the middle of Europe the centralization of the European Defence Community project, and the fact that if it does come through, it will signify Western Europe's dependence on the American power-like, the permanent residence of the power centres in Italy and France, and the rapid falling apart of the colonial empires, it is probably now clear to all that the time has passed when Europe can enter the lists as *Colossus No. 3*.

It is occasionally suggested that the Arab-Arab bloc could fill this role. Even if the Arab-Arab nations were freely asked, the chance that they could fill such a role would, in my opinion, be remote, in view of the tremendous power the two presently dominating blocs possess, thus enabling them to exercise a terrible counterpoise force upon all lesser centres of power. But such current phenomena as the strong Communist influence in India, China, Indonesia and Japan, the deepening cleavage between Pakistan and India over the projected U.S. military aid to the former, the unwillingness that the Muslim world will accept Indian leadership and vice versa, and the Israel-Arab clash seem to me completely to rule out any possibility that *Colossus No. 3* will, at least in our day and before the showdown—or reconciliation—between Russia and the United States, develop in this part of the planet.

In the second place, were such a third power grouping to emerge it would not solve our problem. It would simply give us a slightly different pattern of power struggle and war. It would in fact be the pattern inherent three powers, each engaged in perpetual war, for variety sometimes A and B against C sometimes C and A against B, and so on. It is a new political, economic and social pattern, a new spiritual basis, a new vision, the world needs—not a variant on the old pattern. Hence, the usefulness of the term Third Camp.

At this point another comment on the contemporary political situation may approximately be made. The emphasis of much present work—and this holds good of a considerable number of political blocs—is on negotiations between the two Leviathans of our day looking toward their "peaceful co-existence." This is an implicit, when not explicit, recognition of the fact that the two power-blocks do to a frightening degree dominate the world scene and can largely

make life and death decisions for other nations. To this extent the ambiguity in question is based on confusion. But the idea that negotiation from strength which is the kind of negotiation in which the powers struggle leads to anything like desirable peace is an illusion based on what seems to me a superficial analysis of the forces at work and their accumulated momentum. This is not to say that tensions may not temporarily be relaxed and relations between the two blocs relatively stabilized. Nor do we for an instant prefer overt war to such "relaxation" in the hope of covert war. But if the two regimes remain essentially as they are, the negotiation and stabilization will simply register the power relationships.

Furthermore, as suggested a moment ago, power now tends to flow toward these huge power-centers or, to change the figure, one center after another is forced to incline toward one or other of them, with the result that persons keep insisting. There has to be another center toward or into which power may flow. But this depends upon whether, e.g. the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin-America which have not yet irrevocably taken sides and do not want ever to do so, have a genuine alternative to the American system of capitalism or "free enterprise" on the one hand and Sovietist or totalitarian Communism on the other hand. The peoples of India, e.g., must have another way of decreasing handicaps than the Communist way and/or access for affording technology in ways appropriate to their country than the path of subjection to American or native-controlled capitalism. Otherwise, India must eventually take one or other of the ways now open. If a Third Way is open, they will take it. Furthermore, the peoples of Russia and the United States and their respective satellites will then also recognize that they are not limited to the regimes now in control of their countries. Along such lines, possibilities of relaxation of tension which go deeper than the surface appeasement open up.

To put the matter in psychological terms, in a position in which, as one of our brilliant young chemists put it a year or two ago, two powers have become invisceral, each "meeting paranoia with counter-paranoia" therapy is sincerely required. This means either that one of them must come to his senses and risk meeting paranoia with sanity or there must be a third party which does not itself yield to the madness of militarism, an abject armaments race, exploitation and lust for power and thus can serve as therapist. This is the role of a Third Camp.

If next we ask ourselves where potential or emerging Third Camp Forces may be found, the answer from one point of view might be that the powers of people everywhere, including those under the rival power-blocs are Third Campers, in that they are fed up with war and long for

peace and freedom. No regime anywhere in the world is to be assigned any other objectives for its government. As Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick once observed: "All of us want peace, we also want the things that make for war."

A brief summary of the programme on which Third Camp elements tend to unite would include the following:

1 Opposition to both the capitalist and the Sovietist social systems.

2 Mutual and productive resources and key instruments of distribution and communication belong to all and should be socially owned and democratically administered through the people's own community, cooperative and other institutions. Technology must be the servant and not the master of man.

3 Refusal to give support—"critical" or otherwise—to the war preparations of either side in the cold war or to those aspects of their foreign policy which are a part of such war preparations.

4 Unqualified recognition of the right of all peoples to independence from foreign control, whether military, political, economic or cultural.

5 Vigorous and unwavering defence of civil liberties including those of Communists or others who might not regard civil liberties to those who disagreed with them.

6 Deepened concern for and belief in democracy, in the essential dignity of the human being. For the gentler, non-violence of spirit and method is, of course, integral to the conception of democracy. Democracy cannot be democracy when it seeks to treat itself as conquest and subjugation rather than open consent.

It seems sound, important, and urgent to establish closer contact among the groups and individuals who have this Third Camp orientation, both for the purpose of clarifying thought and trying to formulate a philosophy and programme, and for the purpose of discovering what concrete possibilities exist of co-operation in the struggle against war, militarism, tyranny and want.

11000 The War Resister Spring 1954

#### Clean Drinking Water for Animals

Hot weather has now commenced in India. In this, hot scorching heats of burning sun on city-people, horses, and cart bullocks become fiered and thirst from following in the burning sun all day. Therefore, public cattle drinking-water ponds constructed in various parts of Indian cities with a view under supervision of Indian Municipalities should be always kept full of clean water day and night.

I have seen several drinking-water ponds empty. Poor people wash their dirty feet and dirty clothes in them which Municipal inspectors should never allow.

Wealthier people should use their money for building many more such wells and ponds.

Such little acts of kindness, and love for the suffering poor people and for animals are true prayers of God in all religious teach.

A. R. SHARMA

# HARIJAN

May 1

1954

## STATE REORGANIZATION AND LANGUAGE

(By Rajendran P. Srinivasa)

The States Reorganisation Commission has begun its work and visits to States for interviewing various persons. One main thing that was asked at its appointing the Commission was to create a calm and peaceful atmosphere for the dispassionate consideration of the problem that was otherwise creating much avoidable bitterness and undue friction among States and political parties. These may well now submit whatever they wish in support on the matter of reorganisation, feeling confident that it will get all the attention and justice from the Commission.

It might be fairly said that this aim seems to have been well served both by the procedure that the Commission has decided to adopt and by the general reaction of the people to its appointment. People are realising that ultimately it must be a sort of a consensus that should go into the whole matter and submit its report and the decision as it will be taken by the Parliament. Surely it is not a matter of fighting a war for winning one tomorrow. Therefore it is no good creating bad blood between the representatives of the same country. Each inside good sense on the part of our people argues very well for our composite State.

The Language Working Committee in its recent session at Delhi passed a resolution with a dual aim of helping the creation of this calm atmosphere and safeguarding its prestige and position as a political party in the country. It asked Congressmen to avoid public controversy, specially among themselves, and not to associate with other parties in making joint representations to the Commission nor join in a common platform with them. And it said that all Congress Committees and Congressmen would have full freedom to represent their views before the Commission. If this resolution succeeds in its objective, it will not only justify itself, but also it might set an example to other parties.

The popular mind is naturally anxious about how the issue of language will have its weight and bearing on reorganisation. And it is not surprising if we remember that the Congress has educated the popular mind on the ideal of linguistic States for fairly a whole generation. The principle behind it was that, for an order to be democratic, it is necessary that all education, administration and such other public activities of a region must be conducted through the language of the people of the region. It is a basic need of any democratic functioning. However,

the organisation for common or joint areas that are inhabited by two or more peoples was different. It was inevitable that there would be language rules and regulations (broadly) for mutually shared and managed responsibilities to the needs of every. But such it is, not positioning or piecing out our material on grounds of income or territory, which unfortunately seems to be the idea of present. Such a thing would encourage any demagogues or objective consideration of the problem, much more any happy solution thereof.

However, reorganising linguistically is not as simple an affair as it appears. Language alone cannot be a decisive factor, because we find intermingled bi-lingual tracks on the frontiers of linguistic regions.

Again there may be a region like North India which may have one language but may be too large to be one administrative unit. It must be reorganised whether on language but economic, geographical, administrative and such like considerations will be decisive. However it is true that in the new setting there should be no new State which is so arranged as to be bi-lingual.

There are certain States which are multi-lingual, such as Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad etc. There is a school of thought which holds that there is a desirable virtue in having such composite States. There may be some truth in this idea. But what will be the language of administration education courts etc. in such a State? Bombay has thought of having Hindi as higher education. It would be good if it reconsider this, because such a thing would violate the basic requirement of the idea of a linguistic State. Rather it would give a strong ground for demanding that we should have no composite State. If it would mean the use of language other than those of the State. Therefore if at all there is to remain a composite State, it can be possible only if its regional languages are assured their due place of honour in all the affairs of the State.

There might be a region like Bombay City where language becomes a subordinate consideration, giving place to other factors of greater importance. In a way, Bombay affords a pointer case.

Incidentally I am reminded of an anomalous situation in regard to the working of composite States. Take for example, Bombay. There are four Congress provinces with a common Congress Government of the State. There have four Congress Committees, the B.P.C.C., the M.P.C.C., the G.P.C.C., the K.P.C.C. The four groups may have their own peculiar positions. If not vital difference of opinion, on issues that may arise in the State administration. This would rarely create an intriguing and difficult question.

We may also take the C' States. They were a pre-independence arrangement to meet with the situation created by the accession of India States to the Union. They must now be integrated in the

final reorganisation. This is an obvious task that the Commission will have to do. For that, it will be required to go into their linguistic, geographical, economic, administrative, constitutional and such other words. Obviously the predominant factor will be the life and language of the people—everything else can be only subsidiary to it.

It must also be seen that the whole scheme of reorganisation is not made comparatively expensive. There is scope for economy in providing a High Court, Public Service Commission etc. for each State. The new States must be viable. To identify all States will not have equal incomes. They must cut their cost according to the cloth. Of course, in spite of that, it might be that some may require to be helped, which the Centre should surely see to, but this can only be for a time during which the State must balance its accounts. Therefore if people of the regions begin to quarrel over the areas and the incomes from them, it will be like creating new States and separate nations. This is surely to be avoided. India is our joint property. The reorganisation which is aimed at, therefore, is with a view that we might all be helped to live peacefully and in a joint effort to set up a democratic order in our common beloved land, India.

22-4-54

(From the original in Gujarati.)

## NOTES

## Dr. Satyapal

The death of Dr. Satyapal, the Speaker of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, recalls one of the amazing days of nationwide agitation against British rule in years ago. The seven days from 6th to 13th April form part of nation's life and are now once observed as the National Week every year throughout the land. In a sense the anti-British Dal movement opens the chapter of the nation's fight for freedom or Hind Swaraj. The *Jallianwala Bagh* massacre of innocent people ordered by General Dyer deeply wounded the nation's self respect. It was under the courageous leadership of Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kachrew that Punjab joined in the agitation in those days. Happily they were the days when mutual love and love unity reigned in the hearts of Hindus and Muslims. As if a single life-line divided in two streams. They work at that time gave a fresh impetus to the growing love of patriotism.

I remember the cause of the country. They will ever be remembered for this by the nation.

22-4-54

(From Gujarati)

## M. P. T. Acharya

The reader knows Mr. M. P. T. Acharya from his occasional contributions in Harijan. He had been a sensitive correspondent with me. Every week he used to write to me on various topics of the day and send cuttings on various

subjects bearing on the Indian situation. For the last few weeks, to my surprise, I was not hearing from him at all, when one day a week or two back an issue of the Harijan addressed to him returned to the office with a cryptic postal remark, 'died'. The sad news is now confirmed by an article about him in the *Sunday Chronicle* of 18-4-54 from Bombay which says that he died on March 29 at the Elphinstone General Hospital, Bombay, from cardiac failure.

The writer of the *Sunday Chronicle* article truly says: "An Indian revolutionary who campaigned for nearly half a century for the freedom of his country, recently passed away almost unnoticed, unloved by, and forgotten." It is sad to learn that when he died "there was nobody even to look after the last rites of a patriot who once trodden from one European capital to another (and U.S.A.) commanding support for Indian freedom." The description is not the least exaggerated.

I come to know Shri M. P. T. Acharya in connection with my editorial work of this paper. On my taking over the work from late Shri Madhrawala, he immediately wrote to me introducing himself that he had known Shri K. G. Madhrawala, whom he had met in Bombay and who Shri had viewed specially as an ardent philosophy which Shri Madhrawala was gradually coming to appreciate. He also told me that Shri Madhrawala was helping him, an isolated completely isolated and unable to make even two ends meet in any manner. He showed his desire to see me, if I happened to go to Bombay, some time. I replied that I would surely see him, which I immediately did. It was a joy to see the old man quite fresh and alert in mind though aged and completely bed-ridden with more by his wife. However, it was a painful experience to see a life-long worker of India's freedom in such dire difficulty. I may not detail here its painful story. I am only happy that, at the instance of late Shri K. G. M. this paper could do a bit for him during his last few years.

Shri Acharya was a zeal believer in the doctrine of philosophical anarchism. He believed in the message of Gandhi's non-violence and Satyagraha. That belief he had come to hold as a result of his long and without campaigning in foreign lands, for the cause of India's freedom.

Shri Acharya left India when he was in his teen age in 1886. He was in the high school where late Shri V. R. Shastri was the head master. In 1906 he started a nationalist paper in Madras with the famous Tamil poet Bharati. Next year he went to Poona and came under the influence of the great Lokamanya and went as a delegate to the Surat Congress. It was after a long span of 26 years that he could come back to India, thanks to the help of his English pacifist friends like Farmer, Brockway and others. He had married a Russian woman, an artist, while he was

in Hindu during the Bolshevik Revolution, which he could not agree to. Both came out safely from that and after arduous wanderings in many lands came to India. Unfortunately his wife died a few years ago leaving Acharya really alone in the world. He told me he had a brother in Bombay, who once came to see him and did not bother more about him. His last days were a veritable battle between him and crushing poverty and haunting illness. But Acharya had humour enough to bear and leave the ordeal. He was really a brave, serene and the motherhood and stood firm in his views till the end of his days. He was a peace-lover and ardently stood for real communism or socialism as different from Bolshevism or Bolshevism which is wrongly described by that name at present. He stood for a free and decentralised social order based on complete liberty, equality and the dignity of true human personality. May he rest in peace.

20-6-54

M. P.

### A BALANCED OR MIDDLE ECONOMY

(By S. N. Agrawal)

From their immemorial, India has been the home of small village communities or republics on the basis of decentralised democracy and cottage industries. These village panchayats should never be regarded as the "cells of socialism." They were the result of mature thought and experience through the ages.

Gandhiji emphasised the same ancient traditions and wanted India to evolve a healthy and balanced system of self-sufficient and self-governing rural communities on a co-operative basis. He wanted to remove the evils of both capitalism and communism by striking a golden mean. Decentralised economy leaves the initiative in the hands of the individual or a group without allowing much scope for economic exploitation. It strikes a balance between the merits and demerits of laissez faire and regimented economic planning of the Soviet pattern. It is essentially based on the principle of non-violence and respect for human personality. To Gandhiji, man was much more important than machines, and any system which reduced men to automata and kept in a big wheel was to be shunned as undesirable. We have always regarded the two extremes of American Capitalism and Soviet Communism as unhelpful for the healthy growth of human personality and co-operative living. Both these systems are, more or less, economic crucifixes which India should try to avoid in the best interests of the nation and the world at large. In place of the capitalist or the communist economy, we want India to develop a balanced or middle economy—by the way, we do not retain the word "mixed"—in accordance with her true genius and culture. In such a balanced economy, we shall care not for the "greatest good of the greatest number" but for Sarvodaya or "the good of all". In place of economic ex-

ploitation of the labour of others, we shall promote the philosophy of "bread-labour" or the eating of one's bread by the sweat of one's brow. Instead of merely attempting to raise the "standard of living", we should try to raise the "standard of life" of the people.

We are also convinced that in this Age of science, non-violence could be the only practical proposition. The combination of science with violence would surely lead to total destruction of humanity. The combination of a science with non-violence would give the way for a better and happier world.

Reprinted from *Indian Economic Review*, 1954-55

### MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT PROHIBITION

(By Vembakkulam L. Vellai)

Going about the country as I have recently had the opportunity of doing, I have been amazed at the extent of the misconceptions that prevail among the educated and well-to-do classes about the working of Prohibition in Bombay. My present work has brought me into contact with persons—public men, administrators, businessmen, economists—who are expected to take their own account before expressing opinions, and not to base judgments on impressions gathered from hearsay or from occasional headlines in the Press. Unfortunately for Bombay's reputation with these sections of public life outside the State, it is on the prejudiced views of misinformed opponents of Prohibition and on the stories related by "gay" visitors to the City that quite a large number of the leaders of public life in other parts of India build up their case against Prohibition. Never was I more convinced than when I visited other parts of India about the need for more vigorous publicity to be carried on throughout the year. Such publicity should have as its watchword truth for I am certain that well-directed publicity, having facts as its basis is bound to carry conviction in the long run.

Another phenomenon that I observed was the feeling that outsiders had that by its sacrifice of the revenue from drink Bombay was impeding progress in promoting social welfare and plans of economic development in other parts of India. It was often urged that, therefore, in the interests of the country as a whole, Bombay should be called upon by the Centre to abandon Prohibition.

When one attempts to examine the basis of this plea, one discovers that it has none. Revenue of the supposed arrears made by the introduction of Prohibition into the revenues of Bombay State, Bombay has made no demands on the Centre for a larger share of the assigned taxes or for special treatment in the matter of grants and loans. Bombay is willing to have its claims on respect of both increased in the same measure as for any other State in India. Certainly, it will accept no special treatment because of its effecting an essential measure of socio-economic reform.

But so far as I am aware there is no reason to suspect any such differential treatment being meted out to it.

A third aspect of the situation that attracts attention, when one considers the outside reaction to Prohibition in the closed minds one observes almost everywhere. For the thesis which he advocates with great vigor, Shri P. Kodanda Rao of the Servants of India Society has so far apparently, secured few supporters. That thesis provides a final justification for Prohibition. According to Shri Kodanda Rao, the entire duty on alcoholic drinks is wholly an inequitable form of taxation. It imposes a heavy tax burden mainly on those sections of the population who have the poorest capacity to pay, while it is increased consumption in the fortunate that brings in increased receipts to the State exchequer. It is because of the inequitable incidence of excise duties and not for moral reasons or as an article of social reform, that Shri Kodanda Rao would call upon Governments of States to forgo their revenues from drink. The burden will then have to shift to other shoulders, but so argues Shri Kodanda Rao, these strains of society will under any equitable system of taxation have much better capacity to contribute to the exchequer than the thousands among the poorer and backward sections of the community, where the incidence of State excises must fall.

#### THE HANDLOOM AND OUR NATIONAL ECONOMY

The handloom industry is a rich field all over the country, and looked at from the point of view of the operations alone, can be considered the nation's premier industrial occupation. The total number directly engaged on it has been estimated at 16,000,000, though no claim for accuracy can be made for this estimate. On this basis, handloom industry easily ranks next to agriculture in importance.

Side by side with the mill industry, the handloom industry of India has been supplying the needs of the nation throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. Throughout the period till the outbreak of the War its annual output of all sorts of cloth taken as a whole has ranged between 20 and 25 per cent of the total output of cloth in India.

In spite of the lack of organization, finance and skill the handloom industry is not altogether unimportant as an export industry. The following table brings out clearly the importance of the industry and the potentialities of it.

Year	(Million yards)		Value (Crores)
	Production	Exports	
1945	1,005	8,02	17.2
1949	1,200	20.70	21.2
1950	800	22.18	22.7
1951	800	22.84	22.82
1952	1,100	23.58	24.05
1953	1,200	23.42	24.70

The Post-Korean crisis and its attendant effects on all industries spotlight for the first time the problems facing the handlooms in India. The problem no longer was the adequacy of the yarn supply to the industry, but one of wholesale reconversion and rehabilitation from the point of view of the role assigned to it by the Plan.

The appointment of a new All-India Handloom Board, followed soon after by the reservation of specified varieties of cloth for the handlooms and prohibition of their production by the mills, was completed when the Textile Enquiry Committee was appointed to go into the question of the respective role of each sector of the industry.

To foster the development of the industry along prescribed lines and to implement various proposals for their coordinated progress, a new unit was set up on all mill cloth; the proceeds of which were to be credited to the Handloom Development Fund.

These proposals and measures taken by the Government since 1954 have once again revived the original controversy regarding the place of each sector of the industry.

A pragmatic approach to the problem of handlooms shows that despite their primitive methods and techniques non-competability of products str they provide employment for an enormous number. The capacity of the economy to develop other industries or activities is almost at a standstill because of these large number, during the next decade is greatly limited.

Moreover, the handloom industry is excellently suited to serve as complementary industry to agriculture and therefore, does not involve the transfer of labour from the village to the towns. Above all, the demand for handloom products in India continues to be as much as production and, for particular products, considerably more than available supply.

An economic analysis must, therefore, consider whether the retention and development of the mill industry would achieve the same ends of social welfare. By their very nature, mill industry necessitates larger concentration of capital labour and services in one particular locality.

Their development towards modernization, etc. does not offer as many employment opportunities as the handlooms although their cost is relatively lower.

The mill industry cannot satisfy entire domestic demand; however, demand patterns vary from State to State.

Thus judged against objective standards the development of the mill industry in India as compared with the development of a reorganized handloom industry, promises fewer social benefits.

The Handloom Industry is ideally suited to serve as a subsidiary, off-season industry in the

need water in backward developing countries with a growing population. The need is either under-employment in the development of suitable substitutes, or under-employment in growing waterworks as the substitution industries provide additional employment without disturbing the basic economic structure and facilitate process of modernization in gradual stages. From this point of view alone the claim of handicrafts for unaided development is unsoundable.

An even greater hindrance to protected development lies in the demand for capital investment. The successful development of modern industries necessitates huge investments of capital, which is not available. Relatively backward industry needs a negligible volume of capital and, so that capital remains less precious, on the capital market. Moreover, the economic operation of the handicrafts industry—no more managerial and marketing labor than is available or can be made available to it from local sources. In this respect as well, handicrafts create less pressure on limited resources than the mill industry.

The greatest single advantage of the handicrafts is, however, their authentic significance to the workers and their effect on the human personality. Gandhi looked upon the charkha as the symbol of a free man, precisely because the charkha represents the ability to lead an independent, useful life.

In such a case, when the handicraft worker associates himself with his work in a way that yields far greater personal satisfaction than any work, it is a mild one indeed. Economic development as it now being increasingly realized, extends far beyond the limits of economic dynamics, and touches sociology, politics and ethics. It is, therefore, not enough merely to judge handicrafts on the purely market price-demand basis as it totally excludes a vital contribution.

The analysis made above shows that the role of the handicraft industry in a scheme of economic development extends far beyond the pure economic aspect and its importance to the individual, community and nation consists in its contribution as much to the development of the human personality as of the economy.

(Adapted from the First Paper Journal, 1944-45)

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## THE UNIVERSITY AND THE GOVERNMENT

(By Mahatma P. Datta)

A page-report from Bombay says the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan organized a meeting to support the Vice Government's education policy and to telecast the Education Minister for the bold stand he has taken. Evidently, this has reference to the policy of the Government to leave Hindi as the medium in Government colleges. It is good to learn that the Government is studying the implications of the Congress Working Committee's resolution on the question and if the State's present education policy was found to be not in line with that resolution, Government would revise its policy accordingly.

Incidentally there are two things which should be noted in the press report. One is regarding the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. Does the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan stand for Hindi as the medium of higher education in non-Hindi areas? I learn that the organ of the Wardha Group of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan has expressed such a view in its recent number. If this is true, it is a serious matter for non-Hindi regions.

The Education Minister is reported to have remarked that the present policy, the credit for deciding which, he declared, was not his, but of the Bombay Cabinet—was that instruction in Government colleges will be in Hindi while the universities were left to follow their own policy in respect of their colleges. If the report is correct, there is some misapprehension in the description of the policy which might be Government colleges and the non-Hindi colleges, outside the university, including those conducted by the Government. Therefore the policy of the university, whatever it be, should govern all of them in the manner and Government colleges can have no policy, separate from that of the university.

12-4-54

Dr Mahatma Gandhi

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note. While the content of the milk is not damaged by heating, about 12 per cent of vitamin C is lost at the first heat and 60 per cent after ten minutes of heating. Exposure to light of raw milk also causes loss of vitamin C. Vitamins B<sub>1</sub> (thiamine) and vitamin B<sub>2</sub> (riboflavin) are very little affected by the type of processing or preservation of milk. All the enzymes of milk, which alter the rate of chemical reactions are all destroyed when milk is pasteurised or boiled. As regards the digestibility of milk it increases in the order raw, pasteurised and boiled.

Thus, we see, that our centuries old method of boiling the milk is not only safe, easy to handle, but scientific too.

## HARIJAN

May 8

1954

### REORGANISATION OF SERVICES

(By Hagen-Max P. Dvoré)

A few weeks ago in Delhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru inaugurated the Institute of Public Administration. One was, we were told, in pursuance of the recommendations of the Appointed Report on re-organisation of the services. As reported in papers, the new body will undertake research in problems affecting public administration. As I have not before me the authorised prospectus I am unable to say more about it. What projects the new body will first take up, is not declared still. But it is hoped, some of the live problems that are agitating the public mind regarding the day-to-day working of our public services will be the first to be undertaken by the Institute.

What these questions are is well known to us. For example, the Chief Minister of Bombay referred to the most important one when addressing a conference at Dahanu Collection of the whole house a few weeks back in Bombay. He said, "Quick disposal of cases, complete honesty and absence of confidence among people that their grievances would be effectively redressed in time were the three ways in which the administration could be made more efficient and effective." "The test of efficiency and effectiveness lies in the satisfaction of the general public." To put in common parlance, these questions are red-tape and corruption and unreasonable delay in disposal of cases. What the common citizen is anxiously concerned with is a demonstrable change in these.

Obviously, these are matters for the Government to go into, the Institute at best can go into them by systematically investigating and studying them in an objective manner and put its findings before competent authorities as well as the public.

There are a number of questions which are of general importance and are fundamental for our new administration.

We all hope that the services are now working in a democracy, they are not a hierarchy under hierarchy rule. This means they should now have a totally different outlook about and approach to their work. But unfortunately the old ways of foreign rule have gone too deep in the Government machinery and its consciousness to go away so easily and quickly as one would desire. It is necessary to analyse and study these and uproot them by a well planned programme for Government servants.

The Ramaswami Committee in Andhra revealed one such thing, the hierarchy until the declared policy of Government. A similar thing was noted a few months ago by the M. P. Probation Enquiry Committee also. The new Institute should take up such projects for its dispassionate and objective study.

There are other questions which are much more basic than these. They relate to the future of our services. What about their future recruitment, their educational equipment, their working etc.? For example, the medium of instruction in the universities is intimately connected with that of administration. The latter requires us to go into the question of linguistic equipment of our future Government servants, keeping in view the Constitution of India. It lays down, in its 8th Schedule, the languages of India that our people will normally use. It also lays down what the all-India medium for inter-State communication will be. The new Government servants will have to fulfil these needs. The universities will use 1 to 4 that students are academically trained. While they will learn through their own regional languages, they shall know Hindi, the all-India medium, and also English as the third language.

There are various other allied problems which, we hope, the new Institute will take up for its study. It is now daily growing upon the public mind as we proceed further in reconstruction, that unless the services are radically changed, the idea of a Welfare State will not be realised and particularly the goals of Security and Freedom that we possess now will not reach the remote corners of our land, which urgently need to see it.

24-4-54

### As Mahatma Gandhi DRINK, DRUGS & GAMBLING

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## NOTES

## The University and the Idea of Democracy

Shri Manna Jaiswal in his interesting book of recollections and reflections 'My Public Life', remarks about the above subject which is worth reproduction On p. 94, he says:

"That Dr. Vin Chaudhary (now Dr. Bhat) should be elected by the Senate. This was part of the massive opposition to the University of the idea of democracy. On this matter I think might be written, but suffice it to say that the corruption which leads to private Indian universities is made possible by the heavy types of 'scholarship' the most characteristic of which is the election of the Vice-Chancellor. A Vice-Chancellor, person, can great and comprehensive, and if he is to be free to act judiciously and to act honestly with his conscience and his academic spirit, he must be independent of the popular vote."

28-4-54

M. P.

## Is It True?

A friend drew my attention to the following news item from the P. T. I. Karamani, that appeared in the Chhindigarh evening paper *Labhmal* of 28-4-54, Ahmednagar:

"According to the President of a meeting on the subject, The first Education Minister for India, the Minister of Education, Bombay, said that there will be no difficulty in preparing Hindi books in Hindi and that preparation of text books in the regional languages should be banned."

If this report is true, it is a matter of deep anxiety. It is difficult to understand why a ban on the development of regional languages should be necessary for promoting the Inter-State nation, Hindi. It is surely not easier to prepare books in Hindi than in Gujarati or other Indian languages. Rather some of these languages are more developed than Hindi. Therefore, if at all there are difficulties, surely they are not more for other languages than for Hindi.

However, supposing, for argument's sake, that there are, even then, it only requires us to remove them, because our regional languages are also to be promoted and developed.

One difficulty is alleged that books in regional languages in certain localities at least will be prohibitively costly. There existed, I am told, such a difficulty even in the English language, a few decades ago. To overcome it, in our case, we shall have books, in Hindi, Marathi, Bengali etc. over and above in English which also we may surely use. As we know there are no text-books at such low priced cost as in English for higher studies. A few best available books on each subject are recommended for use by students. We may take up Hindi books also if they are found helpful and useful. Therefore, this is no way necessary to ban the growth of Indian languages books. I hope the news is not correct.

28-4-54

M. P.

(From Gujarati)

By Mahatma Gandhi

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## BAD EFFECTS OF TIDY AND BEER

(By C. Kanyasulkashari)

I have just read in the course of a report on the Press of the Prohibition Work circulated on Monday that Dr. Jivraj Mehta has referred to and refuted a sensational claim made on behalf of toddy by Prof. Julius Huxley.

Some 24 years ago I read an article signed by Prof. Julius Huxley referring to the misuse and B. Vidman's content of beer and toddy and about the admittedly harmful content of alcohol. This was not a plea for alcohol but a plea for something that supplied B. Vidman although it contained alcohol 48 per cent in the case of beer and 5 per cent in the case of toddy in the alcoholic content. When I saw this in 1930 I immediately got into touch with Col. McCarrison, the famous nutritionist, who was then working in our country. He authorized me to say what I thereupon printed at page 26 of my *Prohibition Manual* which I quote below, as my book is now out of print:

"It is sometimes claimed for beer that it contains ammonia and is therefore good and thereby that toddy contains Vitamin B and is therefore useful. In one instance language the source is beer in the milk that was in it and the Vitamin B is fairly in evidence but not in the milk itself. In some, we are told by cells in our bodies if we keep them in healthy condition. That Vitamin B is really obtained from yeast which is used in the process of making beer. But, our best source in nutritional research, has stated: 'The drink here is not so much alcohol as the yeast which is used in the body is an unnecessary as in drink, today in order to ensure a sufficient supply of Vitamin B.'"

Having said this, now let me say all about it as it may be useful at this juncture.

Alcohol has a degenerative effect on the structure and functions of the human body, especially on the brain cells. The higher centres of the brain are the first to suffer under alcohol. Self-control is one of the highest functions of the brain. Alcohol weakens this. Many persons recommending this fact consume a large quantity of liquor as a preliminary to the commission of crime.

The impairment of reason and judgment by alcohol is well recognized. The drinker is not able to value things properly. A light affront or a trifling matter may appear to him unbalanced judgment a matter of great gravity. Alcohol further the basic instincts of combativeness and incrimination. These effects are evident for courage and increased vitality.

The first result after the consumption of a small amount of alcohol is a heightened sense of pleasure and wellbeing. It is this that gives alcohol its power over men. Alcohol diminishes the feelings of hunger and weariness and creates an increased flow of blood to the skin causing a feeling of warmth. Its first and apparent effects are stimulating. But real effects are to depress the nerves which fail to regulate true conditions. It causes numbness. It causes dampness of heat by sending the warm blood to the surface. The

depresses an effect of alcohol upon the higher centres of the brain produces a lowering of resistance and a lowering of standards and a slackening of checks upon the normal nature. This is the reason why "speech becomes" "coarser." Conditions grow as efficiency declines.

The first effects of stimulation of alcohol is like the increased pace of a horse when the reins fall as a from a driver's hands. The back and the nerves correspond to the rider and the reins; the muscles of the body are the horse. Energy is let loose and therefore, soon exhausted.

#### Diagnosis

A famous British physician, Dr. Solovky, wrote in April 1898: "All first-hand scientific students of alcohol from Sir Charles Sherrington, President of the Royal Society, and Sir Humphrey Rolleston, President of the Royal College of Physicians, downwards, are agreed that alcohol from that to that in health and in disease is not a stimulant as mankind had so long believed but a narcotic. It acts on us as a stimulant, because simply it narrows control, and lets loose and therefore exhausts our resources. 'Why reserves?' We have known for a generation that alcohol paralyzes the white cells of blood, which are the defence army of the body."

Alcohol influences the throat and the lining of the stomach. It hinders digestion, by coagulating foods and precipitating solutions. It permanently dilates the blood vessels, influences the tissue of the liver, poisons the heart-muscles, and causes accumulation of fat therein. It prevents proper nourishment of muscles by robbing them of their oxygen. It hinders the functions of the mind by paralyzing the delicate cells of the brain.

Alcoholism is a term denoting acute alcoholic poisoning. It occurs as a result of overdrinks taken by habitual drinkers. But there is a disease, sub-acute alcoholism, from which the habitual taker of moderate dose suffers. The symptoms are weakness of drink, fatigue, desire, weakness and family affection which are all subordinated to a craving for drink.

Prof. John Hay of Liverpool University has written: "It is not properly recognized by many people that the alcoholic patient, or even the moderate drinker, has his resistance to infection lowered by his alcoholic habit." The British Board of Education syllabus has it that "alcohol lowers the resistance of the body to disease."

Sir Victor Horsley, the great English dentist about whom the British Medical Association passed a resolution when he died in Minneapolis in 1918, that the nation owed him a debt of gratitude, presents the following tabulation of the diseases caused solely or in part by the use of alcohol:

Diseases due to alcohol alone: Acute alcoholic poisoning; acute nervous depression tremors; chronic alcoholic mania; alcoholia; epilepsy; alcoholia venerea; neurosis; alcoholic paralysis.

Diseases in which alcohol is frequently a determining or contributing cause: Pharyngitis; strychnine-poisoning; gastric ulcers; increased susceptibility to inflammation of the lungs; congestion of liver.

Contributing cause: Pharyngitis, gastric ulcers; congestion of liver; surfaces of liver; fatty liver; albuminuria; Bright's disease; gout; glycosuria; inflammation of the skin; structural disorders of osseous and bony; dilatation of heart; fatty heart; arteriosclerosis; increased susceptibility to inflammation of the lungs; consumption; chronic dropsy; dilatation of stomach; bronchial catarrh; increased susceptibility to the inflammatory diseases of the eye; epilepsy; melancholia; brainia; rheumatic affery; sub-acute erysipelas; blood poisoning; tuberculosis; syphilis; diphtheria; cholera and food poisoning etc.

#### No Nourishment

There is no nourishment in beer, toddy or wine. There is a trace of substances that may be called food in these drinks but there is more nourishment in a few grains of rice, especially if not over-peppered than in a gallon of beer or toddy. The amount of poison in the drink far exceeds the small trace of nutrition dissolved in it. People fancy that there is nourishment in fermented drinks, because the alcohol deadens the feeling of hunger, which is a very different thing from being food.

The fact that toddy is derived from the pines tree, or that wine is made from grape juice, or beer and whiskey from grains, should not make us believe that these drinks have the nourishing or other good qualities of the fruit or the grain. The alcoholism turns in them the whole character of the drink, makes poison out of food. The sugar which contained has been split by the ferment into a badly different substance, viz., alcohol and carbon, and

#### Toxic Wines?

Dr. Robert Hutchings, physician to the London Hospital, wrote about toxic wines: "The use of these wines can on no grounds be recommended. On every ground their manufacture and sale should be strongly deprecated by the medical profession."

The Select Committee on Poisons, Medicines appointed by the House of Commons in 1914, after a thorough investigation came to the following much anticipated and true report:

There can be no doubt that many persons acquire the drink habit by taking these wines and preparations."

The Committee exposed the claims of these preparations to contain nutrition by finding that alcohol cannot contain meat extract in solution and that any medical man desiring to administer meat extract would do so without mixing it with alcohol.

"Some people believe that alcoholic beverages help digestion. On the contrary alcohol injures the digestive organs. Alcohol hardens food, whereas for digestion food has to be softened. Alcohol weakens the gastric juice by precipitating the pepsin in it. Alcohol deadens or stupefies the delicate nerves of the stomach. This is the cause of the false relief obtained by the use of alcohol when there is pain in the stomach. This leads to no cure, but to worse forms of the complaint. But for the stomach and a change of diet are what is wanted in such cases. Alcohol leads to inflammation and injury of the stomach glands. Alcohol injures besides, the heart, the liver the kidneys and the lungs.

\* Adapted from L.P.C. *Scientific Review* 15-4-33

## REGISTRIES OF GRAMNAJ\*

(By Pankaj)

The villagers have come from the cities and carry on their work without outside help. There are no facilities for education nor for medical aid. To add to the difficulties they have also lost almost all the valuable experiences with which previously they used to supplement their meagre earnings. Agriculture is now their only support. But agriculture does not suffice to sustain them all. Those therefore who find it difficult to maintain themselves under the circumstances leave the village for the cities. They migrate to Gaya, to Patna, or far off Calcutta in search of livelihood and somehow manage to eke out a precarious existence in those cities. Hardly anyone cares to visit these small villages. Those who do go there for purposes of exploitation or, as is now often the case, for increasing support in the elections which is just another form of exploitation. But no one from outside goes to them to render service and help to them. There are about five lakh such villages in our country. Our perogranarians in and through the villages are however varied in establishing an intimate, heart-to-heart contact with our village-brothers and doing them what service we can.

You know until only a few years back our country was being ruled by the British. They had to go away and thus a heavy burden which had weighed us down for a long time was removed. They had to go because the people of this country did not want them and they could not stay in defiance of the will of the people. A particularly heavy burden was then removed and an opportunity was presented to us for building up a better new India after our own traditions; but a better new India could be built up only if we helped our peasants and workers and our villagers to become strong. Most of our people live in the villages. It is they who have to be made strong. They are sorely in need of strength. That is the objective we seek to fulfil through our village work.

\* This is a speech at Bhadda (Gaya) on 24/3/33

I will tell you something very interesting about You know the Pandavas who with two in number They had to leave all belongings from place to place in the forest. But thousands could not do them any harm. Why?—because they were united. That was also why Lord Krishna loved them. You will do well to follow that example. It will make you invincible and help you to overcome all your difficulties. That is the way to develop strength. Be united and live like a family sharing all your work and wealth in common.

This is the message I preach wherever I go. I am glad people are responding to my call. There is an awakening among the poor who are beginning to feel that the time has come for them to demand justice and drive out poverty. They are right. Peasants who are ready to work will no more be without land. Drive it in your mind that the poor too are equally entitled to serve the Mother Earth. We want to awaken the land-owners also. You all live in one and the same village, then if there is in the village land to be deemed to belong to all equally. None can have an exclusive ownership of land. Most of the land, however, today is owned by a tiny minority while many are landless. I therefore urge to those who are not—fortunately placed in this respect to distribute their possessions to their less fortunate brethren and thus earn their love and gratitude. I have so far received twenty-five lakh acres of land in this way. But the need is greater than that and will not be met unless every single village makes its own contribution to this effort. Each village has to undertake the responsibility of rehabilitating its landless peasants and contribute enough land to fulfil this responsibility.

The next thing I have to do is to develop suitable industries in every village. Every village must have all the industries to meet its primary needs. At present, though wheat and paddy and seeds are produced in the villages, the flouring of the wheat, debanking of rice, and processing of the oil seeds for oil are done in the cities. This is wrong. All these industries should be carried on in the villages. Cloth too should be produced in the villages. The women will do the spinning and men will do the weaving; and you will easily get all the cloth you need without spending a single pie for it. Supposing that an individual needs approximately ten rupees worth of cloth annually, a village with a population of one thousand would consume ten thousand rupees worth of cloth. And if all this cloth is purchased from the cities so much money will flow out of the village and leave it poorer in that event. How can then the village become strong? This drain has got to be stopped before we can hope to regenerate and strengthen the villages. That is why Gandhiji said always that we must all take to spinning. We have been spinning in our





# HARIJAN

(PUBLISHED BY) BHAKTINATH SANKHED  
DESIK, MADHURNATH P. DESAI



Vol. XVII, No. 11

AMBEDKAR—SATURDAY, MAY 15, 1954

TWO ANNAS

## RECONSTRUCTING HIGHER EDUCATION (By Mahadevan P. Desai)

It is gradually dawning upon us now that changing the medium of instruction and examination is one of the most urgent and immediate things to do in reconstructing higher education. However, it is unfortunate that, for one reason or another, the universities cannot show due promptness in this behalf. Some say that the matter should be thought out on an all-India basis and all should start to change together. Apparently the suggestion looks somewhat attractive, but from the point of view of actual work, it must be admitted that it at least retards unnecessary delay.

At present, almost all the universities (with the rare exception of the S. N. D. T. Women's University) work with the English medium. Its long use has established a state of helplessness without it and brought about a tendency towards the native tongue. Further, Government services are available again on the extent of the knowledge of English and when and how the well change is uncertain. Therefore the change-over of the medium becomes a matter of 'who will tell the cat's tail'.

There is this much truth in the above suggestion that the change of the medium must obviously be thought out against an all-India background, i.e. with due appreciation of the fundamentals of the Constitution of India and the needs of our national development accordingly. Every university that begins to think of the change-over must keep this before itself, and if all do so, the all-India background will be automatically assured.

And we have before us an All-India picture of the programme drawn out for us in the recommendations of the Indianisation Commission Report. And further, we have now a comprehensive resolution of the All-India Congress Working Committee on the matter, passed by it after due consideration of the whole question in our present circumstances as they obtain today.

This resolution is a very valuable directive to the states. It says that at the university stage the medium of instruction will primarily be the national languages, and it adds that to facilitate inter-provincial intercourse Hindi may also be

used, and that in the intermediate stage, English also may continue, so that standards may not be adversely affected.

If we look at the Constitution of India, we find that the above resolution is proper in all ways. The inter-State language or the lingua franca of India is to be Hindi which has to be promoted and developed with the help of and along with all our Indian languages. These, as we know, are enumerated in the 8th Schedule of the Constitution. The lingua franca or inter-State medium Hindi is not to compete with these Indian languages. Obviously there cannot be such competition among them as the President of India very clearly said the other day at Nagpur. He said:

Hindi was made the national language for inter-State communication and not for stifling the growth of regional languages.

'It is said that the unity of India is composed of diversity of languages, customs and customs. The growth of all regional languages was therefore essential for the progress of the country.' (The Times of India, Mumbai, April 24, 1954)

If we look at the history of our fight for freedom, we shall find that this is nothing new. When Gandhi suggested that Hindi should be adopted as the inter-provincial language of intercourse, he made it as a basis of his movement for propagation of Hindi that Hindi will not compete with or replace our regional languages, but will rather be complementary to them for inter-provincial intercourse and thus they will all mutually help one another and grow and develop to their full stature. The success that Hindi met in its propagation was in no small measure due to this very necessary and welcome assurance.

If this be so of the Hindi movement, is knocking out now in any way, it will spell disaster for us. The Hindi Sahitya Samaksha and its branches in non-Hindi areas have come out openly and work for the Hindi medium. There are non-Hindi speaking enthusiasts also who, thinking on the analogy of English, wish to put Hindi in its shoes and believe it as an easy solution of our language question. They speak in the name of Indian unity, not realising that the so-called easy solution will do quite the other thing. It is hoped these people will see this point in the light of what is discussed above.

Indian cinema in India must now begin to change the medium of instruction on the broad basis presented to us by now. The Gujarat University declares our congratulations for giving the lead in the matter. It has enhanced Gujarat's prestige abroad. It was Gujarat that first adopted non-co-operation in 1920 and started the bold experiment of starting the Gujarat Vidyapeeth with the clear aim of having Gujarati as the medium of all instruction. The Gujarat University has followed these noble traditions by its unconditional statement on the policy of the medium after long deliberations for 3 years by now. We hope Government will accept this decision of the University. The resolution that it passed on the subject is given elsewhere in this issue.

Now it is for Gujarat to its professors, writers, publishers and others, to plan this resolve to success. For that it is necessary that there must now prevail a climate of fervor of purpose and joy of adventure and endeavor. It now behooves us to see that the great Indian languages added by the common inter-State medium of expression, Hindi, give us a way of working in a joint effort to remove English as the medium of instruction. Then only can the political equality given to a citizen by adult franchise will have its full meaning and due fulfillment in our new democracy.

2-5-54

(From the 10th vol. of "Pragat")

### THE PROBLEM BEFORE US

[A summary of Shri Vinoba's speech at the 8th Sanshodhan Sammelan on April 11.]

Welcoming the workers and visitors who attended the Sanshodhan Sammelan Shri Vinoba expressed his joy at seeing old faces again and having an opportunity to review old acquaintances and strengthening bonds of love. Both Chhat and Mahatma Gandhi, in their last days, had expressed the wish that their co-workers and associates would remain united bound together with the chord of inviolable love. And while they lived they were always teaching love—love to one's neighbours and even to one's enemies. Khadi and village industries are nothing but the manifestation of love for one's neighbour. The love for the country found expression in the form of non-violent resistance and Satyagraha, and the teaching of the love for one another had now resulted into the formation of the Sanshodhan Sammelan.

Vinoba further emphasised on true heart-unity and not to physical contact. He however, trusted Jeebhariaji to the Conference though he fully realised the latter's difficulties, as he sincerely desired to establish closer contacts among the members of the "Gandhi Family". Bhodhan movement among other things, had also served as a very fruitful means of establishing and strengthening such contacts.

Bhodhan has its own ideological rationale. It seeks to revive and bring out the moral power. Efforts are being made unceasingly to keep the Bhodhan movement a above party level. Timoraj also is maintaining non-party character of the movement and bringing all parties together to work for nation's good through a commonly accepted programme.

Some people said that they would work together forgetting their differences when the country was in danger. Shri Vinoba asked if it was necessary to have a crisis to foster fraternal feelings. Were the differences of language and religion not enough to bring the people together? Had they need a greater crisis for it?

Shri Vinoba then referred to the present system of election and drew pointed attention of leaders and others to its evils. In the present culture and other traditions of India this election system had done a definite harm to the nation. It had aggravated the evil of casteism which had lately become much weaker as account of severe attacks which had been made on it by volunteers from Raju Ramdasrao Raj to Mahatma Gandhi. Elections cost considerable money and entail waste of energy and endanger harmonious relationships. It would be better therefore Shri Vinoba observed, that thinkers of diverse political parties should sit together and evolve ways and means to prevent contesting of elections on party basis.

In the present conditions of the country, there was an imperative necessity to evolve a common programme acceptable to all. All parties and persons should participate wholeheartedly in it without any regard of party affiliations or other loyalties.

They might have differences of opinion and it should not be difficult to work in union and harmony. The differences of opinion have their own use. They should lead to more serious thinking. Good men of integrity and honesty should manifest concern and not freedom and dissent in their action. Bhodhan offers a common programme of work in which all parties and persons can participate.

Tracing the origin of the Bhodhan movement Shri Vinoba said that it came to him as a command from God. Some might call it his blind faith. But he said that faith was always blind in the world some tasks were accomplished by intellect and some by faith. Intellect is that which apprehends proved facts while faith does not depend upon proofs and established facts. The child does not search for proof, whether the mother's milk is healthful for it. It is all good for it. Faith provides the motive power while intellect shows the direction. Man's life is a happy blend of faith and intellect. Both are equally essential.

He next explained how his faith helped him to take up the Bhodhan work when the idea occurred to him. The atmosphere about him

while he was young. Bhagwan was thick with darkness. The sun had been smothered into violence and the earth was utterly confused. They did not know what to do. Then one day—it was in Peshawar—when he asked for 50 acres of land a friend volunteered to give 100 acres. He took it to be a signal from God. He meditated over its significance. His mathematics and reason did not help him. How could he hope to solve this problem in this way? It would need thousands and lakhs of acres which he could not reasonably hope to get by way of Bhagwan. But a light came from within which told him: If you *love* the soil and her and shrink from accepting this work, then you will have to accept Communism; there is no other alternative. This decided the matter for him. Gradually as the work progressed those who were initially sceptical about its efficacy began to know it. The Communists turned on a vigorous propaganda against him, trying to discredit his motives and intentions. They distributed leaflets which said that he was a thief, an agent of the rich and so on. But he continued to treat them with love. He held on to the belief that though they were wrong, they had sympathy for the poor. The result had been quite surprising. The Communist leader Shri Gupta now says that though he does not believe in this method, yet he does not oppose it. Shri Vinoba said that this gradual transformation of the attitude of the Communists from one of active hostility to that of passive support was a first principle of the change of heart. The doctrine of the change of heart was often laughed at by Communist circles. But they forgot that they had turned Communists mostly as a result of the influence of Marx's thought on their mind which was, if one came to examine it, quite as good an example of the change of heart as any other.

The atmosphere of Bhagwan has now been created. People have begun to realise that the individual ownership of land will go. Shri Vinoba said that the thoughtful among the people should now come forward to utilise this atmosphere by preparing them for the acceptance of the ideal that one must give a portion of whatever one has—wealth, power, or intelligence, to the society. This would give each of them an opportunity to serve the country. This, he said, was the right ethical and moral law which alone could make for an ideal society free from the evils of the capitalist or totalitarian systems.

Giving an example from Islam Shri Vinoba said that we of the present day world resembled those who live in *Jannat*—a world according to the Koran between heaven and hell. The deities of this world have one half of their face laughing and the other half weeping. When they look up towards heaven they weep, when they look below towards the hell they laugh. It was the same with us. A man could always find some

who was happier and more dignified, who were far more unhappy than he. If we wanted to get an end to this monstrous position and make all of them—everybody happy and all faces fully smiling, then we must help those who were more unhappy than we. The Sarvodaya-dan Yajna was nothing more or less than the application of this aim in the sphere of wealth.

Explaining the spiritual importance of land Shri Vinoba observed that land was not merely a means of production but, as he could say from his experience also a means of offering one's devotion to God. For conquering and keeping in check the wrong thoughts of one's mind the service of land was more important than even japa and tapa. Then it was also a powerful means of acquiring and maintaining one's physical health. Nature once advocated various means for getting rid of ill health. He had advised fruits and others to make use of the hoe for that purpose with very good results.

Finally, Shri Vinoba emphasised the dignity of labour and in this connection explained the great importance of *Sudarshak*, i.e. offering of a hunk of yarn as a mark of one's respect to Rupa on the occasion of his death anniversary. He said, it was a programme pregnant with great possibilities. It was a vote for Sarvodaya. All those who believed in non-violence, brotherhood of man, and the dignity of labour must offer a hunk of yarn. He also emphasised the need for Khadi from the point of view of the economic situation in the country. The Indian peasant could not live without Khadi because his main problem was under-employment which Khadi alone could solve. He said that he had accepted the need of spinning for India after a great deal of argument with Gandhiji. Training in spinning to every Indian was as necessary as was weaving and looting to an Englishman. Spinning ought to form an inseparable part of one's educational equipment. He also asked the Government to make spinning a necessary part of the student's training.

(Adapted from Hindi)

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# HARIJAN

May 15

1934

## THE MESSAGE OF THE BODH GATA CONFERENCE

(By Jagadishan P. Dasgupta)

The annual session of the Sarvodaya Conference was held a few days ago at Bodh Gaya in Bihar. The readers, I hope, have been following the account of its proceedings appearing in the press from day to day. I hope to receive the authorized report soon which will then be presented to the readers. I am sorry to have to keep them waiting for it all this.

The responsibility for holding the Conference is borne by the Sarva Seva Sangh. It may be recalled that this Sangh came into existence as a result of the deliberations of the first session of this Conference held at Waridha after Gandhi's departure from our midst. Gandhi, during his last days, had been seriously discussing with Congress workers the need for a reorganisation of the Congress and the message constructive work institutions. Such need was being clearly felt in those days in view of the change in the situation consequent on the advent of Swaraj. He had indeed formulated in outline of a constitution for the transformation of the Congress into a Lok-Sevak-Sangh (i.e. an organisation for the service of the people) as he preferred to call it. And he was discussing the proposal with friends and workers. In the same way he had intended to reorganise the constructive work institutions also so as to make of them a more effective weapon of all round service in the new age which was then setting in. And he had wanted to accomplish it himself under his personal guidance. It had even been decided that he would be proceeding to Waridha from Delhi for this purpose after his work in Delhi in regard to the proposed new constitution for the reformation of the Congress — about which the Congress leaders were then holding discussions with him — was finished. But that was not to be, the tragedy intervened and he passed away suddenly leaving those two tasks to be done by his followers after him. We have been trying to do them with the help of — in the language of his actual practice — whatever guidance we obtained from him and still retain. And though it cannot be claimed that we have found out the key to their perfect achievement, yet it is by no means a matter for small satisfaction that sincere efforts are being made to that end in both the spheres.

As I have remarked above, the Sarva Seva Sangh has come into existence as a result of the efforts to reorganise the constructive work insti-

tutions. The main object of the work of the Sangh is to bring about the desired change during the Conference. The first step was to deal with them only after consultation. Information is received.

It was decided in the Conference held last year that the Sarva Seva Sangh should devote itself to the Bhodhan work with intensive concentration. And in this connection concrete targets were set viz. to collect five crore acres by the year 1937 and 25 lakh acres during the next year. Individual targets for different provinces were also set and workers, plunged into the task with faith and determination. The present Conference came at the successful completion of the country-wide efforts made in this behalf.

The Conference was attended by the three most important dignitaries of the country — the President, the Vice-President, and the Prime Minister besides many well-known constructive workers. People too were drawn to it in large numbers. The Conference carried out all its work in an excellent manner.

Shri Venkai expressed his satisfaction over the collection of 25 lakh acres of land — which was the target set for the total collection from the country — and asked the workers to continue their efforts with courage and guidance. It was true that some of the provinces could not fulfil the targets fixed for them severally. But there was no reason whatever for giving way to a feeling of sorrow or sorrow etc. Bhodhan work in its essence was not aimed at merely collecting land, though that was certainly necessary for its success. After all land was lying where it was. It was not probable like other forms of wealth. Ultimately it was destined to be with its cultivators. Human civilization and the division of the society into classes had, however, deformed the natural arrangement, which should be corrected. The revolution we want has in starting a process that will remedy the undesirable situation. It would be really wonderful that this civilization born, as it is, of actual experience represents a guide of great value for the future of the country.

It is well to remember that this revolution does not and will not stop at this point. The cultivator whom the Bhodhan seeks to liberate with the ownership of land and thus to raise him to the position of a respectable member of a self-supporting and a largely self-governing village community, must be able to feel this change in his status. We have to build up a society which will let him feel and experience this change. It is clear that State power by itself is unable to undertake the task of building up such a society. An awakened moral consciousness and a new life-view based on such consciousness is the only effective instrument for this social revolution. Force or fear of punishment cannot hope to achieve it. Moral consciousness being there, the power of the State acting under the guidance of

the terms of the message for reconstruction given last October by me. These points are: (1) the need for this message at all quarters which should be made, (2) the need to come from the point of view of the clarity of thought among the people.

The audience was divided by two main developments: (1) Mr. V. V. K. expressed his intention to start a new movement from a centre in the districts of our state life, at Varanasi. (2) Sri Jayaprakash Narayan made an appeal to the people for *pramodan*—a donation of life for building up a new society through Bhodan. It appears that the new centre would seek to synthesise the teachings of the Buddha and Shankaracharya, the non-violence of the Buddha and the Vedanta or Knowledge of Shankar. It was pointed out that this synthesis will be based on the Gandhian message of truth and non-violence. It is true that serious efforts were made to stimulate the workings of these three great men and to spread them among the people so as to satisfy their cultural hunger.

The appeal for the donation of life has its own importance. Every period of renaissance must needs have it for beginning such necessary seed and soil laid. It gathers sufficient momentum and gets into stride. The entire history of mankind from early times to this day shows that no real renaissance in life can be effected except through the sacrifice of willing individuals passionately devoted to the cause. Mahatmas must do it. Gandhi did the same in 1930. The early Buddha, Krishna, the early Christians and our medieval saints all did the same. The history which has burned in the earth around both Ganga would tell us the same tale if we had the ears for it. The need for workers being such an utterly concerned life is no less in the case of the new age which we are now set to build up in our country. At the end Gandhi's call was nothing else than a call for living a life of renaissance in the service of a cause. One might say that Sri Jayaprakash Narayan's appeal echoes the same old appeal on a restricted scale. There was an instantaneous response to this appeal and several persons came forward to take up the vow of *pramodan*. Sri Vinoba was the first to take the vow. He said to his people: "I offer my life for a non-violent revolution to be brought about through Bhodan with village industries as its nucleus."

I draw the attention of the readers to the highlighted portion in the above. Sri Vinoba defines Bhodan by adding an important qualification: "with village industries as its nucleus." I have referred to the great importance of the village industries for the reconstruction of our economy in an article "Next Step in Bhodan" in Narayan dated 12-2-54. I quote the following from the last paragraph of this article:

"We have now to distribute the Bhodan lands. Those who possess land will have to demonstrate their

own interest in non-violent reconstruction and the lands will be distributed to them. It will be a revolution only when the land will secure for every person possessed and governed by the Gandhian (village) economy. This then is the seed and the soil for present revolutionary step which we have to take.

Writing to me about it a North Indian reader has expressed the opinion that this was an idea of the greatest significance for the future of our country. The readers will see that this idea lies at the very root of the process of revolution evolved and worked out by Gandhi. We have to achieve an economic and social fabric of a self-supporting, self-perpetuating and non-violent life which shall embody the new revolution we want to work out in India. This can be achieved only by reconstructing the villages on the right lines. Villages are the real India. All our plans should be drawn up and implemented to achieve this aim. It is a huge, a great herculean task and everyone must participate in a firm whatever he may be and through whatever work he may be doing. This is the motto of the constructive workers—a duty laid on us by the inner urge of our nature. They should not hanker after position or power or waste their energy in fruitless hankering. Gandhi produced thousands of workers in the country. If they take to this work in the day or the night, the success is sure.

The same applies to the political workers also. They too are constructive workers in their own way as Gandhi once said in 1937 when Swamy was beginning to dawn in our country. It is true that power breeds love of power and makes it difficult for an individual to control his anger and malice. But on the other hand, it is equally difficult for those who share power to conquer pride and envy they tend to feel for those who use no power. It is true that power corrupts, but absence of power, if it is not accompanied by sufficient detachment may corrupt a man equally strongly. In fact, any situation is potent enough to cause our moral fall if we are not constantly on our guard. Let us then humbly pray to God to guide us in our conduct and with such guidance as our strength let us go forward. This is the message of the Both Gaya Conference.

25-1-54

(S. G. S. Narayan, Varanasi)

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## THE BOMBAY RESOLUTION

THE South Servants' Committee, held its thirteenth general meeting on 19th, 20th and 21st April last under the friendly auspices of National Industrial Association, [present the following important resolutions.]

The Serva Sarva Sangh had resolved to collect 25 lakh acres of land in two years at Sevagram. That this target has been realised in the stipulated period is for us a matter of great joy. There are, however, several States which have not been able to realise their individual targets. And this success, reasonable as it is, must be considered imperfect to that extent. But the collection of 25,18,600 acres from 2,22,000 donors is an event which is unique. It shows the extent to which the idea of the Bhamburda Yajna has seeped into the minds and hearts of our people.

The Serva Sarva Sangh offers its grateful thanks to all those lakhs of donors—small persons and big organisations—and workers who participated in the Bhamburda drive and helped the Sangh to achieve this unique success.

From Sevagram to Champai, the movement had progressed at a pace which had encouraged us at Champai to fix a target of five crore acres of land by 1-1-45. Several States have already started campaigns within their respective areas in the light of this resolve. It is necessary that we should proceed at a rapid pace; it should be remembered however that it is not our intention to realise this target by unfair means. The idea underlying the movement has to be firmly planted in the minds of men. We have to end economic exploitation and remove disparities in standards of living of the people. It is proposed to establish a Stateless society free from exploitation where equality and freedom will exist in practice. Proponents donors should grasp the full implications of the movement before donating land.

The Sevagram resolution created a new climate of Bhamburda. It had spread the idea that land does not belong to any particular individual but to God or, in other words, to the society. We want to repeat the same idea in respect of other properties. We want to change radically the prevailing social conception of individual ownership of property. Viewed in this perspective the Bhamburda movement is the first step towards an economic revolution.

It is clear that the Bhamburda Yajna in itself is not enough. It has created a revolutionary urge amongst the people who are now eager to have a full view of the grama stage of our conception. We have therefore to distribute the land we have received speedily and methodically and thus lay the foundation of the new grama stage. The distribution work would afford us an opportunity to explain to the people that land belongs to the society and that it should remain with him who works on it. We should, therefore, take up

the work of Bhamburda with this end in view, to implement the new regime of land.

Landless Bhamburda donors also be entitled to receive agricultural implements and other means of agriculture for their rehabilitation. The concept of a Bhamburda, a national society in Bhamburda. The responsibility for supplying them with the implements and other means of agriculture has to be borne by the entire people. The objective of campaign this will be fulfilled when the means of production where they are not in the hands of real producers, are handed over to the society and wealth is not allowed to concentrate in the hands of any individual. Donation of one-third of one's property is the first step in this direction. It is a pointer that the owner of property will consider himself a trustee of the property held by him.

The strength of the people cannot be developed merely by increasing production. Nor are socialisation and nationalisation in themselves enough for it. A self-supporting decentralised economy is the only means for achieving the economic emancipation of the people. In the situation which exists in India today a decentralised and self-supporting economy is not possible except on the basis of the village industries. For this reason, the Sevagram resolution contained a reference to the boycott of centralised industries producing the daily necessities of life like food and cloth.

The world today suffers from a lack of a sense of direction. While people desire peace, preparations are going on for war. The people are perturbed over the latest invention of science. The world is led up with attempts to bring peace through war and to end economic exploitation through conflict. The world is waiting for a new revolutionary technique which will be in line with our longing for a brotherhood of men and which will be keeping with that purpose, faster co-operation between them. The Bhamburda movement is a radical step in laying about a peaceful revolution. For the world it contains a message of hope and a call to noble adventure.

It is a unique experiment to bring about an economic revolution by non-violent means. It is a challenge to our spirit—the spirit of brave effort and a call for fostering idealistic feelings. We have hopes that all those who wish to create new values of life will sacrifice their lives to achieve this mission. The more the devotion and speed which we can bring to bear on our work, the more will be the spirit of self-reliance wanted among the people.

(From Harijan)

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## GUJARAT UNIVERSITY RESOLUTION

(By Majumdar, P. D. et al.)

The Senate of the Gujarat University met on Dec. 74 and passed two resolutions explicitly laying down its policy regarding the medium of instruction and examination for which it deserves the congratulations of all people. In doing it, the Senate has done a memorable act of service for our Gujarati speaking countrymen.

By its first comprehensive resolution the Senate enacted two Statutes which incorporated and clarified its previous<sup>1</sup> decision on the matter and carried it further to cover all the facilities that might come in during the first two years of collegiate studies immediately after the Entrance.

The first Statute is a general one laying down the broad policy of the University, regarding the medium. It is under Sec. 2(2)(i) of the Gujarat University Act which gives the following power to the Senate:

"To promote the development of the study of Gujarati and Hindi in Devanagari script and the use of Gujarati or Hindi in Devanagari script or both as a medium of instruction and examination.

Provided that facilities may continue to be the medium of instruction and examination in such subjects provided for such period not exceeding ten years from the date on which Sec. 2 (2)(i) came into force (i.e. 1959) as may from time to time be provided by the Statute."

The second Statute accordingly prescribes the medium for the first two years of collegiate studies, to start with.

Further, the second resolution of the Senate asks the (i) college to check out the plan and programme for the change-over after the second year of collegiate studies.

The two Statutes passed by the Senate are as follows:

## Statute

Under Cl. 2(2)(i) of the Gujarat University Act

## I

## General Statute

Whereas, for medium of instruction and examination for the University;

(i) Gujarat shall be the medium of instruction and examination;

(ii) Notwithstanding anything in Cl. (i) above, English shall continue to be the medium of instruction and examination for a period not exceeding ten years from the date on which Sec. 2 (2)(i) of the Gujarat University Act came into force (which was promulgated from time to time by Statute;

(iii) Notwithstanding anything in Cl. (i) above, Hindi may be used provided that non-Gujarati students and teachers will have the option, the Senate for their convenience and the latter for their teaching work, to use Hindi as the medium, if they so desire. The Senate will regulate this by making suitable arrangements to the extent it is and when necessary;

(iv) Notwithstanding anything in Cl. (ii), (iii) above the medium of examination and instruction for

\* It may be noted here that the previous Statute covered the first two years of only the Arts faculty and used the word Gujarati. Gujarati subject Hindi which is in Gujarati script might be substituted in some parts or English may be even superiorly used or possibly in Gujarati.

any other course suggested for future years by the Senate for the University.

## II

Notwithstanding anything in Cl. (i) above, English shall continue to be the medium of instruction and examination for a period not exceeding ten years from the date on which Sec. 2 (2)(i) of the Gujarat University Act came into force (which was promulgated from time to time by Statute;

(ii) Notwithstanding anything in Cl. (i) above, Hindi may be used provided that non-Gujarati students and teachers will have the option, the Senate for their convenience and the latter for their teaching work, to use Hindi as the medium, if they so desire. The Senate will regulate this by making suitable arrangements to the extent it is and when necessary;

(iii) Notwithstanding anything in Cl. (i) above, English shall continue to be the medium of instruction and examination for a period not exceeding ten years from the date on which Sec. 2 (2)(i) of the Gujarat University Act came into force (which was promulgated from time to time by Statute;

(iv) Notwithstanding anything in Cl. (i) above, Hindi may be used provided that non-Gujarati students and teachers will have the option, the Senate for their convenience and the latter for their teaching work, to use Hindi as the medium, if they so desire. The Senate will regulate this by making suitable arrangements to the extent it is and when necessary;

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Science Arts	1955
P.T. Sci.	1956
P.T. Comm.	1956
Science Sci.	1957
Science Com.	1958
P.T. Sci. (April)	1959

And the second resolution which asks the Statute to enact further steps in the change-over is as follows:

"Regarding the change-over of the medium of instruction and examination from English to all the faculties from the first year of collegiate studies and further beginning from June 1959, it is resolved that progressive and graded steps should be taken in this regard according to the plan and programme for the change-over after the second year of collegiate studies. The Senate to take the necessary steps in this regard and to report to the Senate in its first meeting of 1959-60."

19-54

Gujarat University

## MAN OF THE CENTURY\*

In India January is the season of sorrow. For it was the 28th day of January in 1948 that an assassin's bullet struck down Mohandas K. Gandhi. India was stunned to her core. Across the earth stark headlines announced the death of the first old man.

Because Gandhi knew that this world will be transformed into action, it was often hard for the West to know whether he was a politician or a saint. He was neither. Gandhi was a man whose life was devoted to the search for Truth, whose courage in applying that truth was so great that he lived above the other figures of our time.

In a world where violence has come to mean civilization is evil and revolution the antidote of love, Gandhi showed us the power. Firm goodwill to withstand the forces of tyranny. Through his life, Gandhi gave to a world sick with hatred and fear a renewed faith in freedom and a new meaning to the word democracy.

Gandhi is dead, his body buried and the ashes scattered. Yet his memory will live with us till the end of time, compelling us to new search for truth giving us courage in our darkest hour.

\*From: *Forward*, Jan. 1955, published by the Truth Section, Fellowship of St. Francis, Los Angeles, Calif., U.S.A.





# HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MANMATH DASGUPTA)  
EDITOR: MANMATH DASGUPTA



Vol. LVIII, No. 12

AMRUTDARAD — SATURDAY, MAY 23, 1936

TWO ANNAS

## HINDU AND REORGANIZATION OF STATES

Chandragiri (Gandhi) referred next to the proceedings of the Congress Working Committee which had been sitting for the last two days. Gandhiji said that they had been discussing the question of re-organisation of provinces on a linguistic basis. Pundit Jyotsnadasai Nehru and Sarvepalli were both present in that discussion. The Congress had already adopted that principle and had declared its intention to put effect in it constitutionally as soon as they came to power as such re-organisation would be conducive to the better advancement of the country. But such re-organisation should not militate against the organic unity of India. Autonomy did not and should not mean disruption or that hitherto provinces could go the way they chose. Independence of one another and of the Centre.

— *Chandragiri* — *Chandragiri* to look upon their as a separate sovereign unit. India's independence would lose its meaning and with it would vanish the freedom of the various units as well.

The character of India's independence as conceived by the Congress was based on village autonomy. But all the villages were to derive vitality from the Centre, as the latter in its turn derived all power and authority from the former. It would be fatal if it led to narrow provincialism, mutual bickerings and rivalries—between Tamil and Andhra for instance, Bombay and Karnataka and so on. The redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis was necessary if provincial languages were to grow to their full height. *Chandragiri* was to be the lingua franca—*Chandragiri*—of India, but it could not take the place of the provincial language. It could not be the medium of instruction in the provinces—much less English. Its function was to make them realise their organic relationship with India. The world outside did not know them as Gujarati, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu etc., but only as Indians. We must, therefore, absolutely discountenance all separatist tendencies and feel and behave as Indians. Subject to this paramount consideration a linguistic redistribution of provinces would give an impetus to education and trade.

## SYNTHESIS OF SERVICE AND EDUCATION \*

(By Vinoba)

We have just heard speakers discussing two important questions of Nai Talim work. One of them was: Looking to the attitude of the Government to it, how far can we help them or even as receive help from them? The other which was more important and fundamental was: What should be the exact relation between the other constructive work institutions and Nai Talim? It was alleged in this connection that workers belonging to these other institutions have not accepted Nai Talim. Supposing that the allegation is true, what we have to do is not to complain of it, but to mend things by making necessary changes. The dissolution of the Sarva Seva Sangh and Talim Sangh, or to put it more properly, of Sarva Seva like the various constructive activities for the service of the people included in the Gandhian programmes and Nai Talim (or Basic Education) from each other looks as if the head and the trunk were disconnected from each other. It means that both these branches of our work have become devoid of life. In the absence of Nai Talim all the rest of our constructive activities are sure to grow stagnant and dead.

We have made some experiments in Nai Talim through the Government. I would not say that the time spent over these experiments was wasted. None the less it remains a fact that this precluded us from carrying out our own independent experiments. We want that all our experiments must be the experiments of Sarva Seva, that is, they must be carried out as a part of the whole of our constructive activities and as an integral whole. No activity can be allowed to stand isolated and independent from the rest, like the one sky which cannot be divided into separate compartments. In the same way the Nai Talim system cannot keep aloof from the rest of the Sarva Seva activities. The entire pattern of Sarva Seva must be one whole and intact. All our centres, therefore, must be centres of such Sarva Seva—total efforts. Else our efforts will be wasted and come to naught.

\* From a speech at a meeting of the Nai Talim Sangh workers at Narayana (Chh. Gp.) on 14-4-36.

But the workers are not satisfied with it. In my opinion, it is not a long way to go. As such it ought to be secured in the future, that is, to ensure that we understand it to the people. This view of Mao Tse-tung is approved by all. The workers may not be practicing it, but they agree that action must be explained by knowledge. It means that in the future we must choose to do Mao Tse-tung must always be there. Mao Tse-tung workers also agree that there must be more go hand in hand with other classes. The point is all our work must be done through and through with Mao Tse-tung. When both the Soviet Union workers and the Mao Tse-tung workers agree about the terrible life of the two going together, it would then be clear that their superior relations portends the good.

Mr. Tolson is to me no less than a *Switzer* in a political sense. Difference of opinion in these matters does not justify whether a particular machine should or should not be used, would not do us much harm. But frankly as the Mr. Tolson is as I said a *Switzer*, difference of opinion in this field will lead to more serious consequences. It will give rise to different *derogations*, that is different views of life. In that case the Mr. Tolson will develop an attitude marked by an emphasis on knowledge even though it may *embellish* *Marx's* *Soviet* work and *hagard* education through *crisis* and *misadventure*. On the other hand, the *Marx's* *Soviet*, even though it may *embellish* *Mr. Tolson's* work, will be dominated by an *embellish* *derogation*.

These mass of knowledge primarily devoted to action will naturally be drawn to the poor, the oppressed, the exploited, while the mass of action primarily devoted to knowledge will find those who work mostly among the educationists, the scholars, the planners. This information will split up the workers into two groups: one devoted to action and having to do with the depressed and exploited section of the society and the other devoted to knowledge and having to do with the third or the middle-class, and so on. And as one can see if you take this split lead to antagonism and conflict which will be whole system. If however the two organizations drop their separate identity and become one, this will be avoided. Differences among individuals arising from natural aptitudes may and will remain, but there must be only one organization.

Let me describe a New York Conference was held recently in Avenue. Most of those who attended it were Government officers, other educators, mostly such people as we call middle-class. Here on the other hand the Soviet Era Conference are attended by people who are regarded as such including the communists, workers, Socialists, and even Communists. Thus there is evidently more difference in the outlook and even the even today. In some of the other

the South Sea Island, a native Telling of his own, this difference being genuine, and then there will be conflict with the missionaries as to the authentic tale. It is the same account, but up to see whether our readers will be able to be prepared to unite. If they are, we will give an individual approval units in one is sufficient. I have put before you the picture of a missionary happen in the absence of each other. It is not the way to divide.

On a job<sup>1</sup> notwithstanding my hairdresser I am not in any way obsessed with the idea of merger of all institutions in one organization. In fact, I am not interested in growing and building anything that is all. I have explained why I support the merger in this case. The need for this unification was being felt more acutely ever since Khosravi was started. Our work is now growing wider and wider. We have now taken up Sampan-Chen. Then there's distribution of steel which will bring in its wake many other kinds of work, for example, the expansion of voluntary labour, collection of tools and implements for outfitting the villages on the newly distributed lands, providing for their education, and so on. In fact, that will mark the real beginning of our work. All that will need a large number of workers. But we are not training and turning out enough of them. This is because only a few of us are engaged in Nei Talm and the rest do not seem to attach much importance to it.

54. Our division got turned in in this speech that, as an attachment of Gauri, there will only a change of Government but no real revolution, even as in Thailand. If the same mistake was repeated here, we would not achieve our purpose. Mass distribution of free acre of land will not bring about a revolution. The meaning is all right, but what is the way out? The way out lies in reorganising the villages in which the land has been so distributed so as to create the Sarvodaya society. We will have to start centres of our work in all these villages and carry on all those constructive activities which we have been advocating as essential for the new society of our conception. The people will have to be educated into new values and new ways of life. This means that all the centres will be Nai Tolo centres. It is clear that the United Sangh cannot stand alone coupled with its own programme of work. The United Sangh and the Sarve Sarve Sangh must come together into one organisation so that if our work can not be Nai Tolo, it will be capable of standing up and accomplishing this tremendous task of reconstruction.

If, however, we are not able to do all this work, then the fear that in spite of the distribution of land on such a big scale the revolution will remain elusive is ever with certainly present. In any case, both these arguments are valid. All our efforts must be not only for

have occurred but also Nal Tahan occurs. There is another danger of such names to get brought about. The Government will then be faced with the question as to which of the two suggestions — suggesting that the Sarva Jana Sangh starts on its own scheme of Nal Tahan—should be recognised as authoritative.

Thus the importance of these two Sanghas is very important and must be brought about without further loss of time. Thanks to Shreehan, we are now faced with the prospect of hinduism work. Either we do it unskilfully or leave it to the people to do, in which case it may result in chaos.

(Abridged from Harijan)

### "The Language Problem in Indian Education"

This is the title of a small pamphlet issued by the International Book House Ltd, Bombay. It is a reproduction of an article by Dr. Sarathi Kumar Chatterji, which first appeared in the Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, January, 1954. Coming as it did from the pen of a well-known philologist of Dr. Chatterji's eminence, I was naturally tempted to go through it. The article is more of a journalistic nature and less that scholarly balance and impartiality that, for example, can be seen in Dr. Chatterji's lectures on the subject, "Indo-Aryan and Hindi."

On p. 2 Dr. Chatterji states the following observations:

"Once after the division of the country, Mahatma Gandhi had a great many Congress leaders, with their usual spirit of accommodation and tolerance, wanted to make it easy for the Muslims, and therefore they accepted Urdu as the official language side by side with Hindi. There was Dr. Ambedkar, on the part of Mahatma Gandhi and others that Indian national language should have two forms with two scripts. This led to a bitter opposition from most Hindu nationalists." (Hindu colour)

To ascribe the above statement to Mahatma Gandhi is, to say the least, astounding. All know that Gandhi rather stood for a happy synthesis of the two forms. It is difficult to imagine how Dr. Chatterji came to make such a statement and on what grounds. I refrain from discussing it further and rest content with saying that it is to be distinguished in a letter such a thing against one who, all his life, worked for promoting and propagating one language which he named Hind-Hindustani—"the language spoken, understood and used in their mutual affairs by Hindus, Muslims and all others in the villages and towns of Northern India and where its written form in Persian and Nagari script and whose literary forms are known as Urdu and Hindi."

34-4-54

W. P.

\* In parentheses I have included the name of the person who is the author of the article. The title of the article is given in parentheses.

### ADVERSE EFFECT OF WAR ON INDUSTRY

(By Vasupathi P. Prasad)

A correspondent, reading my article on Vasupathi some time ago, puts a query whether there is any political motive or not in my writing on adverse Vasupathi factories to be located in the land. He adds:

"Big industries industrialisation Vasupathi etc., would be they be in several times the size of the post, railway and aeroplane etc., also would be in several times."

Maybe Vasupathi factories provide such a facility, I do not know. But, I endorse the view of the correspondent that in the ultimate analysis it is also the concentration of war needs that determines the policy of industrialisation centred by the use of the machine. If a factory which produces articles of daily necessity in peace time has also the added advantage of being easily transformed into an armament factory, Government would be naturally tempted to keep it running in peace time, by pushing its products into the market and would even lend its support to it.

A well-known instance in point is the chemical factories in Europe. On the outbreak of the First World War a question arose as to what the armament factories should do. They used to work by collecting nitrogen from the air. They went on doing it and used it in manufacturing armament factories. Then the artificial fertilisers were introduced in agriculture not for its sake but with quite a different motive. It is therefore possible that if the Vasupathi factories can be helped in such a way as to be used by the Government in a big way, then in peace time too, they will even set up by introducing Vasupathi in the dust of the people and extend its patronage to its factories. This is just possible. But the question is, is it proper?

If such a thing is to be done without causing any harm to the people, it is urged by a possible objection to it. But it is harmful to the life of the people, if it does it to a wrong track and ultimately bring, risk and loss to the people it will not be proper to encourage it. The most valid objection raised against modern war is that it brings with it the risk to the life of the people even when there is no war! In peace time, too, chemical and industrial factories are built with a view to this war. And efforts are made to produce more and more to show that a strong war industry is to be built and sustained. If Vasupathi industries are started by such war need, Government should, like its armament factories, not run its factories and should not encourage it as a private enterprise. This holds true equally for Hind-Hindustani factories. If it is started with the desire to produce a good article, it should not encourage artificial claims of superiority of doubtful value in agriculture, and Government should not bear the unnecessary expenditure for maintaining it.

1-4-54

(From Harijan)

# HARIJAN

May 22

1954

## THE NEW WAY IN BHODAN

(By Megadha P. Desai)

We speak of Bhodan as a revolutionary movement. We wish to have it as an awakened consciousness of the power that inheres in the people in a democracy. And we say that this *Sam-shakti* is distinct from the *daad-shakti* or the power of the State. And in our need to emphasising the former and its primary importance as compared with the latter, we often say that the coercive power of the State is false in this movement, which is not wholly true.

I had referred to this aspect of the matter in my last article, 'The Message of the South Gaya Conference' and had said that Shri Kripalank and Shri Vinoba drew pointed attention to this question which should be considered important from the point of view of the clarity of thought among the workers. I have now with me the report of their speeches, from which I reproduce the relevant portions below. Shri Kripalank had said:-

"The Bhodan movement starts with revolutionary ideas about property to land. Yet it is realistic in that we do it within the legal, acceptable limits. Here, I point out. The movement, if it is truly revolutionary, must regard itself to cover all major activities of life. If the landless get a few acres of land and there are a few hilly slopes in their area, their land will comprise a few per cent. If again in spite of land the cultivators were satisfied in their dependence on Mulk, landlords, etc., and made themselves victims of the repeated money-lenders, they land would mean nothing. If the village lacks some trade and subsidiary industries to provide employment to thousands of population, the landings will be so sub-divided that ultimately they will be of little use to the peasant. Again if the villagers are divided by caste barriers and untouchability the possession of a few acres of land will surely improve their lot. If the Government is not able to eradicate corruption and maintain the same standard of a few acres of land will solve the problems of the village. If the administration is corrupt and the burden of taxation goes on increasing or if through wrong policies there is depletion the village will be ruined in spite of the few acres. In short, if the reformer wants the village which is enjoy the fruits of its newly acquired land, he must not confine himself merely to the land problem but also tackle the social and political problems. If Bhodan is to succeed it must work out the whole political, social and economic programme of Gaya."

"It is clear that by Bhodan workers this line can be working for the redistribution of land or for tackling any other political, social or economic problem. Every reform can be achieved through voluntary co-operation alone. Such campaigns, in our view, are partial and unending. Every man neither disagrees with the moral and moral or the political reform. All are necessary only their efforts have to be co-ordinated. This said that a State's problems could be satisfactorily

solved only when there is planning by the people, where the State Government is, in other days we had the rule of the Government. But it is not the people that have formed the only or the best way and legal and political reform can be achieved only. Gaya always held that it is possible, but not the only or the best way. There should be all kinds of people's movements including law and politics. We said even if politics were a powerful means to create groups with it and not this way from it. Therefore, in our reforming and in reforming the political field is, I believe, brought with danger. It is not on these only movements. Educating the peasants was considered by Bhodan as, in view of constructive programme. If the Bhodan movement is to be truly voluntary in a comprehensive sense, it cannot limit to activity merely to the equitable distribution of land. It will have to extend its activities to cover the whole field of economic, social and political work. Only so can it succeed in its objective. Confining itself to its narrow sphere the movement will have no future."

"A revolution may begin with an department of law. But if it is to succeed it must cover almost the scope of its activities. Failure to within the scope of the Bhodan movement can only temporarily solve the land question. The Bhodan leaders, if they are not for a revolutionary change in society, will ultimately have to tackle directly or indirectly the political problem. They will have to acquire power or to use that power as in the hands of those who would use it for anything about the revolutionary change they contain here. (South Gaya, May 1, 1954, p. 10)

Referring to this part of Shri Kripalank's speech Shri Vinoba in his concluding remarks at the close of the Conference said:

"I talk in a way which is different from that of Kripalank, who has a sense of urgency, a fire in his heart. It is necessary that there should be no gap in our thinking."

"Bhodan, Gaya, is only a beginning. The whole administration has to be changed by this movement. There are people who think that we should take the name of Congress in our hands. But I say there is no such need. If the administration works according to our wish it will be sufficient. For example, Rajendra Babu told us that this Government has had some other 700 have begun to think about Bhodan village industries, the Taluk administration and unemployment. It is a result of Bhodan Gaya. It is possible to keep control over administration with planning and of it. This can be done with the help of people's power. Unmistakably, I think that kind of going to the Parliament if I do the work during of the 12 months, the results will be far less than what I will be able to achieve in Parliament. It is not necessary for Kripalank to take up Bhodan Gaya. If he is able to eradicate his policy to take the work it will have great effect in politics. Bhodan Congressmen should also take up this work. This will change the politics into people's policy." (South Gaya, May 1, 1954, p. 11)

The reader will note that both the leaders agree that for Bhodan to be an instrument of a new revolution in India, it must affect and cover in its sweep the whole life of society including its administration. Thus even Bhodan becomes a political movement in the larger sense of the term. However, it appears that while Shri Kripalank would not mind making it a matter of power politics, Shri Vinoba wishes it to be broad-based as a no-party plank for an all-agreed reform. Surely, the latter is also politics of a sort,

which Gandhi used so well — the politics of the constructive programme. From intensive work and reflection coming as a part of any last hour of needed efforts in the final order, it is bound to emerge politics of change and co-operation is well, for the simple reason that we will have the backing of the formation of the people. A movement may forge such co-operation either through the parliamentary way of capture of power by democratic vote or through the silent strength of witness work and the self-reliance of the people achieved through constructive activities. The Bhodian movement is aimed at expanding the latter way. It is I think, the aspect of the movement that should now assume importance in the eyes of the workers. Thus, in the new way in Bhodian which the Gaya Conference has spotlighted as never before.

12-5-74

### TEACHING OF HINDI IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

An educationalist from Delhi wrote to me about this subject. The following is reproduced from the correspondence that passed between us, in the hope that it will interest the readers.

M. P.

2

In your article in the March of the 19th April under the title 'Regarding Medium of Instruction' you have recommended that in the school Hindi speaking areas the teaching of Hindi should supersede the teaching of a child's education and that it should be made compulsory up to 4 years of college studies. Thus you say, every college student will study Hindi compulsorily for 12 years.

As one interested in education, I am interested to know how this point of 12 years has been decided. Is it on political and cultural grounds or on educational grounds as well?

A thorough knowledge of Hindi on the part of students from the non-Hindi speaking areas is all that is needed and in all that can be demanded of them in national interests. They should be able to read, write and converse in Hindi fluently.

The Hindi that we have in mind here is, none of our modern Hindi. (If any more or less advanced because the Hindi form of this official language of the Union is yet to be determined.) Moreover the emphasis is on the learning of the language. Some amount of literature naturally comes in by the way. But will it be wrong to presume that medieval old and medieval Hindi are the words of Hindi literature from Jayadev to Jyotindra Prasad to be made the subject of compulsory study for all, excepting Hindi who need no special help.

If the above proposal is correct, then the question arises, is it necessary to study Hindi for eleven long years in which the mastery of that language that we may now possibly demand of every educated non-Hindi speaking person? This may be permitted to stand that at least seven years of study would be enough for this purpose. This is not, I think, too far. But if, wholly during the school stage or in the school and college stage of education when together

May I suggest that we should slowly lay down the question of Hindi that every non-Hindi speaking Hindi in his house will be required to study. Let us then find out through well-considered and scientifically planned experi-

ments how much time will be needed for an average to give that much of Hindi. The question is, how far seven years or more or less. The present situation is different in different regions. There is no reason to be absolutely speaking in judgement. It is better that the study of a particular subject should move as many joints where the interest of subjects master is not clearly defined and laid down.

12-5-74

11

Thanks for yours of 11/4/64. The story is understandable. Of course I have the historical material in me in deciding the number of years for Hindi studies. But we have to be English? If we take up the study of Hindi in schools and colleges we do it as a second language of our experiment — almost as we have been doing in regard to English till now. English will be a third language as I have said. I am not at all of the view of 12-16. About the number of periods we should allow for Hindi remains relevant also. At present, the thought in teaching hardly two periods per week are given to it.

You are right when you say that the Hindi of the Union has still to grow and develop into an efficient medium of expression of our great people. For such a transformation you will think, our studies should be equally wide and broad-based. Therefore it will not be who are situated it would be better any wherever helpful we may have in Hindi language or literature. Of course a modern Hindi both spoken and written will form a prominent part thereof. The most important thing to my mind is that everywhere Hindi spoken should begin immediately by all our schools and colleges in non-Hindi areas. As it is a new subject in schools and colleges both will be only in the initial stage. It will require a few years to have a complete graded course. Thus, I think, we will be in a position to seriously go into question of rationalising our Hindi studies.

I do not know whether you have seen the Report of the Hindi Teaching Committee of Bombay Board, of which I had the honour to be a member. It will give you some idea about how we have proposed to introduce Hindi in the schools. In the conditions in which we are, it is necessary to follow it up in college also, so that the language equipment may be at least of the standard you suggest in your letter.

12-5-74

12

I thank you for your letter of the Hindi.

My approach was from the point of view of education. To be more to define the scope of my suggestion that we teach. This scope demands the period the number of hours and all other things. The period of study and the number of hours will depend on the amount of Hindi that we think every non-Hindi speaking person should have. It is therefore extremely necessary from the educational point of view to define the question of Hindi, and it is only a scientifically conducted experiment and no a priori judgement can decide that point.

13

I agree with the point you put as you make a point worth noting. My only reservation is that it will never be taken for free. And it should be a rule that Hindi is to grow and develop, which requires us to begin the study in our schools and colleges and begin to gather laboratory material for a kind of library you write about. There is also the larger question of the amount of teaching Hindi in various non-Hindi areas. At this early stage the political and religious attitudes of us. It is a river like you in the first. I am hopeful that a able guidance will help this planning work in all ways.

12-5-74

14

I would like to stress that what you call as the "pedagogic point" should be the determining factor and

that we should have a greater knowledge of it and be able to express it in English. I am sure that the time is not far off when the Chinese will be able to have a considerable knowledge of English and be able to express the knowledge that they have in the language of the English. I am sure that the time is not far off when the Chinese will be able to have a considerable knowledge of English and be able to express the knowledge that they have in the language of the English.

20-4-54

## VI

I wish your point regarding the study of Khadi and appropriate to it. I only wish to add that if I do get into an industrial ground which presents me to suggest that my study of Khadi should be for the 10 years to work with. My point of view should be to work with Khadi and with Khadi. It is not from the point of view that we should have Khadi in the future, it is to be the present and the future and I think the point is that I say to you that it will be the future language. I think that the Khadi language will only be the first language and accordingly must develop our first language.

I believe our immediate necessity for reorganizing Indian Education is to change over the medium of instruction of native education from English to the regional languages. To illustrate the story of Khadi in the village and cottage, which is said to have and to give a new and real life to our approach to all education. If we do this we shall require all the help of specialists who would study and study up the facts for achieving the great ideal of Khadi.

44-54

## HANDLOOM YARN

(By Shrihari Pradhan)

As handloom yarn is a characteristic of Khadi cloth, so mill-made yarn is at present inevitable in handloom cloth. Although handloom weaving is our biggest, next to agriculture, village industry, its very existence is tied up with the spinning mills and with all they represent in exploitation and exploitation. — the very social and economic structure against which village industries are battling. There is something incongruous and almost insane in a major village industry utterly depending for its very existence on a technological and economic setup completely alien and hostile.

Khadi has also lately entered the vicious circle of dependence on factors working against it. The Government and the textile mills. They merely name it on subsidies, so that it never comes to stand by its own strength and ability. As long as the handloom weaver and the village spinner depend for their very existence on factors beyond their control, their outlook is bleak and they will succumb to the mercenary logic of technological efficiency and monopolistic economics. To survive they must first of all emancipate themselves completely from all centralized supply of yarn or money, on one side they must show their capacity to clothe the nation, on the other side they must be left free to do so.

Looking towards 1954 for the present the handloom cloth has a better chance to take over the market from the textile mills and supply cloth of Khadi handloom to the consumer. Given sufficient yarn, the handloom weaver can produce enough cloth for the country without raising its price provided the price of yarn remains unchanged.

For the time being Khadi yarn is too costly and uneven to serve the needs of the handloom weaver. The only alternative to mill yarn is yarn made on a small spindle spinning frame of the Lakhnawati, Kalya or Gupta type. They vary between 2 and 10 spindles and although they are not yet able to give yarn at mill price and at the same time to give a decent wage to their owner, they are a departure in the right direction as far as the handloom weaver is concerned.

It is easy to calculate that a spinning frame of 30-40 spindles will be required to supply the handloom weaver with yarn at current price, to pay for depreciation and maintenance and to give a living to the spinner.

At present the mill yarn costs about 8 annas above the cost of cotton. If the spinner has to turn in 2½ paise per day for himself and 2½ paise for depreciation and maintenance — Rs 4½ in all, he will have to produce daily 8 lbs of yarn. Taking a rather coarse yarn, with 20 twists per inch, and weighing 30 hanks per lb, the total number of twists in 8 lbs of yarn will be 8 × 20 × 840 × 28 × 30 and the number of spindles turning at a speed of 1000 revolutions per minute in 8 hours per day and giving this much of yarn will be 54.

Of course a mill spindle turns at a much higher speed beyond the capacity of a small spinning frame.

In addition to the work of spinning there will be also a twisting and roving frame for preparing the cotton for the spinning frame.

Coming to the power requirements, it is clear that the power required for turning 54 spindles at 1000 revolutions per minute steadily for 8 hours along with twisting and roving frames is too great a strain for a man and he will need some auxiliary source of power. Therefore, his yarn cannot be called handloom yarn, but it will still be decentralized, home-made, handloom yarn quite acceptable to the handloom weaver. It is therefore suggested that a special category of yarn should be recognized, neither handloom nor mill yarn, but between the two. Power-spun, home-made handloom yarn.

Such yarn can meet the requirements of the mills and yet need not be mixed up with Khadi yarn, which has its own place and significance. As a means for meeting the mills from the internal cloth market of the country handloom cloth and handloom yarn will be adequate. On the other hand, once the mills are no more, Khadi will have a chance to grow. Therefore a multi-spindle spinning frame, even when power-driven, is a step in the right direction and should be

encouraged by all who ignore the failure of Khadi at heart. It will produce the kind of spinner and the kind of loom against the centralized textile industry more effectively than any amount of propaganda and legislation will ever do. It can be easily manufactured on a small scale and sold on a bare purchase basis.

Yarn cloth produced by the internal market should be first created and then completely eliminated. Next, handmade yarn should yield its place to handmade yarn made in villages on small spinning frames.

The idea of a village spinster making several pounds of yarn per day on his spinning frame and feeding a few village weavers with yarn need not frighten the lovers of Khadi. He is a village craftsman like the smith or the blacksmith and has his place in the village economy. His presence will revive the tradition of village self-sufficiency in cloth and the right atmosphere for the idea of individual self-sufficiency in cloth.

## MOVEMENT FOR PEACE IN INDIA

(By Bhaskar Karmaveer)

Peace movements seem to be of recent origin in most of us. But the movement for peace and non-violence goes back to about two thousand years in India. It has engaged the serious thought and energy of generations of our best men, prophets and sages. It is difficult therefore to try and report on the movement in India in the space of few minutes. Gandhiji built on and developed further the current quest of India for peace, and I shall have to confine myself here\* for the most part to a few fundamental principles in his work for peace.

The peace movement under Gandhiji's leadership in India has gone far beyond mere resistance to war and condemning deadly weapons of destruction. Repugnance to war is but a first step in the search for peace, and as I have hinted in the speeches at this Conference, I have been looking that many of us have probably will not learned the great contribution that Gandhiji has made to the cause of peace.

Gandhiji knew that to end war, merely condemning it was of no use. We must root out the causes of war. What are these?

### 1. In the Life of the Individual

(A) *Overcoming of Human Enmity*—From the time of the Lord Krishna, now for over 2,500 years, we in India have been taught not to cause suffering. But such teaching of itself would have been of no avail unless the people were taught habits of non-violence in daily living. So vegetarianism was instituted. This was the first practical step taken in India to apply non-violence in daily life, and to teach people not to

cause suffering or death to creatures capable of feeling pain and anti-feeling pain. Gandhiji was of course also a vegetarian, and it is to us from India a little surprising that many of us here who believe in pacifism have not yet started on this first practical application of non-violence in matters of food. We feel that non-violence in public life is hardly possible unless we start with non-violence in our everyday life, even in food.

(B) One who would practice non-violence must, also, according to Indian thought, be possessed of great self-control or self-restraint. A man who indulges with himself is one who seeks his own pleasure, and such a one inevitably comes into conflict with others, while a man who can restrain himself is capable of being free from strife with others. His wants are few and simple, and he can stop pursuing them when he finds that they lead him into conflict. Anything therefore that makes a man self-indulgent is to be avoided; for example, intoxicating liquor or unbridled sex-life made possible by the use of contraceptives.

This lesson in self-control taught in India for centuries, and repeated by Gandhiji, is still to be learned by many of us who seek to surround ourselves by a multitude of possessions and become so increasing wants. Such increasing craving for goods and self-indulgence cannot but lead to conflict and violence. So Gandhiji is in line with his ancestors when he says the supreme duty of one who seeks personal non-violence is to practice *brahmacharya* or strict self-restraint in every sphere of life—food, dress, and sex life.

### 2. In Political Life

One of the causes of strife and war is suppression of one group of people by another. A good constitution which Gandhiji made was to show, as all of you know, how a non-violent man can resist political oppression by non-violent means.

He also advocated a decentralized political order, where power will not be in the hands of a few. Today we speak of democracy or rule of the people but never was so much power concentrated in the State as today. The State today controls our food, drink, houses, industries, agriculture, trade, education, travel, money, communications—it has taken everything that affects our daily life. The worst of such a state of affairs is that when power is concentrated in the hands of a powerful few or ruling minority, the people are driven like dumb cattle into war to cater to the rulers' greed for power. The people not being used to thinking for themselves are not able to stand up against the State. So they are easily represented and made to fight, by the rulers.

Gandhiji, therefore, believed that the only antidote to such all powerful States of today is to establish true democracy or rule of the people,

\*This paper was presented to the World Peace Conference that met in Tokyo in April this year. (Rev. B. Karmaveer, was one of the Indian delegates there.—Ed.)

which would have been only in small groups like villages and panchayats over their own affairs. On the foundation of this village capabilities he expected to build up the political life of the nation, concentrated only for such common purposes as defence and foreign affairs.

In this teaching of his again there is much for the modern socialist to ponder over. Only under such a political order will people really rule themselves, and only then will they be strong enough to resist being plunged in war against them.

## 2. In Economic Life

I shall deal here only with the two important spheres of a nation's economic life—Industry and Agriculture, and point out how Gandhiji sought to organise them in such a way as to prevent strife and to promote peace and goodwill.

(a) Industry: There is no doubt that much of the friction between nations today is due to a search for raw materials and markets. When production is on a small scale, local raw materials and markets suffice, and there is no conflict. But when production is on a large scale, as happens under industrialisation, nations scramble and fight with each other for raw materials like cotton, rubber, jute etc., fuel such as coal, petrol, mineral and synthetic materials, and for markets. So there is war. War and imperialism ceased to exist in order to put an end to by more resolutions.

Gandhiji's movement for the spinning wheel was symbolic of his desire to root out from the economic sphere the cause of war and imperialism and to establish a decentralised, self-sufficient village economy which will aim at production for local needs out of locally available material rather than for distant markets. So long as politics overlook this very real cause of war and imperialism, and continue to subvert peacefully to large scale monopolies, they may go on preaching against war and suppression of weaker peoples, but would in effect promote these evils. Hence Gandhiji's movement for cottage and village industries.

Not only so, industrialisation means centralisation of power in the hands of a few, the vast majority of the people being reduced to a state of helplessness. Gandhiji directed this development, as all such concentration of power could lead to environment exploitation and strife, to be non-violent. If a world to be peaceful and non-violent is to take to industry, it should walk along the path of non-violence, where the individual borrows from his industries himself or co-operatively with his neighbours.

(ii) Agriculture: A peasant must see that the tillers are not enslaved by his tools being taken away from him. For that must come at

late stage capitalisation and strife. This is what happens to cotton, when land is not served by the cottoners. So after Gandhiji's death, his followers on the peasant movement have been engaged in securing land back for the agricultural from the landlord. The method they follow is not the violent way of collectivisation, but the non-violent method of appealing to the landlord's reason and conscience. In this way, within three years more than 1,000,000 acres of land have been given by landlords as gifts to be distributed among the landless. It is hoped by 1957 to secure enough land then to distribute land freely among all landless cultivation in India, and thus to effect an agrarian revolution entirely by non-violent means. When this is done, it is expected that landlord and peasant will work side by side, each contributing his talents and capacity to promote the welfare of all.

I have no time to tell you more but you can see how the Indian peace movement under Gandhiji has gone beyond mere condemnation of war and injustice, and has sought to pervade the life of the individual and society in order to root out all causes of friction. This is the remarkable direction which Gandhiji has given to the moral quest of India for peace. I do hope that we who have assembled here will make it a point to study this great movement initiated by Gandhiji. For without such an all-sided attempt to remove all conflict from human relations, one feels that there is no chance of achieving war or peace. International peace must be a far cry unless based on non-violence in individual, social, political and economic life. This is Gandhiji's chief contribution, and that is the message I bring to you from the work for non-violence and peace in India.

Dr. I. Sanku Maier  
BHOODHAN, JAHA

(E. of the Theat)

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# HARIZAD

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WINTER 1995

ALBUQUERQUE — SATURDAY MAY 31, 1968

1000

## THE WORLD PACIFIST CONFERENCE IN JAPAN

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After the end of the Second World War, there was a revival of Buddhism in Japan under the leadership of a very ardent Monk Shō Fōjō. This group with hardly any women but with great faith sponsored the World Buddhist Conference alongside of its efforts to revive the Buddhism in its native Japan. The Buddhist relief brought over at the time was India. Accordingly men beside of the Conference consisted of two distinct sets of people—those who were primarily interested in the Buddhist relief and partook of the religious, ceremonies connected with the meeting and preserving of the relics, and those who were interested primarily in world peace. The programme accordingly, though devised for the most part by members of world peace, included also religious ceremonies connected with the relics of the Buddha.

There were delegates to the Conference from various parts of the world, such as India, Ceylon, Nepal, Cambodia, Viet Nam, Korea, Australia, Britain, U.S.A., Canada and Mexico. Certainly Japan, India and Ceylon had the greatest number of delegates — the Ceylonese delegates being chiefly Buddhist monks. There were about a dozen delegates from India amongst whom were Kaka Kishor Kelchur, Shri Sadashiv Ghosh, Dr. Kandaswamy and Shri Deshpande. Vaidyanath. The two latter came with the Buddhist delegation attending the Conference belonged to religions such as Buddhism, Hinduism, and Christianity. There were also one or two Muslim delegates from India.

The members of the Conference were not from voluntary contributions and donations received in Japan. All our travel in Japan and hospitality during the Conference was met by the Conference. This was no mean achievement considering that the Buddhist monks who sponsored the Conference were themselves practically penniless.

The Coal mine held its sessions in the rear part of Jaram, where there were also circumstances connected with the Mustang mine. It played in Tolson on the 11th March with some preliminary meetings to facilitate. Chairman for the meetings, members of the Executive Committee, Secretary

and Planning Committee. The open session began on April 1, and continued in Tokyo till April 4, after which it moved to Fukuoka in South Japan, Kyushu, Fukuoka (where the atom bomb was dropped in 1945), Osaka, Nagoya and Sendai in the North. The final session was held in Tokyo. This method of holding the Conference in several towns had the advantage of many different places taking part in the Conference, and of the delegates getting to know the mind of the people of different parts of the country. But it had its disadvantages as much time was spent in travel, in reception introductions and greetings at each place and giving opportunities for the local people to clear problems, which had already been discussed in other sessions of the Conference. But on the whole one feels that the method justified itself in that it spread the interest and confidence for many places of Japan.

Of all the countries represented, India received the greatest attention, partly because the Buddha religion came from India and India was the land of the Buddha, and partly also because of the great teaching and work of Gandhi for establishing non-violence and peace, and of the leadership today of Prime Minister Nehru in following for the sake of peace a policy of non-alignment with either of the two power blocs. The Japanese arrived in East, virtually to India for leadership in bringing peace to them and to the world.

Amongst the topics discussed at the Conference, the one which came up whenever in Japan we met, was the problem of atomic bombs. The atom bomb had sunk deep into the soul of the Japanese and they could hardly think of any other problem than how to make the world free from the horrors of the terrible weapon of destruction. In Hiroshima we saw the devastation caused by the city, and paintings by an eye-witness of conditions as he saw them soon after the explosion. What happened in the place and its inhabitants appears to have been beyond all human imagination. Most of the city has however been quickly reconstructed, but the ruins are still to be properly built. The Hotel in which we stayed was absolutely new having been erected after the devastation, and besides the buildings where we had our meals in Hiroshima. Last

have gone on in the city, and it is high nothing had happened, but in its inner recesses the heart of the people of Japan the sorrow and suffering which in Manchuria had Nagasaki remains enfolded in a solemn forgotten experience. "We were made to realize clearly the problem is it from the Japanese when at the very first day of the open session in Tokyo before the Conference, the speaker, before an urgent motion was brought up that the Conference should consider the issue started to the fishing industry by the hydroplan bomb two a few days previously off Sakai. At the next place we went to visit Fukuoka, we had a moving memorandum submitted by the fishermen of the locality and of Nagasaki depicting the loss suffered by them through hydroplan bomb tests. Everywhere people demanded that the manufacture and use of atomic weapons of destruction should be altogether prohibited. The Conference has appealed to the United Nations to this effect.

Another matter which came up for urgent consideration by the Conference at Tokyo was the situation in Korea and Indo-China. There were speakers from these two countries who spoke feelingly on the topic, and appealed that war in these countries should be ended and that the people should be left free by the Big Powers to manage their affairs themselves. The Conference appealed accordingly to the Pan Pacific Peace Conference which was meeting in Geneva in the last week of April.

Besides these two matters which came up for action by the Conference at Tokyo, there were reports of Pacific movements at various parts of the world. It spoke on Gandhi's work, looking it up with India's age long reputation for non-violence, more the days of the flagships. There was an interesting lecture by an American pacifist regarding Pacific teachings in the major religions of the world such as Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam.

After this opening session in Tokyo, we moved as already said to the interior. The topics discussed there were 'Annihilating Scientific Warfare in Disarmament', 'How can unarmed Japan and Germany promote peace as between the two Power Blocs', 'Ways of achieving World Brotherhood', 'How to work for Peace', 'What type of organizations are we to build up for working for Peace', 'Economic measures to be adopted for achieving World Peace', 'How to create public opinion in favour of Peace'. The Conference split up into small groups to discuss the problems and to plan out courses of action and at open sessions selected these findings for further discussion and adoption. In this way it has incorporated several practical ways of looking about world peace.

There is no doubt that under the prevailing order of things war is entered into by Governments and the people follow with a ready acquiescence the orders of their Governments. The

Conference, however, showing the helpless state of present-day human consciousness to meet war. Consequently it concentrated on suggesting practical ways in which people could strengthen themselves to overcome this war. Hence, the main task of the Conference at Tokyo was to discuss and to establish ways in which on April 22, it came out up its recommendations under a single Declaration which it sent out to the peoples of the world and which reads as follows:

"Whereas the World Pacific Conference in Japan concerned with the problems of peace, is deeply conscious of the untold physical and spiritual suffering caused by war, and

"Whereas the Conference is convinced that only the people's refusal to participate in war for any purpose whatever will save the nations

The Conference therefore appeals

"To the people of the world, through all organizations of youth, women, and labour, and through all religions, to demand with one voice that war be abolished.

"To the peoples of the world to move their Governments to commit exclusively to peaceful solutions for all international disputes.

"To all Governments, acting through the United Nations or other channels

(a) to take effective steps to eradicate the political, economic and social causes of tension and conflict between nations and in their place bring about world-wide co-operation; and

(b) to abolish the manufacture and use of atomic weapons as a first step to total disarmament.

Finally the World Pacific Conference urges the people of the world to become conscious of their power to reject war and total annihilation, and to affirm their right to life and peace and to this end urges, particularly the world over to organize active and direct non-violent resistance to war.

One does not expect Conferences such as this to achieve anything sensational or to perform a miracle. All that can be claimed is that through the Conference men and women interested in peace from various countries were enabled to sit and think together how they could more effectively strengthen the movement for peace in their own countries. It was felt throughout the Conference that humanity was sitting on an active volcano which might erupt any moment and swallow it up if the peoples of the world, led on better methods and not quickly Japan which had suffered the ravages of war and of atomic weapons provided just the background required to remind us of the seriousness and vital importance of our task. It is hoped that the members of the Conference will reach the four corners of the earth and rally the peoples of the world to other non-violent resistance to war and to organize for life and peaceful cooperation between all races everywhere.

### THE VILLAGE POTTER (By Krishnaswamy Mur Mur)

One of the major problems that India is facing today is unemployment. Industrialists say, "Open new initiatives and solve the unemployment problem." But this sort of slogan will not solve our difficulties. The advancement of science and technology has been used for exploitation by a select few, whereas the rest who are in majority are denied even the right to live. Thus the majority of people are suffering in spite of their ability to do skilled work in various crafts.

One of the worst affected in this way is the village potter. There are about 12 lakhs of village potters in the country doing various kinds of work on clay. These potters are distributed in 5 lakhs of villages. They were once leading a contented life and held high social position in the village community. Today they are starving. As they are traditional craftsmen, they know their job well. The instruments and equipment used by them are all very simple and cost hardly anything. The raw materials used by them are the kind of river-bed clay and waste fuel from fields and jungle. It is an entertainment to see a potter working on the wheel and moulding the clay lump with his master fingers to the required shape. The testing process is remarkably fine by which the ware is made as thin as paper and with little waste, once prepared in India, were called "Royal Wares." Paper-wares. Even in the time of Mahendra-Duro and Harappa the wares of the pottery of our country were prepared, and glazed vessels prepared here were sent out to other countries as early as 3000 B. C. Unfortunately, such pottery ware had high esteem, but is now disliked by many. It could not be developed to keep pace with the advance in ceramic on the factory scale.

The main reason for dislike is the absence of some of the qualities in earthen wares that are found in metal wares like the durability, imperviousness and shining lustre. People prefer to purchase metal wares even though it is a little costlier. So if pottery has to be pushed through a shoddy trade at all possible qualities that are present in metal wares. For this the quality of the present earthen ware must be improved.

Many craftsmen say that instead of improving the village earthen wares, why not take up the new technique of pottery by which white ware can be manufactured? A little consideration will show that this is not practicable. It is humanity responsible to employ many lakhs of potters properly in this narrow and limited field. The raw materials required for the white ware are not found in many parts and further these cannot be supplied everywhere at a reasonable cost. The equipment required for white ware manufacturing is beyond the capacity of

the potter. All the best thing is to develop the village potter. In our country the easily available raw materials of the locality should be made use of. The skill of potters who are in good number is untapped and products be distributed to the large majority of our people. The whole plan of development will have to be run in decentralized way with maximum of independence to each potter.

We are exporting about a few crores of rupees worth of goods every year. In order to stop this as well as to meet the demand of the country we have to arrange our production in such a way that our wealth in man-power and materials may be retained in the best possible way. We have, on one hand, 15 lakhs of potters with abundant quantity of raw materials and yet starving; on the other hand, we have well established industries with limited available quantity of raw materials. By stopping import and utilizing the above wealth properly more employment may be offered. Therefore, for hard wares like electrical goods, stone wares, laboratory supplies and refractories, the well-established factories and raw materials available in limited quantity like China clay, Ball clay, Fire clay may be used. Common requirements of things like brick, tiles, terra cotta and dolls, crockery etc. must be manufactured with local raw materials in village industries back. Then only one lakh of our village potters be employed and at the same time village people be produced to increase the standard of living of our people.

I venture to suggest how best it can be organized. There are many colonies of potters in almost all the parts of India. These potters are carrying on their trade with great difficulty. In a few selected places, with the help of a talented ceramicist, an improved pottery centre should be opened. The aim of the centre should be to organize the group of potters as a society to form a society through which training in new technique and help in equipment and raw materials might be organized. Of course step by step the society should be owned by the potters themselves. Many pottery co-operative centres have been formed, but are not progressing towards their set goal. The main charge of the centre should be to give a good training in village pottery and its problems, village economy, culture and organization. Or training centres on the above basis should be started. Side by side, research institutions should take up various problems of the village pottery and also derive ways and means to help village potters keeping in mind their financial conditions. The research society should take up the responsibility of propagating the good quality of earthen ware.

Thus within a few years we can really help the problem of unemployment through pottery by utilizing the raw materials and man-power of the country.

# HARIJAN

May 23

1954

## BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE

*By Jagdishan P. Srivast*

I request the reader to study carefully the article on 'Centralisation and Decentralisation' by Borewell reproduced elsewhere in this issue. It provokes serious thought, as our part also. Not only America, but the whole Western world is facing the question today. Yet,

Are we lagging with promoting 'bigness', as Borewell puts it in his article, which, as is absolutely clear now, we can manage only by relegating man to a mere vocabulary to the machine and the mechanism of modern organisational methods?

With the uncharted growth of this idea of 'bigness' in world's social, political and economic affairs, we have come to have new units in the social order, viz., the nation, the class, the political party, etc. However, the basic unit, the family, remains almost as fundamental as it ever was before, though it should be noted that it is being vitally affected and attacked by the cause for bigness and all that it means to society India also beginning to be enveloped in this state of world affairs.

One of these effects on the private position of the family unit is the relationship between modern government and the small family and its life and work. For example, the family head may be a small businessman or a small craftsman, or a small land holding farmer. And, as we know, a life which mostly lives in her village, these constitute the vast majority of our society. How is this small basic unit of our social order affected by modern big government? For, in the wake of 'bigness' has come about not only big business, but big industry, big government, and big and high finance with their respective long and big arm of high power and influence to mould and direct and even order the life of the small family head. Therefore the question of attitude of these big things with regard to the basic small family man, becomes very relevant from — point of view of his freedom and happiness.

Again the idea of property is a small-scale order of things which was comparatively speaking, a harmless matter centuries standing dimensions under the big-scale order of things and affairs. The ideas of competition and acquisition as desire for gain which, we may safely believe are in man with human nature as the two virtues of co-operation and charity or regard for others — these also become fundamental agents of struggle and strife, tensions and

conflicts in a scale of human promoting bigness and thus tending to be centralised. The State, under such an order tends to plan, control and govern the life of the citizen more and more, in the name of the ideal of a Welfare State.

These in short are some of the dual tendencies that are overhauling world's humanity under the modern line of progress in bigness and centralisation. On one side, while we cry havoc for the saving of human freedom and dignity and its scrupulous protection and safeguarding, on the other hand, modern ideas of bigness achieved through technology and mechanical and managerial techniques go out of bounds and cause unmanageable dimensions for man to manage and control. A kind of expectancy or managerial rule-book in man concerning scope of the frankness created in his own curiosity and quest for bigness. The whole thing has resulted to create a picture wherein capitalism, either of the free enterprise type or of the Bolshevik State type runs rampant and ruthless competition armed with equally deadly and big weapons, and devouring as a lion or a shark for gain become the order of the day. Friction and competition become the natural nature of the day-to-day life of man, and therefore not only in individual life but also in national and international lives too become so brittle that even a slight spark only sets off these affairs.

In India we are beginning to follow the trend of this progress of the West. It is time to review our position before we are engulfed by an ever increasing momentum. Shall we stop our selves to do it? Will our Governments do it? In this connection I may well reproduce at the end a very sound and ever useful advice that Gandhiji in his wisdom gave to us.

'I will give you a Libman. Whenever you are in doubt, or when the self becomes too much with you, apply the following test. Recall the face of the poorest and the weakest man whom you have seen, and ask yourself if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to him. Will he gain anything by it? Will it restore him to a control over his own life and destiny? In other words, will it lead to Swaraj for the hungry and spiritually starving millions?'

"Then you will find your doubt and your self melting away."

1936-37

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## PARTING ADVICE TO THE WORKERS IN GAYA (By Yasoda)

I entered the Gaya District on the 30th of January with a resolve in my mind and left it hoping that it will be achieved. I am now leaving it after three months full of greater hope.

The Sarvagya Samratin this year has placed in our hands a programme of such great importance that the work of land collection as compared with it appears rather a small thing to do. Moreover, it makes the latter very easy of achievement. The announcement by Jayaprakashbhai of his resolve to dedicate his life to Bhodan changed the entire atmosphere of the Samratin. It opened up a new road and a new vista, as I write, leading up to our goal. It was a right to see the people vying with one another in offering themselves to this great work by taking up the *kranti-das* wire. Those who saw it can never forget it. Names followed in continuous succession and within two or three hours we had more than five hundred names. The Samratin flashed across my mind then and there that this weapon will have to be made effective, and a well-planned programme organised for its utilisation. The Bhodan Yajna went on continuously for three years and now it has brought forth this noble gift — the manifestation of this tremendous spiritual power. We need in the Purana that a yajna performed with faith results in the duty of the yajna appearing out of it in visible form to satisfy the yearning of the devotee. Our present experience is in no way different.

We will need to organise a comprehensive plan covering the entire country so as to utilise properly this newly gained strength. The following plan is proposed for the Gaya district:

1. Jayaprakashbhai will start himself an ashram at Kankol which will provide for the training of the workers. These workers will engage themselves in the Bhodan Yajna and in village uplift work with Bhodan as its foundation.

2. Kankol Taluk will be made a centre for carrying out massive work in regard to the building up of gram-yajna.

3. At Bodh Gaya will be started a centre known as Sarvagya Ashram. It will work to synthesise world culture. It will also provide for the training of workers.

4. Village uplift work in Bodh Gaya will be carried on by a local committee under the guidance of the Sarvagya Ashram.

5. Efforts be made to lay down the foundation of gram yajna under the guidance of Sarva Bala Singh in all those villages where enough land for this purpose has been obtained and where people are ready to shoulder the responsibility for working out the village uplift programme.

6. Propagation of the Sarvagya thought including as far as possible the reading of the Bhodan Yajna Vihar, the weekly organ of our

work in order to the people in every village be carried on.

7-8. Since sufficient land for distribution has already been collected in Gaya, our attention must now be concentrated on purchase of the soil of the Bodh Gaya Samratin, mainly on distribution work. Arrangements for it should be completed as early as possible in accordance with the rules we have laid down in this regard. Land which may be easily obtained in the course of the distribution drive should certainly be accepted.

9-11. This does not mean, however, that we give up our aim to collect three lakh acres of land and two lakh gajdah. But this objective should now be fulfilled on due course through distribution and other constructive work. Efforts should certainly continue to be made to approach these big landholders. As far as we have not been able to contact as yet.

12. While distributing land the workers should keep in view the objective that no cultivator in the village remain landless. In case the land collected falls short of the requirement, efforts should be made to procure more of it in the course of the distribution. This is the best and the most successful method of reaching our target.

At the time of entering Gaya, I had declared that my object in visiting this place was to find out the right method of organising our work. From what I have seen of the workers and the people here, that object has been largely fulfilled. The programme detailed here is based on this experience. There is no need for haste in implementing it. It is something to be done with cool determination and calmness after. Since there is now no need for confusing myself in this district, I am now leaving for North Bihar.

I will give a warning to the workers of the Gaya District. So long as they do not give up the party spirit and the party spirit, they cannot purify their hearts nor can this, because the consequences of revolution, nor indeed, as they would respect from the people. Those who think that they are working either individual or party interests by working for land collection or land distribution — labouring under an illusion. The people have realised that our object is to secure and build gradually a people's own power which has nothing to do with the parties. I will advise the workers who find it impossible to adopt the non-party approach to keep aloof from this movement. It is their duty and with the utmost purity of motive. If they do it in this spirit, they will feel that self-realisation which no other wealth in the world can rival.

I must now concentrate my energy mainly on creating a perfect brotherhood of those who have taken up the task of the — — — — — and make me worthy of the task.

— — — — —

# CENTRALIZATION AND DECENTRALIZATION

(By Ralph Borsos)

Most men have been taught to accept Progress—especially material Progress—as the chosen goal in life. The method chosen by the time-power and financing, the statesmen and social reformers who have been the leaders of mind and the teachers of teachers during the past two centuries to implement Progress, has been Centralization. The protagonists of modern Progress are usually centralists.

They believe that the way to achieve the purpose to which life should be devoted is to promote "bigness", to increase mass-production, distribution and consumption, to develop organization and to institutionalize action in corporations, unions, co-operatives and governments having. They discount the possibilities of personal action. They believe that to decentralize institutions, and enterprise would be reactionary. They claim it involves repeating schemes, power and machinery, that it means "turning the clock back". They believe that they are justified in using law and coercion to attain their objectives.

Centralization may therefore be defined as that method of operating in which control of the activities of individuals, or groups, or of the people as a whole (without regard to the nature of these activities whether industrial, financial, social, educational, religious or political) is concentrated in the hands of a few and things left to the many.

Decentralization is the exact opposite of this. But it is not merely the negation of Centralization, it is positive process. Decentralization is that method of implementing ideas and organizing human operations in which individuals are enabled to satisfy their wants and to realize their aspirations as far as possible through personal action in which power is further diffused and distributed equitably among people generally.

Decentralization is, not so much a single method of organizing operations as it is a tendency to use methods which give the greatest possible freedom and responsibility to individual human beings. It aims at encouraging independence and discouraging both subordination and domination. Above all, it holds that centralization and collectivism, particularly when there is any element of compulsion involved, should be reduced to the strictest extent.

If the same methods among which mankind chooses in dealing with its sponsored problems are arranged in the order in which they select Decentralization, then the Educational method, which relies on persuasion for its efficiency, would rank first. The Fraternal method, which relies upon competition for its efficiency, would rank next. The Co-ordinal method which relies upon federation, third, the Typological method, which

relies upon institutional forcing; and the Vegetarian method which relies upon domination and subordination fifth. Decentralization recognizes no right to the Authoritarian method except when an alternative method of dealing with a problem can be found.

Centralization of industry, for example, is impossible without acquisition or seizure, by those who use to control the controlled enterprises of the power to enforce unilateral relationships between themselves and the workers, with those who provide the raw materials, those who consume the products and those who furnish the capital.

Decentralization of industry would involve shifting to local and small-scale production and manufacturing, to methods of operating which necessarily create institutional relations between producers and consumers, in which each is equally free and independent. Decentralization would involve the decentralization and deorganization of not only our over-centralized industries, but also of all institutions, activities, and patterns of living which we have over-centralized during the past century.

(Reprinted from The Independent, March, 1934.)

## WHAT CAUSES DEPRESSION?

(By J. Gordon Roberts)

It may surprise you, as it did me, to learn that between the first depression in 1820 and the last sharp recession in 1933, the U. S. economy had been in a declining or subnormal state approximately one year out of every three.

History appears to demonstrate that depression in our country results from one of two immediate causes:

(1) Attempt on the part of one segment—or more—of society to enrich itself through speculation or other means without offering value-reward in return for such enrichment; or

(2) The increasing failure of society to supply one or more of its vital segments with adequate compensation for services rendered.

If this theory is valid even to a degree, it history will support it by showing how our economic progress has been repeatedly stopped by violation of the two foregoing factors, two also will have been accomplished:

(1) To system against similar pitfalls in the future; and

(2) To realize faith in a free system that has demonstrated its ability to survive and outgrow unnecessary mistakes.

In the past speculation has brought about depression through channeling too much of the national wealth outside of productive use. There is danger that we reach the same end through government spending.

Both competition and desire for gain are as natural as gravity.

Channelled into balancing dependencies they may be tremendously positive. Channelled into denying dependencies they may be tremendously destructive.

When society denies any dependency upon the creative individual, the force of "competition" becomes a belittling destructive force. When the individual denies any dependency upon society, his competition becomes directed toward the belittling of others and becomes destructive.

Failure to recognize the difference between these two entirely different kinds of competition has caused serious dislocations under the Capitalist system, and has been instrumental in bringing about a trend toward eliminating Capitalism entirely.

(Adapted from *The Entrepreneur*, March, 1934)

#### NOTES

#### Indian Figures

(Up to 33-4-'34)

S. N.	State	Total Collection (Asans)	Total Disbursement (Asans)
1.	Assam	1,000	
2.	Andhra	13,964	
3.	Uttar Pradesh	3,03,602	42,828
4.	Orissa	92,308	
5.	Karnatak	1,809	128
6.	Kerala	17,089	
7.	Gujarat	18,124	
8.	Tamilnad	21,697	256
9.	Dolls	9,343	4
10.	Punjab	5,186	
11.	Bengal	2,139	
12.	Bihar	28,10,000	
13.	Madhya Pradesh	43,300	1,000
14.	Madhya Bharat	42,412	
15.	Maharashtra	13,480	
16.	Mysore	3,414	
17.	Rajasthan	3,13,198	3,879
18.	Vindhya Pradesh	4,911	126
19.	Sassidore	26,308	
20.	Hanashai Pradesh	1,800	
21.	Hyderabad	92,114	10,503
Total		71,85,853	77,194

KRISHNAIAH MENTA,  
Office Secretary,  
A. I. Room New Delhi

#### Excise Tax vs. Poll Tax

It is common ground that the consumers of intoxicants in India form a very small percentage of the population but contribute a large share of the provincial revenues, because of the high incidence of the tax. The Andhra Prohibition Enquiry Committee add that the consumers were not fewer under Prohibition than before, but consumed illicit liquor instead of licit. If Prohibition was widespread, they would consume illicit liquor, but their number would be about the same. It estimated it at eight lakhs. Since the population of Andhra was about 300 lakhs, the consumers constituted only about four per cent.

According to the Warburton Report, the excise (income of Andhra before Prohibition) was about Rs. 535 lakhs. It amounted to Rs. 75 per annum? A small minority of about four per cent

of the population, which is the poorest and the weakest contributed Rs. 75 per head to the provincial revenues? It is incredible and should go.

If the poorest section of the population must be taxed, in addition to the present indirect taxation, it is more equitable to levy a poll-tax on all adults. As a direct tax, it will be better than an indirect one. With low incidence and broad base it is likely to yield about the same revenue as the excise tax, with its high incidence and narrow base. It will be collected directly and not through speculating contractors. It will be paid when the tax-payer is sober and not inebriate as in the case of the excise tax. Its administration will be comparatively cheap since there is a National Register of adults kept up-to-date for election purposes.

F. CHANDLER BAO

Man L. Machine

To

The Editor Marjory

Sir,

We talk in season and out of season about protection to village industries in India. In the Marjory of 22-11-33 you have dealt with the unfair but competition with the bullock cart, in Thana District a new evil has sprung up of late in that several dredgers are employed to dig out sand from the bottom of the Uthar creek. This has displaced thousands of poor owners of indigenous boats whose wives and children are reduced to the condition of starvation. With mass production of sand through the dredgers the bullock carts which transported sand before, have now to make place for motor trucks. Some years ago these unfortunate and uneducated owners of village boats even went to the length of destroying and drowning the dredgers out of sheer disappointment and a few precious lives were also lost. The number of dredgers has since doubled. Is it not high time that we asked action to our utterances of protecting village industries and removing unemployment by giving due protection to these slowly dying village crafts?

Paya, 12-6-34

F. N. CHANDLER

It quite agree with the above that our progress for national development must seriously study such problems of unfair competition of capital and machine against the underprivileged man and his small industry.

1934-35

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#### Farm Mechanization No Good

Dr. L. Dudley Stamp in his *Our Underdeveloped World* writes (p. 143):

"It is well, however, to agree that nothing would be gained at this stage by any change in agricultural production that resulted in saving of man-power. That would simply throw the entire rural economy of the country out of gear. It may even be doubted whether there is room for the gas or oil-burning machine which would rob the cultivator of bullocks and masts that they yield. India might better use some of the smaller specialized types of farm implements rather than attempt large scale farm mechanization."

F. C. B.

## AGATHA HARRISON

(By Pyrrah)

Agatha Harrison, who passed away the other day, was a gift of Charles Andrews to India. It was in 1901 at the time of the Second Round Table Conference in London that she first came to us. Seeing me crowded under by the heavy mail which six postal deliveries at four different addresses brought every day, Charles Andrews deplored her to assist me. Before long she became one of us.

She completely identified herself with India's non-violent struggle. During our stay in London, when it became necessary to type out the whole of Sir John Anderson's repulsive Ordinance No. 9 of Bengal for Gandhiji's use. It was an abominably long document. India Office said they had only one copy and it could not be spared. She finished the job overnight, but next day confessed that she was so affected by its contents that she had found it difficult to go on with her typing! Towards the close of our stay in London, she offered her services as a liaison between Gandhiji and British officials and friends of Indian freedom in England. Her offer was accepted and she continued to discharge that role till the end.

A peace-maker's is by no means an easy role. Often it seems a thankless task. Agatha had grit, perseverance and patience, and sturdy common sense which enabled her to win and retain the confidence and respect of everybody — whether it was Lord Halifax or Sir Samuel Hoare, Lord Patrick Lawrence or Cripps, Lillington or Amery. Gandhiji, Nehru or Patel, she made them all feel that they could trust her. Her security and good sense overcame even hardened prejudices and forced open doors that were normally shut.

When darkness stared her in the face, she turned to Gandhiji to revive her optimism and replenish her faith. One such occasion was in 1941, when India and England were both adverse on the issue of India's participation in the war on British terms and there seemed to be hardly any meeting ground between their conflicting view-points. After giving his analysis of the situation, Gandhiji on that occasion wrote to her: "Can you now have a glimpse of why you find endless difficulties in the pursuit of your thankless task? But you must go on. Every good deed is like a good seed. It is never wasted if it is sown in cultivable soil."

She was the only person who could get across Mr Amery to allow her to write to Gandhiji on the political issue that divided them at the time of Gandhiji's detention during the Quit India struggle. Gandhiji's reply was noteworthy as showing what a granite wall the mediators were faced with and why the attempt to bridge the gulf failed.

"As for the subject matter of your letter, I am the same man you have known me. The spirit of Ahimsa is ever with me. But suspicion about my motives and utter distrust of my word in high places has hitherto rendered every word made by me nugatory. However, I am waiting, waiting and praying. Truth and non violence remain my abiding-anchor as never before. They sustain me. I do not give up the hope that light will shine through the surrounding darkness."

Agatha was an ardent worker in the women's cause being connected with the International Women's Conference and the Indian Women's Conference. She was spiritual-minded without being solemn and tolerant without being lax in the practice of her faith. She could enjoy a joke at her expense and being to bear upon a tense situation her lively sense of humour. Her sympathies were broad and always with the underdog — whether it was in China, India or Africa. She was ever faithful to the spirit of C. F. A. and was unswerving in her conviction that trouble arises due to a lack of proper understanding among people and establishment of personal contacts between the parties concerned on the human plane, is the key to the removal of estrangements. To that end she laboured unceasingly and without a stop.

The testimony she bore at Gandhiji's last birthday celebration in London, provided the key to her own faith too. Christian men and women in the world, she remarked, bore Gandhiji in their thoughts on his birthday, as he continued to face the cold test of non-violence. "We are more sure than ever that Gandhiji's influence on the power of the spirit is indomitable."

The world today needs more than ever that faith and silent servants of humanity like Agatha. Fled with that faith, to break the vicious circle of suspicion, fear and hate which threatens all that we hold dear. No wonder Pandit Nehru described her as one of those rare spirits who continue to labour in patience and in faith to serve humanity, without caring for distinction for themselves or even recognition of their service, but who really constitute the "salt of the earth".

New Delhi,

23-5-54

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# HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY KARNATAK GANDHI)

Editor: BHAKTIRAJ P. BHAR

Vol. XVIII No. 14

AMMIDARAO — SATURDAY, JUNE 5, 1934

TWO ANNAS

## GRAMA-DHARMA \*

(By Vinoba)

Just as there is a code of conduct called *Kula-dharma* for a family, and for a clan called *Jat-dharma* which helps to maintain these social units, so there has to be a code of conduct to be observed by the village community for the proper maintenance of village life which we may call *grama-dharma* or *village-dharma*. Village life cannot exist efficiently, much less prosper, unless the villagers agree to some such code of conduct and implement it in practice. I will tell you what I suppose should be considered the leading characteristics of this code.

First, the disputes in the village should be settled locally in the village. It would of course be best if there were no disputes at all. But that is an ideal hard to attain. Where a number of people live together occasional disputes cannot be avoided. But you should have them resolved locally by referring them to the village elders of known integrity and character. The disputants should not go to the courts in the cities and waste time and money there. Besides, it leads to perpetual friction and bad blood among the parties. They then become enemies to each other and the animosity is handed down from the father to the son. This is evidently a very potent factor of the disorder in the village. The disputes should not therefore be taken to the courts in the cities which put the disputants to a lot of harassment by prolonging the case from one hearing to another indefinitely. The first rule of the *grama-dharma* therefore is that we should accept the decision of the village elders and not carry our disputes to the cities. It is at times said that there are no honest men in the villages, that the villagers have become generally dishonest and therefore incapable of doing properly. But this is an obvious exaggeration. Even Karna's Lanka was not all black, having been marked by the redeeming presence of Vinobha. Our villagers are not like rakshasas and must therefore have their good men.

Next, you must arrange for providing medical help and treatment to all those who may be

out of health. Today, people just do not look beyond their immediate family. Those who have money manage to get treatment from Government hospitals or private practitioners. But the poor who have no money to pay for such treatment have just to suffer silently. The *grama-dharma* would require that the diseases be banished from the village and medical aid be provided to all the sick whether rich or poor. Medicines are not to be purchased from outside. Herbs with medicinal properties should be grown in the village and the patients be given their fresh juice and treated with other nature cure methods to restore them to health.

Thirdly, we must provide for the education of the village children. All the children in the village should be enabled to receive education and not only those, as at present, who can afford. Today those who have the means get their boys educated by sending them to the cities—to Patna, to Gaya etc. But the children of the poor go without education. Everyone has a right to education. Both rich and poor should be enabled to receive good education. How are we to accomplish this? The best solution would be for some well-educated individual to the village to move forward and offer his services for this purpose. This education would be entirely free of charge. None will be required to pay anything for it. The boys will do reading and writing for about two hours and for the rest of the time they will work. So will the teacher who will get his remuneration in kind and do agriculture work in his spare hours.

The fourth constituent of *grama-dharma* is agriculture or service of land. Land will not be owned privately inasmuch as it belongs to God. We are all servants of land and not its owners. We distribute land to individuals, but the ownership is vested in the village community. We undertake distribution for the sake of practical convenience, but the ownership both of land and its produce belongs to the community. Today every farmer looks to his interest only. At the time when the crops come on, all of these keep awake in their fields watching over them lest the cattle of the neighbour should step on and damage

\*From a speech at Ammida Rao on 11/4/34.

them. It need not be so. The village should collectively look after its crops. Then they should consider how they can increase the production from the land. I am not preaching you any new religion. I am just telling you of the one shapeliest religion—the Religion of Man. Kindness, love, affection, harmonious—all these are shapeliest parts of man's religion. All must live and work in cooperation with one another for good of all. They should lift up the declining village industries and make them prosperous. Every need of the village must be produced or manufactured in the village. Make your own cloth, use glass-oil, hand-powered rice, shoot made by the village smith—also make anything should be brought from outside the village. The village should practice a complete boycott of the mill made articles. Not because we hate the cities, no, we love all, but because we will do nothing which will do harm to the village and speed its economic harmony by throwing the village out of employment.

Finally, there should not be any privately owned shop in the village. All village shops will be held jointly by all the villagers who will have each a share in the capital. The poor who have no money will contribute their labour. For example, if he puts in eight hours' labour he will be entitled to a share worth a rupee. Thus the village shop should be a co-operative undertaking owned by all the villagers. Naturally it will be managed and run in the interest of all.

There are more of the principles of gramshiksha. Observation of these principles will lead to the enrichment and prosperity of our villages. I am trying to explain to you in brief how you can be happy. If you love one another the village will change into a village, the shade of Vishnu—a place of perpetual bliss. What is of Vishnu—for this is Vishnu—in love and co-operation. People say this is *Kalyana*—the age of darkness when evil gets ascendancy. But God has entered us with this human body which can do wonderful things. We must use it for doing good. This is not *Kalyana* but *Vidyana*. That is an age of wisdom. Therefore arise and act. (applauds from house)

By Mahadevi Choudhury

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## JAPAN'S ATTITUDE TO THE U. S. A.

(By Shantana Choudhury)

The Japanese do not speak their mind freely to a foreigner. But once the line of reserve is broken, and not just once, at least in some extent, the almost uncommunicable language barrier, one discovers that the present attitude of Japan to the West in general, and America in particular, is one of dislike and distrust.

There are reasons for this. Japan had stood in isolation and preferred to be left alone. Her geographical position or an island off the western coast of Asia made the people keep to themselves with hardly any contact with the outside world. Cultural influences, it is true, did come into Japan, as e.g., Buddhism from Korea, China and India and Confucianism and feudalism from China but these were not thrust on Japan against her wishes. She welcomed them and profited greatly by them. She had the option of taking from them just what she wanted. Under such a scheme of things foreigners were hardly in evidence. They stayed out. Japan imported only their ideas or their skill. Not being used to foreigners, she looked upon them with fear and suspicion, and did not allow them entry into her domain.

Japan, however, was rudely shocked out of her isolation when Commodore Perry of the U. S. A. forced his way into the country with a strong naval fleet in 1853. Japan resisted, but had to succumb when faced with superior military weapons. Perry opened Japan also to other Westerners. Japan resented the violent intrusion and felt deeply humiliated that she was helpless to prevent it. From that day she determined that she would do all in her power to make herself the equal of the West in every way possible. She industrialised herself rapidly, learnt military technology from the West and built up a strong army, navy and air-force. She copied the West in this latter, and walked into other lands like Korea and took possession of them. Her ambition was fulfilled, when at last the West looked upon her with her record of violence and lust, as an equal and regarded her as a Big Power along with themselves. But the West grew alarmed, when they saw that Japan had learnt her lesson from them a little too well and was on the verge of heading them in their own game. Again it was America that took the initiative, struck her with the atom bomb and her law and corrupted her territory. Twice in recent history, then, America had acted against Japan. This could not be easily forgotten.

In spite of this, however, America won the affection of the Japanese for the good job she did in Japan soon after the War. She released the Japanese people from their bondage to their warlords, gave the war-weary people a Peace Constitution which they welcomed, and which assured them that they would not have to have an army

and many of us (U.S.A.) had 100,000 intelligent and educated citizens, and we had 100,000 trained and experienced soldiers, and we gave Japan 100,000 tons of munitions. In consequence the Japanese had munition, munition and munition for their campaign, and presented to them as liberators and benefactors of a new era of hope, peace and prosperity.

But unfortunately today America seems to be going back on everything that allied the Japanese with hope for the future. "Oh America is wanting Japan to re-arm. That means bringing back to power the old war-lords, the industrial magnates and powerful coalitions, and Japan begins to feel that the democratic Government given to her by the U. S. A. will only be a mask-screen for policies determined by a ruling few, and that the people will again become gun-bodder and were still victims of hydrogen bomb warfare. Formerly at least if they fought it was for their own national expansion. Now they will be fighting for America. And why should Japan be ravaged and her people killed for the sake of America?" It does not make sense if they were unarmed, they might be left alone in a war between the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. But if they were armed on the side of the U. S. A. their security would be used as an American base, and would most certainly be devastated by the enemy. They would rather, therefore, follow a policy of non-alignment with either power bloc. But if they still believe they refuse their economic aid, and this will mean for Japan economic collapse. They find also that when unarmed, their neighbours even from little Korea, take advantage. They push into Japanese waters for fish, and across Japanese fisheries who may be fishing far away from Korean waters. Such incidents would not happen if they had an army to protect them. So Japan is today of a double mind on the question of re-arming. The general drift of public opinion however seems to be against re-arming, especially among the intelligentsia, students and labour but with the powerful influence wielded by America in Japan, it is feared that the country might have to re-arm, with no prospect of peace or genuine freedom for the people. Consequently, America is fast being held on the hearts of the Japanese.

The presence of American troops all over Japan has also greatly contributed to the growing dislike of Americans. Everywhere in Japan there are American army camps, and messes and air bases. The land is overrun with American troops. Naturally this breeds the pride of a sensitive people like the Japanese. The American troops are a constant reminder to them of their complete defeat. It is said that the troops will be withdrawn when Japan is able to back up her own defence in the course of the next few years.

But today American troops all the time are not doing any constructive work. Japan has to pay for, and maintain her national expenditure — i.e. the army is serving them regarding her defence instead of helping her economy. Moreover, in these times of labourer lands, troops seem out-moded and obsolete protection against attack. If anything military bases are apt to invite enemy attack. So if the show of American military strength actually is the interests of Japanese defence, does not seem to make any sense at all to the Japanese.

Besides, the Yagis an- rather is a menace to Japanese morality. He exploits the poverty of the Japanese girl, gives her a good time, and some money for her family, and spoils her. Betray and vice makes an army of occupation are corrupting the youth of the nation, and self-respecting Japanese are naturally outraged. One feels that Japan cannot put up with that for long. It is certainly not calculated to bring about any good-will for America.

Further, the Japanese resented bitterly America's hydrogen bomb tests off Bikini last May. It had disastrous effects for them, and left them feeling that America did not care the slightest for their welfare or safety.

All this has led the Japanese in recent months not only to lose their friendship for Americans, but also to suspect that America has no real interest in them, that she concerns herself with them only when she can get something, and that America would see Japan destroyed if she could save her own skin thereby. The old respect and love of the foreigners that is of the Westerner — I mean particularly of America, seems to be returning, and may drive Japan to desperate deeds against the white man. But just now Japan is too weak for action. The situation can perhaps be reversed if Japan were given freedom from dependence on the U. S. A., and allowed to go her own way aided, if necessary, by an impartial international body, not controlled by either power bloc. Friendship between America and Japan can be based on a basis of perfect equality and freedom.

By Mahatma Gandhi

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too taken a big responsibility on his head. It is the duty of all to help him in this big task.

Some still think that if their boys are taught the high English they will earn money, raise their social status and will be able to talk fluently with an Englishman. But they forget India is a land of villages and the villagers do not know English. They know their mother-tongue. If we make English the language of the nation the growth of 400 million will be checked. They shall ever remain in the deep ditch of illiteracy. Dr. Bhabhubai who spoke to you just now rightly claims that we can build up a terminology in our own language, which will suffice all purposes of modern education. Even today the villagers have their own words for modern things. When I was in Champaran I had to work among the villagers. In their talks they did not use English words. Yet they could do well. As for instance, they did not use "motor" for motor but calling speed as the characteristic of motor they called it "hawa-gari." I like such words. They are simple yet carry the meaning of the speaker. I am not a linguist but a village and therefore I have a love for such words. The village's dictionary contains such fine words which may not be found in Sanskrit or Arabic. I insist on the simplicity of words and the treasure of simple words lies in the villages where our authors should go. Prasad Agarwal knows that I am a village. Therefore I will place a village's viewpoint before him. Today our educational institutions are completely cut off from our seven lakh villages. Mother tongue alone can link them. It is a gigantic task. There might be difficulties about text-books. The preparation of text-books may require hard labour but we have to do it. These things look difficult to us as we have spent many years in the chains of slavery. In Banke when the people's government was established they decided that education shall be through the mother-tongue. Consequently a large number of professors undertook the task of simplifying the difficult languages and preparing scientific dictionaries for the ordinary man. We have adapted ourselves to the English language and therefore the task seems difficult. We hesitate and feel a hitch in speaking in our mother-tongue. But do not forget whatever knowledge we have gained through English language is useless for the masses.

"It has created a colossal waste of the nation's energy. Our students spend their valuable years in learning a foreign language. If we learn through the mother tongue we shall be saving seven parts of a student and yet he will gain the same amount of knowledge. As I have said already it is foolish people may think that I am talking in the air. But that is not the case. I ask them to study the principles of basic education and the experiment going on there here."

"The initiative of introducing the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction should come

from the people and their leaders. This is the best, that they can do. The British Government will not care for it as they are concerned only with controlling power. They have imposed the English language on us. Now it is our duty to overthrow it. In this also I may remove another wrong notion prevailing about the mother-tongue medium. No doubt we have to evolve a national language for inter-provincial purposes but this shall not and should not be at the cost of the mother-tongue. We should first develop the mother-tongue and then the national language."

#### THE QUESTION OF MEDIUM FOR

##### NON-REGIONALS

(By Jagdishan P. Desai)

Two points are raised about the resolution (vide Morgan 15-5-54) on the medium of instruction passed recently by the Gujarat University.

1. It is true that the regional language is a natural medium of instruction for the region concerned. But is it not necessary to provide an additional medium of Hindi for non-Gujaratis?

2. Should not special colleges exist as a College of Pharmacy etc. where students seeking admission might be coming from different parts of the country, have Hindi alone as the medium of instruction?

Neither of the two points are new. They were raised in the debate at the Senate of the Gujarat University and, it was after their full discussion that the Gujarat University passed the resolution quoted above. These two questions are again raised merely to highlight understanding of the place of Hindi in New India's language policy. Hindi is an Indian or a national language as Gujarati, Bengali or Marathi, which are national languages for their respective regions. They all have to work together in union to displace English from its rightful place it occupies today. This is the natural task they have to perform under Swaraj. Therefore, having admitted the principle that the regional language is the natural medium of instruction for the region concerned it would not be proper to suggest anything as additional medium of Hindi.

It is necessary and desirable to appreciate the role of Hindi as the medium of all-India and inter-State communication and intercourse. We desire to accord it the place of honour as the common all-India and inter-State medium. Such acceptance does not consist in any way in ignoring or inferiority superiority or richness over other Indian languages. A single reason which qualifies it to be so is that, in comparison with others it is spoken by the largest number of our people. Though in various different states it is, and another reason is that in the pre-British period it served the purpose of our lingua franca, or the inter-regional medium. It therefore has in it such potentiality, which must now be actualised by us.

Therefore non-Gujaratis who are staying in Gujarat or who would equally come and study in Gujarat may use Hindi as inter-State medium.

that it is not an administrative and purely technical question. It cannot be considered as a purely administrative question. And the Gujarat Education Board has already made provision for such steps in its old resolution on the medium of instruction. There should therefore be no difficulty in the general working of Gujarati in the medium. Still let us see the question of difficulties about the non-regionalists.

For non-regionalists who may be normally coming in Gujarat will be naturally knowing English. The Education Department of the Government of Bombay has prescribed the study of English compulsory for non-regional students here. Standard III. They will then align with the English boys in Gujarat medium High Schools and thus may continue to do so further on in Colleges.

The non-regionalists coming to Gujarat will have the knowledge of their mother-tongue. We may presume they will have also learnt Hindi, because Hindi is not at present commonly taught in all our Hindi regions. However, we may take it that they will start doing so in the near future. Non-regional students intending to prosecute their studies in Gujarat will come here naturally with the mental preparation to pick up a working knowledge of Gujarati. Since Gujarati is a language very similar to Hindi they will find it easy to learn it. Again their stay in Gujarat will help them to learn it easily and naturally. It will not be an overstatement to say that they will have a working knowledge in about four to six months. However, special coaching classes may be conducted in the beginning to help such students, if necessary. This is what usually happens everywhere. And it will be wrong to work against this natural law. In a multi-lingual country like ours patriotism and national unity require that, we make respectful studies of languages of one another and be one with our people with whom we reside. It is natural and easy for one to pick up the language of the region one goes to reside in. It indicates a natural feeling which is an invaluable asset for mutual unity and solidarity. I am reminded of a non-Gujarati professor who was a sort of poet and that though he stayed for years in Gujarat he did not know Gujarati. This is surely not a matter of pride. It will be improper to keep a linguistic curtain in this manner.

But this question of the common all-India medium should be considered from another point of view also. That is found in the Constitution of India itself. For non-Hindi regions Hindi has a status of a common all-India and later regional language. Therefore, in a region it cannot take the place of nor be on par with the regional language. But those who need to use it as the common inter-provincial medium, i.e. — the non-regionalists, can do so in accordance with the Con-

stitution. The non-regionalists who can better understand the national unity may certainly do so. They may use Gujarati. Others will use it in accordance with the language and professors for the language. It is not necessary easily change-over to Gujarati or Hindi or any other. But it is for them to decide. They have a right to use Hindi as incorporated in the Congress Working Committee resolution also. The Gujarat University has rightly accepted this point by incorporating it in its Modern Resolution.

The University has further provided for the use of English also as the medium for a specified period of transition so that the non-regionalists may have reasonable time to prepare for the change-over to Gujarati.

Then remains the last question of specialised institutions. Like the Pharmacy College. I learn that for pharmaceutical studies there are five to seven institutions in the country for diploma if not for degree course, and now it is possible that more such institutions may be opened. But, even otherwise the above arguments hold good for this question also.

However one should not forget the practical consideration of the percentage of non-regional students in the regional university. Can it be possible to make Hindi medium arrangement for what will obviously be comparatively a small number? And how will or can the regionalists work a compromise?

But there is another serious question to be considered in this connection. To assign the natural place of the regional language to the later State medium is fraught with great danger to the cause of our State languages itself. It should not be ignored that such a step will provide a stimulus and doubt of Hindi among non-Hindi people and they might be led away not to accept Hindi if it meant more than inter-State medium.

It is feared that such a danger is not as clear as it should be. It is wise to take up the hint from the atmosphere that we are all around. Let us not take any step which may create hostile feelings in others against the inter-State medium. We need it for our common all-India purpose. The greatest task that lies ahead in respect of Hindi is to start teaching it in all schools and colleges of non-Hindi regions. We are all called upon to make a clear and helpful atmosphere for it. This work will undoubtedly be obstructed and waste if opposition is made to make Hindi the medium of instruction. The first and foremost task facing us is to provide regular and systematic compulsory teaching of Hindi in all non-Hindi regions. To provide for it in time is the broad State policy and right educational principle.

**SELF-EMPLOYMENT AND RIGHT TO WORK***(By Maurice Poppend)*

There are three kinds of industries to consider in the present economic set-up of the country:

(1) Industries which supply products and services not at all in existence before, like air-line, radio, cinema, telephone and telegraph, microscopes, photographic cameras etc.

(2) Industries which make available to the many goods and services formerly reserved for the few, like post, speedy transport, glass and stainless steelware, educational and medical supplies etc.

(3) Industries which concentrate in a few hands the production of articles of first necessity which were formerly produced by craftsmen all over the country, in sufficient quantity and of adequate quality. Here come textile mills, sugar factories, flour mills, shoe and ready-made cloth factories and all industries where the craftsman is deprived of his work without much benefit to the consumer.

It is high time that our attitude to industries which mindlessly create unemployment by handing over to centralised and organised machinery the production of articles which were previously made by hand should undergo a radical change. If people want to get rich, they are welcome, but not by depriving other people of their livelihood. It is criminal in the strict sense of the word to make shoes in factories and starve innumerable families of cobblers, to stitch ready-made clothes in mills and deprive the individual tailor of their livelihood, to weave cloth on automatic powerlooms and keep the weaver idle. The right to work, the right to an earned wage as secured as the right to live. Man's livelihood is as inviolable as his person and it should be against the laws of the country to deprive a worker of his work.

Maximum employment should be the first consideration in India's economic policy, and maximum production will follow naturally because full employment will create full demand which will encourage production. So for our business morality was only between businessmen, it was considered perfectly legitimate to destroy another economically through competition. This law of the economic jungle cannot be tolerated for ever, economic manslaughter is as inhuman as physical murder.

The laws of the country should be written now to make attack on man's livelihood as severely punishable as an attack on his life. No industry should be permitted to exist or come into being unless the promoters can prove that some sort of employment without immediate competition in the shape of a new and better job. Not only humanity demands that maximum employment should come before maximum production, but it is also sound economics, because economic progress depends on

political stability which again depends on total and remunerative employment.

In a violent economy a vast proportion of the working population is engaged in occupations related to life and wellbeing of the citizen. Armsmen and military service, patents trade and speculation, police and prison staff absorb a part of the workers displaced by centralisation of production of articles of first necessity. But if our country wants to be non-violent, it must aim at maximum productive employment, production not of pure or middle-man's profits, but of all that serves man and society.

Once maximum employment is seen as more important than maximum production, the road is clear. Labour-intensive occupations will be given first priority until every man and woman in India is assured of full-time remunerative employment throughout the year in the production of articles of first necessity for the individual and the country. There will be no idle labour market and the employers will have to offer better wages than what the worker already gets. This shift of emphasis from maximum production to maximum employment will happen inevitably once the farmer and the craftsman are restored to their genuine function of supplying articles and services essential for personal and social survival. But maximum employment alone will not make society non-violent—it must be also maximum self-employment. The ideal artisan is not he who is just a cog in the complex machine of a State or private enterprise, but he who, on his own initiative and with his own resources, engages himself and his family and neighbours in the production of articles and services for the common good. The bringing up of a family is the simplest form of co-operation and what is needed for this task is goods and services in the natural field for self-employment for man and women of India.

Nobody, neither the State nor the private promoter, should be allowed to do anything which would reduce the self-employment potential of the country. An opportunity to learn an art or craft and to employ oneself joyfully and profitably in one's own firm, workshop or studio is the birthright of every man and woman and all other employment must offer still greater opportunities for self-expression and a higher standard of life to be acceptable.

To protect the human right to self-employment a whole industrial sector should be set aside for it. More naturally it will be the production of goods and services essential for survival, biological and social.

This is what the small and village industries movement stands for: maximum self-employment, maximum equality, maximum stability, maximum dignity, freedom and happiness for everybody, not dispensed from above, but as a natural birthright, for the protection and enforcement of which the society and the State are responsible.

## SMALL-SCALE OR LARGE-SCALE INDUSTRIES\*

(By **Subhash Chandra Bose**)

The latest report of the National Income Commission, which has been published recently, gives us certain gliding facts, which everyone should have been considering. Up to now we have been discussing the relative importance of the various industries and whether the small-scale or large-scale industries have got any substantial importance in the economy of our country. Various views have been expressed by persons looking at the question from various angles. Some people are satisfied by scattered official bits and bits of the Government's estimate, regarding large-scale production as a means to raise the economic level of the country.

### Income Point of View

In spite of the fact that the Government of India in their Ministry of Commerce and Industry have given exhaustive attention to the development of large-scale industries and big business, let us see what the National Income Commission says. It says that the net value added or national income which will derive from these large-scale industries is only Rs. 100 crores. As against this, in spite of the various handicaps placed by our Government, the large-scale industries and also the import and export policies, the small-scale industries give to the nation national income to the tune of Rs. 500 crores. If I had said this a fortnight ago, people would have said that it is all presumption, assumption or something in the air. But fortunately I am supported now by the latest report of the National Income Commission.

### Employment Point of View

Now let us see what employment is given by these two types of industries. The large-scale industries are employing about 30-40,000 workers, whereas the industries which are classed as small-scale or village industries are giving employment to about 4,00,00,000 workers, who are either partially or fully employed.

### Government's Duty vis-a-vis Small-scale Industries

I do not mean to say that the Government of India have entirely neglected the village industries, during the last few or six years. There is no also have had occasion to see the exhibition which is now being held in Delhi, where also in fact that the small-scale and village industries are in a position not only to raise the economic level of the country considerably but are also capable of raising the social and cultural level of our countrymen. Therefore, I would very heartily suggest that instead of giving their exclusive attention to these large-scale industries, let the Ministers of private working in the Commerce and Industry Ministry, who are very intelligent, very able, and have heard their Government do very thoroughly, devote their attention to the small-scale and village industries. Let them allow the private enterprise in the large industries to take care of themselves. They will do more gainful work if the wheels of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry is not able to look after them, because they have grown up now. Let these small-scale industries, which are contributing a national income of Rs. 500 crores, be more carefully attended to by the Hon. Ministers, and let hundreds of millions working in the Ministry.

### Regarding Large-scale Industries

By this, I mean that it is natural and quite natural, material longing is natural in the individuals of the large-scale industries. That is a personal question on the part of this House. We have made a reference to the nationalisation of the various industries—the text is in my report. I am. Whichever is their way of nationalising the one, the industry I may I just place before this and the House speaks facts concerning the war and post-war period.

\* From a speech of Shri Subhash Chandra Bose, B. P., in the House of the People, on 10th April, 1954.

## Increased Trade Capital

The textile industry which was existing in a capitalised state in the year 1929 of roughly Rs. 50 to Rs. 60 crores has got at the disposal today nearly Rs. 70 crores (approx. \$1000 crores). Why should they show any new and that is the Government and say "Give us money"? They have already got at their disposal 70 crores of rupees if they want to rehabilitate their industry. But they say "We, you must, give us more money" after all, where is that money going to come from? That money has to come either from the producers of industrial raw materials or the consumers or the super-consumers. Is it who, is it capable, where they have got already Rs. 70 crores at their disposal to rehabilitate that industry that they should come before the people of this country for more money? May I remind him that during the last seven or eight years, the Government has raised the depreciation allowances from 5 per cent to nearly 10 per cent in the case of three classes and to 15 per cent in the case of two others? In addition, in fact, there is 10 per cent initial allowance as it is called. Is it somebody during the last five or seven years has put in vast capital goods that is, even plant machinery, which then or four years ago was all this money here and that capital is available today for rehabilitation. If they want to do that money is made available to them, by paying in a plant which is three times the original value of the plant here, the plant is worth about three times.

### Trade Nationalisation

Now let me raise the question, the pertinent question of nationalisation. What is nationalisation? I do not mean the nationalisation of the resources of the country, both human and material. For the welfare of the community as a whole it is with a view to see that the position between employer and the worker that I suggest that comprehensive nationalisation of the industry is required. It is taken up—I mean the nationalisation of the whole industry and management. For the Government to do that everything which they are managing is all right.

### Public Economic Health

We cannot, and even of his colleagues in his way of thinking, to mean and out of course, straightway refer us to the U. S. A. From our general ordinary and from our present industrial development, we want the machinery to take us in the stage of development of the United States of America's economy. May I say that even when people come on a fairly industrially developed country like U. S. A., even a Minister about six or seven years back in America, to see if some of their techniques could be utilised in the United Kingdom? This report that they have utilised is that there is no one going to the U. S. A. type of production. That is the conclusion they have reached. The result is that U. S. A. decided that its industries should develop according to the own requirements, in the same way, we should not look at what others have done. Of course if there is some advantage we may adopt it. But what is necessary for our progress—human, economic and material—? Is there we have to not our cost according to risk and make progress in our own way, and not to get ourselves by getting before on certain obligations which come to be fulfilled, unless along with it you desire to bring in capitalisation and human misery.

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## HARIJAN

PUBLISHED BY HARJAN, LATTERLY  
EDITOR: MANMATH P. SHUKL

Vol. VIII, No. 16

AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, JUNE 12, 1934

TWO ANNAS

**THE WAY TO A STATELESS SOCIETY \***  
(By Dr. Rajendra Prasad)

It is after a long time that I am having this opportunity to speak in this part, and before such a large gathering,—a gathering, moreover, which is being attended by visitors from all our provinces. But I have just the habit to speak at a gathering of this kind and I do not know what I shall say to you. Shall I tell you of things which I usually do nowadays, or speak in the way I did before, though do not take it that there is much difference between the two. However a sort of difference comes in the approach as also in the topics, though there is no difference in the basic thought behind them.

I believe that now when the people have the right of the government of the country in their own hands, they should see it after fully understanding its meaning and importance. When people complain to me that the Government is not doing this or that or that many of the things which it is doing are bad, I say to them that the people get a government which they deserve. If there are defects in the Government, we must understand that they are essentially those of the people and are merely reflected in the Government. People then say in reply that this is merely a device to hide the misdoings of the Government, and they are wrongly blamed. This may also have an element of truth in it. Nevertheless it has to be admitted that in a democracy if the people who have the right to choose their government exercise this right thoughtfully and well, no government can stay in office for long against their wishes. It is a characteristic of the democratic form of government that, worked well, it can and does reflect the wish of the people. But those who choose and those who are chosen must realise their responsibility and discharge it conscientiously.

This form of government is being introduced in the country for the first time. Undoubtedly we had democratic republicanism in our country in older days, but they were too small to bear comparison with what we have today. Besides, the mass of the people did not exercise much control over them as they do now. The society existing at that time

was also different in many ways. Their means and methods were different and much weaker. Hence the present democracy is the first of its kind in India and those who are working it are doing so on a large scale. Maybe, it has defects or even mistakes committed by those who are in authority which require to be corrected. In a way I am myself realising that the elections which are a part of this democracy give rise to work which is undesirable, though I have myself been put in the place I hold at present in the same way. But the place which I occupy demands a non-partisan attitude which enables me to see a detached view of things. And so I will try to speak a few words to you about what I see and hear from this detached position.

It is a good sign for our country that in spite of differences of opinion, the elections passed off quite peacefully. There was no breach of peace such as would have caused us concern about the future of democracy in our country. From the work that has been done in the last five or six years it is clear that notwithstanding formidable difficulties which could overwhelm or even crush us we have stood firm. There has been no falling back from our position; if anything we have marched forward. This provides ground for the hope that our infancy will soon be over, and with greater experience, we will do even better.

Of all these good signs, one which gives most hope is the beginning of the Sardars' movement. This movement will certainly contribute the most in keeping us going on the straight path. When I think over what I have seen and heard here and at the Khadi Exhibition recently held in Delhi—I do not mean merely the legume-reels, and the Khadi and other village industry products which were displayed there, but the spirit behind them all,—I feel greatly heartened. I feel sure that if this thing spreads, if it is well understood and adopted, our country will go ahead very very quickly. The democracy which the Constitution has set up is after all an experiment. We make that Constitution on the basis of the experience of other people. Our system of education and our ideas and opinions have also been borrowed from the same alien teachers. And so perhaps we could not have made a different kind of the Constitution. But even at this is it something which we can mould and develop and

\* Speech at Sardarpur, Bahr. Cops. on 20-4-34.

reorient our existing social and political structure in the direction of our goal of Sarvodaya.

I fully subscribe to the view that we should build up a Stateless society—a society free from government. I feel puzzled to see that in almost all countries of the world today the way things are being done is consisting in the extension of the area of the government. Everything is being brought under the control of the government. The totalitarian countries are denounced for trying to control every aspect of man's life even as they do the various parts of a machine. But look at those who denounce them and we find that they are also treading in the same direction. We see similar things being done in our country also. Not that all this is being done deliberately, but any way the result is that State control over man is steadily increasing. One small but irrefutable proof of it lies in the fact that all the State assemblies as well as the Central Parliament are busy enacting more and more laws every day and there is no knowing how many more will still be enacted. Laws are being made for the smallest as well as for the biggest of things. Those in authority, the members of the legislative assemblies and the people—all seem to believe that enacting more and more laws is the only way of getting things done. Early marriage, dowry, abolition of suttee, right of the underclassmen to enter the temples, regulation of relations between employers and workers, protection of the rights of cultivators—indeed for every social or economic problem that demands solution, we seem to have one answer only, namely, the passing of a suitable legislation. And thus the area of Government control is getting more and more enlarged. This is not a defect of our country in particular. In a way we are only copying others. The defect is universal.

Now it should be observed that whether the Government is alien or our own it makes for a division of the people into the rulers and the ruled—a division which takes away from freedom as we visualize it in its ideal form. Must this division remain for ever? Is it necessary that we should bear this yoke of Government—a yoke to which we ourselves cling? Granted that we are rather badly caught in it and that we cannot throw it off at our will, is there no way out to escape from it and emerge into full freedom?

These thoughts haunt our minds and we do desire freedom from Government. Similar thoughts are being expressed by people in other countries too. Thinkers and philosophers agree that the best government is that which governs the least. But somehow the circumstances today are such that in all countries efforts are being made to enlarge man and society by increasing the powers and the jurisdiction of the governments.

This is evidently a very sad state of affairs and the trend which it indicates is indeed dread-

ful. If we want to save our country from it and make it truly free, we must take to some other path. Government there has to be—we cannot do without it. But why should it be of some over the others? Why should it not be of everyone over himself? Here is the crux of the problem. Can we live above an atmosphere—an intellectual and a moral atmosphere in which each man will willingly put himself under discipline? I am happy to note that the Sarvodaya Movement is trying to create this atmosphere quite successfully. I am also greatly impressed by people's dedicating their lives to this movement. I am sure this will contribute a very great deal to the emergence of the pure and true democracy in which every individual will so conduct himself as to do away with the need of any external government. If this is accomplished, there is no doubt that we will see heaven descended on earth. Bringing down heaven upon the earth is no easy task. It would require long and arduous sacrifices. But I am glad that the ground is being cleared for that eventual transformation of our earth into the celestial abode.

Lastly I hope we will give up the habit of finding fault with others for anything going wrong and instead cultivate one of finding out our own share in it either through action or inaction. In fact, it is easy for a man to know only his own faults. It is vastly difficult for him to know those of others. But somehow people tend to do in this case what is difficult and not what is easy. The Government is after all like the people whom it represents. If we want to improve it, we must improve ourselves. That is the only way here to keep ourselves going on the right path and fulfil the hope that we devoutly cherish.

(Adapted from Hindi)

### LET US NOT FALTER

A large number of messages from national leaders and co-operating social workers wishing success to the Prohibition policy of the Government of Bombay were received on the occasion of the Prohibition Week that was celebrated throughout Bombay State from April 4 to 10.

Shri G. Hajagopalswami, in his message, says:

"It is not every nation to whom it is given to make this great experiment (Prohibition). Let us not falter halfway. The way is hard and full of what may break our hearts, but we should not yield to temptation or be paralyzed by the noise raised. It may be we fail to take men away from the path of crime. But it is no justification for committing a great crime ourselves. It is a crime for a civilized State to organize the easy supply of intoxicating liquor to the poor and distressed communities to its charge."

Dr. B. Pattabhi Sannamurthy, Governor of Madhya Pradesh, says:

"Prohibition is not a fantastic ideal. It is a practical reform, thoroughly consistent with the age-old traditions of the nation.... Prohibition

is a profound moral asset irrespective of the crimes of illicit distillation which are treated out as being tertiary to its failure. You have enacted the Penal Code with its 311 sections. Have you wiped out crime? Of a thousand "murderers", a hundred are hanged, ten are convicted and two or three are hanged. Shall we then do away with the Penal Code? Laws do not control crimes. The mythologies of law only help in bringing the culprit to book. It is the moral sense that ultimately vindicates virtue and inhibits crime. Where held the population stands to suffer misery from drink, no sensible man would encourage a drop of drink for the sake of revenue."

Shri R. R. Diwakar, Governor of Bihar, says:

"Prohibition as a general policy to be followed by the whole of India with as much speed as possible was never so much in doubt and danger as it seems to be today. In spite of the fact of its being a part of our Constitution in the 'Directives of State Policy', expediency, want of finances and such other considerations are coming in the way of the implementation of this important directive."

"The Ramaswami Committee of the newly-born Andhra Government has thrown a bombshell in the form of its recommendations to the Andhra Government and has upheld practically that Prohibition is a failure. The main argument advanced and the main fact quoted to prove the failure of Prohibition is that illicit distillation has increased and that it has not been possible to control it. It is enough to study the figures of the increase of illicit distillation in countries where there is no Prohibition. These figures are eloquent enough and they prove that, Prohibition or no Prohibition, illicit distillation is an independent problem by itself and people follow it as long as there is a margin of profit in that adventure. The second argument is loss of revenue. Against that the Bombay and other States which have tried to enforce Prohibition as strictly as possible have been able to get over the financial problem and also to prove that there is a distinct improvement in the economic as well as moral condition of the people who were once given to free drinking."

Shri P. S. Kumaraswamy Raja, Governor of Orissa, says:

"The better minds of the world have always frowned the drink habit and there is no difference of opinion as to the enormity of the evils flowing from it. In our country also, Surgeson is regarded as one of the major sins or mal-practices as the addicts become demoralised and many families have gone to wreckage."

"It has been the glorious privilege of the Indian National Congress to have included Prohibition as an item of the constructive programme long ago. Now that the Constitution also enjoins the enforcement of Prohibition as an instrument of national welfare, several State

Governments have introduced Prohibition in their States either partially or in entirety."

"It is at this juncture that an attempt is being made to secure a reversal of the policy which has been decided on after the utmost deliberation. It is urged that Prohibition has been a failure, that there is illicit distillation, and that the paramount needs of finance would seem to justify a return to the old fiscal policy which considered liquor income to be a natural and legitimate source of revenue for the State."

"I consider this to be a most unfortunate way of looking at what is really a moral and social problem. There may be certain doubts in the advice that may need to be closed, but does that justify the abandonment of the policy itself? In fact, I think we should now see that no loopholes are left in the administration of Prohibition policy. Even as tax-dodgers go to other regions to carry out their nefarious plans, the transgressors of Prohibition law find it profitable to shake their thirst for spirituous liquor by surreptitious means. This state of affairs should be put an end to in the interest of efficient government, and there is consequently a case for rapid acceleration of the pace of Prohibition so that the whole of India may come within the ambit of the beneficent reform."

"As we are building up a Welfare State, no cost is too much to effect the salutary change. The interests of the poor should not be put in jeopardy by importing considerations of high finance nor is it proper to think that the rich who can afford the luxury should be allowed to indulge the luxury through permits, rationing, etc., and that the State should tax them for the benefit of the exchequer."

Shri B. V. Keshkar, Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, says:

"Though there has been a great deal of controversy raised in newspapers, I have personally no doubt that Prohibition is not only beneficial but essential. It is not relevant to compare the introduction of Prohibition in this country with that in the U.S.A. or any other Western countries. In those countries, drinking is a social habit approved by society. In India, neither the Hindu nor the Muslim religious approve of drinking. Society in India strongly disapproves of it. In fact, drinking never had any standing in our country and those who drank did it in stealth. I, therefore, think the opposition to Prohibition has little moral backing, however loud it might appear."

(Continued)

By M. S. Patel

## THE EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY OF MAHATMA GANDHI

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# HARIJAN

June 12

1944

## CENTRALISM AND WORLD PEACE

(By Mahatma P. Das)

The famous English philosopher and social thinker, Sir Bertrand Russell appears to be at his wit's end these days. He seems to be extremely worried at the turn that world events are taking at present. The Second World War changed him from a strong advocate of peace and non-war that he was at the time of the First World War, to be a sort of a believer in war, as he thought fascism and Hitlerism were worse than war. He has lived long enough to see that war clouds are again thickening in the international sky. May he live long enough to see that peace reigns supreme in the world, he is alive to the needs of such an eventuality and contributes whatsoever he can to world's thought in this connection.

A few weeks ago I came across an article of his, (I forget where,) in which he had expressed himself in this manner. He felt that it would be idle to expect the two blocs, — the American and the Russian — deeply entrenched as they are in mutual misgivings and suspicion about each other's intentions and good faith, to come out of their reprehensible attitude themselves. It is here, he believed, that people like Sir Nehru can be of help. Such people have not lost confidence of either bloc, they can therefore mediate to clear misunderstandings and make way for and bring about goodwill and respectful rapprochement. Such a thing is very necessary and might help restore unity and friendliness and a spirit of live and let live among the two sides, which are unfortunately too hastily estranged at present to meet together at all of themselves.

It is true that the immediate need of the moment in international affairs at present is to stop the two oddly warring blocs of the world from coming to a clash signalling the whole civilized world into a deadly combat. The sage-philosopher thinks that the two blocs by themselves cannot stop from going headlong in the doom of themselves and the world, a third force must come in to show them the wisdom of the whole thing and restore them to their senses, which are lost with mutual suspicion, hatred and misunderstanding. Such a third force, he believes, can well be accounting with Sir Nehru's India leading it. This is surely a flattering thing for us in India, but the responsibility and the stress to deserve the honour for outweigh these apparent considerations. We must be humble and wise enough to arrange our own house in order and be at unshakable peace and goodwill with our own immediate neighbours before turning to the most distant ones as a

condition precedent to our capacity to deserve it.

Now has come in the H. bomb and the tales of havoc it can do to us. The English philosopher is reported to have spoken as follows:

New York, April 16.

The famous philosopher, Bertrand Russell said today that people at the hydrogen bomb age are going to have to live with one another — or die with one another.

"The hydrogen bomb and still more the Great bomb which has already been shown that if you want to survive you must let your enemies survive — either both live or both die," Mr Russell said.

"You cannot say 'We annihilate the enemy and murder ourselves'. That is not, therefore, one of your options, based at your choice, anything that makes an agreement with life more difficult, and not in any good. We have to learn to make peace with people we don't like."

Expressing his views in a television programme, Mr Russell said that people of this age must realize that hatred and suspicion are "roads to death, not towards life." (The Pioneer of India, April 17, 1944).

In these words Russell speaks directly to the two warring blocs and the hate-overpowered humanity. Fanaticism of the sort of the old religious crusade type is raising its head over them. In Russell's these words, there is a ring of the voice of the great author of the Mahabharata who raising both his hands recalled the world to the sacred practice of true Dharma. The words also remind us of the eternal saying of Bhagwan Krishna:

'असौते तान् शत्रून् । असौ शत्रून् तान् ।'

[Let a man overcome anger by non-anger (gentleness), let him overcome evil by good].

This can be heard and heeded to only if love and justice are called off from world affairs and a way of life for the whole of the human family, — 'Unité This Last' — leading to peace and mutual respect and helpfulness, is scrupulously thought out by going into every one of the aspects of our social, political and economic life. Russell and many others in the West finally believe that science, technology, centralized industrialism, and all that these mean can be squared with such a peaceful way of life. Is that belief right or justified by what we see about them today? Are the industrial revolution and western reformation replacing, as they do, the truly Christian way enough? Is the government and direction of man and his modern world safe in their hands? Have they not instigated separatism, racism, and selfish passions of gain and control in man and armed him with scientific technique to ruthlessly follow them? Does not the world need to be called back from this headlong dash to mutual destruction and death of all that we hold dear and worth our while on this God's good earth? Gandhi's call to us, and through us to the whole world, was to heed to this need of our times which he strove to serve by showing the way of decentralization and non-violence. We can help the world by following it ourselves first.

## THE LANGUAGE POLICY AND THE SUPREME COURT DECISION

(By Maganlax P. Desai)

The Supreme Court of India has decided the appeal of the Government of Bombay in regard to its order that "subject to the exceptions hereinafter provided, no primary or secondary school shall, from the date of these orders, admit to a class where English is used as a medium of instruction any pupil other than a pupil belonging to a section of citizens the language of which is English, namely, Anglo-Indians and citizens of non-Aryan descent." The appeal has been rejected and the findings of the Bombay High Court in this behalf have been upheld and the Bombay Government order has been held to be valid in view of Arts 29(2), 30, and 307 of the Constitution.

Obviously, the Supreme Court ruling creates a new situation for the State and its educational policy, chiefly in regard to the medium of instruction in primary and secondary schools. Government is, it is reported, considering the whole question in the light of this judgment, and we hope they will do it soon and decide so that the main requirement of the all-accepted educational principle of the medium of instruction finds due place in our new educational system.

I have not before me the text of the judgment, therefore what I say hereafter is on the basis of press reports available so far. I did therefore find that the Supreme Court grants that the State has the power to determine the medium of instruction for children studying in public institutions of the State. What it enquires is that the State should yield to the fundamental rights laid down by the Constitution to the extent it was necessary to give effect to them. If so, it is a very big thing. And it would be wrong to presume, as some seem to be doing, that the choice of the medium is to be with the parent.

What the Supreme Court objects to is the Bombay Order, therefore, is not the medium policy but another thing. It has resented that granting the object of the Bombay Order, viz., the medium of education etc., the question still remained as to how that object of imparting education through the medium of the mother-tongue of the pupil was sought to be achieved. And it is here that the Court finds that certain requirements under the Constitution had not been fulfilled. It was found against the Order that a pupil was refused admission, and a public or aided institution was prohibited from admitting one, on the ground of language. Surely, it is no job for the Courts to suggest how the fundamental requirements of sound educational practice on the coast of the medium should be squared with those under the Constitution. However, we hope that the legal and educational advisers to Government will do that and find the way out so that their medium of instruction policy is not torpedoed by a technically legal objection. It is

may be found on close study of the issues, that the Constitution requires to be amended so as to achieve this object of making the way clear for this necessary and indispensable in our education. It should be undertaken along with various others that are under contemplation at present.

1-4-54

## WORKERS ARE THE MAINSTAY OF SOCIETY \*

(By Tinker)

This is not just one more city like any other. It has a distinction of its own. It is a city of the workers—built and peopled by the workers. There are in India about a score of such cities and this is one of them. I however call the entire world to have been built by the workers for all real work in the world which supports and enriches life is done by the workers. There is no product but has been made by the physical labour in some form or another of the workers. Man's life, therefore, depends on physical labour and as much on the workers. Hence an ideal society would be one in which every man would take food only after he had put in some labour. Capacity for labour, it is true, differs from man to man. Some have it more than others. But all must work according to their capacity. Of course, they will not do the same kind of work which will be of many different types. There will be some work which will be purely mental. We should regard both physical and mental labour as of equal importance. As such, their economic worth and spiritual value should also be considered equal. One man produces something by dint of his physical labour, another carries the product to those who will use it, the third conducts research and experiments to find out how the production can be increased and improved, and so on. Thus there will be various types of labour but they will all carry equal worth.

If the scavenger does not do his work properly, the health of the people will be put in great danger. His work, therefore, is of great importance for the wellbeing of the society, in the same way, the teacher's job is to teach. If he does not perform it satisfactorily well, there will be no dissemination of knowledge and social progress will come to a stop. The worker's work is as important as that of the minister. Both will work according to his capacity but the spiritual worth of all work will be the same. If the scavenger does his work honestly, if he keeps things entrusted to his care ideally clean and remains free from attachment to reward, he will have earned the right to liberation. The minister too must discharge his duty in the same spirit. The minister is not superior to the scavenger. Both are equal in ability as well as in spiritual value.

\* From a speech at Indore (Hindustan) on 24-5-54.

We alone will be considered to be inferior in ability whose hand has not risen over sufferings and griefs. Any work performed with devotion and without the tinge of ego must be regarded as of excellent quality and a fit means of bringing liberation to the doer.

If, as we said, the spiritual worth of every work honestly done is in the same the conclusion is inevitable that its social and economic worth must also be the same. Today they make a difference between the abilities of the minister and the sweeper and a corresponding difference on that basis in the remuneration paid to each. This is not just because there is no difference in his feeling of hunger and his need to eat on the one side and that of the sweeper on the other. On these enormous differences in economic reward based on a false valuation of abilities among different persons are wrong. To value a service which we regard as worthy of honour in terms of money would belittle not its appreciation but its depreciation, and an affront to the individual concerned. It would mean putting manna in place of God. And those who do it would be the worshippers not of the Divine but of the manna. Any service infinitely rendered—whether it be mental labour or physical labour—can never be measured in terms of money. Because a service so rendered is a moral act—a thing of a totally different order—for which there can be no equivalent in money. One can convert an hour into minutes but not a mile—while in a test of distance—into minutes. This kind of conversion can take place only between the things of the same category. Money only can be converted into money and not work that is earnest. All those who work should get enough for their maintenance and the maintenance of their families. But it is wrong to assess what is essentially a moral and spiritual product into like of silver or gold. It is only in the capitalist society that we find money to have become the measure of all things.

Work, specially physical work is regarded as something despicable today. People work, because they have to, not because they love to work. They have no awareness that in so exerting themselves to produce useful things they are doing something noblest. The intellectual workers—the white-collar class of course consider physical work to be inferior. The reason for this is that physical work is evaluated economically at a low rate, while mental is evaluated at an excessively higher rate. That is why labour has lost all dignity. Today we find people making speeches about the need to recognize the dignity of labour but no efforts are made to raise its economic value, which remains as it was before.

One of our tasks therefore is to equalize the economic rewards for different types of work. We wish to restructured the society on a new basis. That is the purpose behind the Bhodan work. It is not intended merely to collect land.

Collection of land I consider to be as good as done. What we want is to establish new values—to establish morality as the guiding principle of our social life and to make economic which enjoys undue importance at present subservient to the former. The characteristic quality of the Bhodan does not reside either in the collection or in the distribution of land but in showing that the whole concept of the ownership of land is wrong. The Bhodan is for us an instrument for achieving a peaceful and a non-violent change of values. That is the distinction of Bhodan. And it should be borne in mind that the revolution which Bhodan is working will not remain confined to land, it will spread and extend to the entire life.

The workers sometimes ask me: "You are doing everything for the landless peasants. What are you doing for us?" I reply that all we are doing is for the good of the entire labour class. Landless peasants live by working on the farms and fields of the land-holders. They also belong to the labour class, they belong to its lowest stratum. They are the most helpless of all. They do not know how to raise their voice against the enormous injustice and cruel oppression which is being inflicted by the society on them. The Bhodan has begun by representing the cause of this most oppressed section of our society—the cause of the landless, squatters, dumb labour. Success in this task will render all other problems easier of solution. It will restore honour to the dignity and respect which is its due and put all those who eat without working for it to shame.

The revolution initiated by Bhodan is now making its way into the sphere of wealth and property. The Bhai Gopal Samastan has passed a resolution that just as it is obligatory for the land-owners to part with a portion of their land to the landless, even so it is necessary for owners of wealth to give a portion of their wealth for social use. We want every individual to give one-sixth of the amount of his expenditure in this way. People should accept it as an obligatory duty to give before they eat. We should strive to raise the prestige of work and to lower that of money. Money is, as I have explained often, a liar—a liar and a very misleading index of the value of different things even in the economic sphere. The so-called owners of wealth are not owners, but trustees. It is their inescapable responsibility to see that the wealth they have in their keeping is used for good ends. Just as through Bhodan we have afforded an opportunity to the land-owners to renounce the ownership of land, in the same way through samastan we have provided an opportunity to the owners of wealth to free themselves from the ownership of wealth.

I have a word to say to the workers also. Just as we urge the owners to give up the sense of ownership, so do we urge the workers to work with devotion. They will get their rights only if

they work with honesty and devotion. They should take the same interest in the work which they may be doing as the owner does. Like him they should also apply their mind to finding out ways for better management and greater productivity etc. We want that there should be no difference between the masters and the workers. The workers should become masters and the masters should do the part of workers so that both may become one. They should all be equal partners in a joint enterprise sharing work and profit alike.

We aim at creating a new man and a new society. It is with this aim in view that we have launched the Shiksha, samajik-dharma and shiksha campaigns. We should strive to raise the people to a realisation of the need and importance of the ideal that we have set ourselves and the means which we are pursuing to realise it. We should be able through our own sincerity and devotion to realise in them a similar sincerity and devotion so that they may feel inspired to dedicate their lives to their task of rearing the man and reconstructing the society. I hope that this city too will throw up such brave souls as will make an offering of their life and energy to build this glorious aim. I assure them that this will give them the true joy of life.

(Adapted from Hindi)

#### HINDUSTANI PRACHIN BANIA EXAMINATION

Resolution on the language problem passed in the meeting of the executive committee of the Hindustani Prachi Bania, Wazir, held at the Hindustani Prachi, New Delhi, on 10th May 1964 under the presidency of Pandit Rajprasad.

The Hindustani Prachi Bania, Wazir, has read with satisfaction, the resolution of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress about its policy on the language problem.

The Bania has always held, and it takes this opportunity of reiterating the view that Hindustani or Hindi, the national language of India, should be a compulsory subject during the whole period of education—from the primary level to the standard to the end of the college stage. It is essential that every educated man in the country should be able to use the Hindi language with perfect ease and fluency, and must be able to express himself effectively in order to persuade his countrymen as regards the various policies to be pursued for the advancement of India. But the national language should never trespass on the legitimate field of the regional languages. The medium of administration and the medium of education are two such fields. No attempt should be made to use Hindi as the medium of education in regions where Hindi is not the mother-tongue. Neither should Hindi be made the language of administration in such areas.

In view of the success of Devnagari that the people of the different regions should be governed

through the medium of a language which they know well and it is only the regional languages which can give the glow of freedom to the masses. If they are used as the medium of administration.

The people of the north, east and west, have evinced great interest and have taken special pains to learn Hindi. It is high time the people of western India recognised the duty of learning other regional languages of India. The best they could do is to begin to learn, with respect and care, the regional languages which are nearest to them, viz. Urdu, Kashmiri, Bengali, Assamese, Oriya, Sindhi, Gujarati and Marathi. Let them learn at least two of these languages and some of them may do well to study at least one of the four great southern languages, viz. Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam.

People might take some time in picking up Hindi as the medium of inter-provincial intercourse and as the official language of the centre. But it is possible to introduce regional languages as the medium of administration almost immediately. The Bania has observed with pain that in the regions where Hindi was the medium of administration and where Hindi is the regional language of the people they changed the medium of administration overnight to English, without caring to see whether the people and the officers administering the people know the English language sufficiently. English as the medium of administration hindered the advent of Devnagari—a very strange situation indeed! The Bania feels that it should not be difficult for the Government in the various regions to introduce the regional language as the medium of administration immediately, thus giving a concrete proof to the people that they have come under the rule of Devnagari.

By Mahatma Gandhi

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## OUR TRADE MARK

(By J. C. Kumarappa)

There are a great many things carried out in the name of constructive work which, though good in themselves, cannot be claimed as Gandhian. There are those who work for the prevention of cruelty to animals alongside of those who strive for "Go-sarva." There are those who wear Khadi as a method of providing work for the unemployed. Some have stuck to Swadeshi out of pure patriotism and use village-made goods out of preference because of their inductive feeling that there is some merit in giving work to the semi-starved. All these and more also may be done by those who seek the gates to heaven by self-control and renunciation.

There are all self-servingly but fall short of being truly Gandhian as they do not bear a philosophy of Ahimsa running through them. Such items serve a definite end but the whole picture has to have a purposeful background of a way of life. Many members of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals are meat-eaters which involves killing healthy animals, while many enthusiasts of Go-sarva, who will abhor killing even a dog, a pig or a diseased animal, will think nothing of using an elevator which makes the proper maintenance of cattle impossible or makes their lives uncomfortable. Both these well-meaning groups fail because they do not look upon Ahimsa as a test of life. If Ahimsa were the final test all members of the S. P. C. A. will be vegetarians. Similarly, the Go-sarva will only promote a non-violent way of life and promote industries which utilise animal power. Cultivation by tractors will dispense with bullocks. Water lifting by power pumps will do away with the bullock-wheels. Taking away a man's means of living is tantamount to removing his basis of existence. This is an effective form of Ahimsa. Similarly, when many poor people earn their living by spinning or cloth-printing or juddi-banking, to introduce mills for these is not merely an economic proposition but is a vital moral question. This is Gandhiji's great contribution to our life.

We have to weigh all our acts from this moral standard, and it is the final touchstone to classify Gandhian from the constructive programme. However philanthropic an item may be in itself, it cannot command acceptance in Gandhian order unless it answers this one test. Whether it be in the field of education, economics, social organisation or even in politics we must apply this criterion without fail. It is just here that the American materialism and Soviet communism fall short of the mark though both seek the same social welfare. At the present moment there seems to be a tendency to palm off inferior goods with passing exterior to

the genuine Gandhian order, so it is well to be forewarned with this acid test.

Gandhiji was primarily a prophet of Ahimsa. Whatever he touched was directed to promote non-violence. Hence those of us who wish to align themselves with this great prophet, must be ever watchful not to be drawn away by the many paths which will deceive the superficial followers. Let the weaver on the Gandhian way of life beware. Such non-violence alone, ingrained in every walk of our daily life, will lead us to true world peace.

## An Epical Event in U. S. A.

Nearly sixty years ago the Supreme Court of the U. S. A. had ruled that it was not against the law of the land to provide "equal but separate facilities" for education of Negro children. This ruling permitted such an undemocratic colour bar to persist up to this day in free U. S. A., and the Negro world was continuously smarting under this unwarranting insult to their humanity in a land where all were to be equal before law.

This old ruling of the U. S. A. Supreme Court has now been successfully challenged, and the Court has ruled that segregation of children on the basis of race or colour itself deprives the black children of equal educational opportunities guaranteed to them under the Constitution. As a result "in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place", and that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

The decision marks the end of an out-of-date idea in the modern world and the beginning of a chapter in white-black relations in U. S. A. As the great Negro leader and grandson of a Negro slave, Dr. Ralph Bunche, Nobel Peace Prize Winner, said: "The decision would appear to be a historic event in the annals of American democracy." We congratulate the Negro world on this great coronation of the turn of America's history in its favour.

1-6-54

M. P.

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# HARIJAN

OWNED BY MUKTESH GANDHI  
Editor: MADHUKAR P. BHAI



Tel. XVII No. 12

AMMEDIABAD—SATURDAY, JUNE 12, 1946

THIRU ANNA

## ENGLISH TEACHING IN BOMBAY STATE (By Madhukar P. Bhai)

The Government of Bombay, it is reported, is studying the decision of the Supreme Court on its appeal in the case of admission of students in Anglo-Indian schools in Bombay State. The case arose from an order of the Government asking primary or secondary schools "where English is used as a medium of instruction" not to admit students whose mother-tongue was not English.

In Bombay State there are in all 1,403 secondary schools of which 118 have adopted English as the medium of instruction. Of these 118, only 30 are what are called Anglo-Indian schools.

In these 30 schools there are 1,000 Anglo-Indian students forming 51 per cent of their total strength. The rest 69 per cent consist of, what may be described as non-Anglo-Indian students.

The Supreme Court has ruled that the said Government order is not in line with its application to the Anglo-Indian schools as these have certain privilege and protection under the Constitution.

The question arises, what about the remaining 58 English-medium schools? These English teaching schools do not have the constitutional protection as the Anglo-Indian schools. These schools grew up as such, because of English being the language of our rulers. And the lure for English still continues, as we still cling to that language both in administration and education. The intention and plan for it will disappear with our implementing the language policy of the Constitution and our Universities giving it up as their medium of education. This must now be accepted both by the Government and the Universities.

And how will the Anglo-Indian schools behave? Will they honour the medium policy of the Government, even though the order is legislated for them? We hope the Anglo-Indian community will decide the matter wisely and well. Numerically speaking these schools are more than necessary for the community, as can be seen from figures quoted above, even allowing for the constitutional requirement of at least 66 per cent of places being available to non-Anglo-Indians. We hope they will not be misled in their decision by the present apparent rash of non-Anglo-Indians for admission to them, and

they will chalk out their path and policy as a long-range measure.

People are worrying about another thing also vis-a-vis the Supreme Court decision and its effect on English teaching. They ask whether the teaching of English in schools that is declared to begin from Standard 5 and not earlier, will hold or not. To my mind, this is quite a separate matter which is in no way affected by the Court decision.

We hope the Government will decide these two questions in keeping with their declared language policy.

14-6-54

## ATTEND THE COMMON MAN'S ECONOMY FIRST

(The following is from a speech of Shri Chakrabarti, Deputy M.P., in reply to a question made in Parliament by an industrialist M.P. that the system of taxation has worked against those who are supposed to advance industrial progress. 24)

### National Income and Taxation

The figures that I have just before me tell a different story. Certain figures have been supplied by the National Income Commission. I find that:

The National Income in 1941-42 was Rs 48 per cent; that income has risen to Rs 58.

The direct taxes that were about Rs 70 crores. This has gone up to Rs 141 crores, that is, an increase of 101 per cent.

Indirect taxes which were Rs 40 crores, have gone up to Rs 122 crores, meaning an increase of 205 per cent.

The total taxation has gone up from 100 crores of rupees to Rs 263 crores, that is, 163 per cent more.

Indirect taxation is responsible for an increase of 163 per cent. Taking only the figures of indirect taxation, some years ago, direct taxation yielded about Rs 100 crores. Today it is only Rs 116 crores. That is very close, which was about Rs 60 crores, has today been multiplied at Rs 140 crores. This shows that the burden of taxation has certainly increased on the poor people.

We must also realize that the income in all the States has gone up. The agricultural income in all the States, profits, corporations, etc. have gone up, which means that very definitely, the burden on the poor has increased.

There may have been a particular policy for the time being, that is to increase the burden on the direct taxpayers as that capital is formed and employment is increased. Let us see what are the results of this policy.

We have been able to see that the money that has been given to them in the matter of relief has not created additional employment, as I had expected to see on the demands for the Commerce and Industry Ministry, the least national income that is added by the Government which is about Rs 100 crores, whereas the agricultural, oil, sugar and cottage industries are adding about Rs 100

more to the national income, while agricultural production yields an income of over \$2,000,000,000.

### Central Government's Duty

I would like to state the duty before the New Finance Minister whether the activities of our industrial and machinery are directed towards increasing the national wealth by the latter two sectors which are giving us the 4 1/2 per cent in the same proportion as the activities of both the State and Central Governments are directed to be concentrated on an attempt to increase the national wealth through the large-scale industries. My plea is that we have first what could be done, or I may say, what should have been done, for the larger industries for the last five or seven years. We as also people have come to doubt whether it has yielded results commensurate with the attention we have paid to the large-scale industries. I think that the results have been very unsatisfactory and so we must change our attitude for the future. Let the activities of the Central Government be directly geared up to the small-scale village industries and also to agriculture. And if that is done, I think the national wealth of the country can increase much more than by the attempt, or feeble attempt, that has been made during the last five or seven years.

### Increasing Purchasing Power

It has been asked how we were going to advance against the purchasing power was reduced everywhere. I ask, how are you going to injure the purchasing power within the unemployed and the underemployed are given employment? The two capital directions in my underdeveloped country (the title is in my opinion, the useful utilization of the tremendous labour that we have got in this country). Labour is really capital in this country, though it may not be in anywhere else. They, in the course of their support of large-scale industrialization with the latest mechanized devices are spending in so what has been done either in the United Kingdom, or America or France, that, at the same time, they forget that those countries could develop in this way because they had needed very large areas of Asia, like India, China and elsewhere to be exploited, and they were developed in that way. We have got to develop this country in this manner in our own way.

### Credit to Small-Scale Industries and Agriculture

In order to produce only the 4 1/2 per cent of income in this country, as I said the banking institutions for its services regardless of our efforts, and all our resources are utilizing their ingenuity and physical energy. But the question is whether these credit institutions are being used satisfactorily and in the same extent to increase the wealth of the rural areas. Can we say with the bank on our back, that we have been able to supply credit to the agriculturists or the people engaged in the cottage industries? A few months back, an accounting bill was brought before this House involving the Reserve Bank of India to release Rs. 4,000 crores for rural credit. "When possible wealth about the 4,000 crores are being given for the small-scale industries and agriculture, when it takes policy out of the 4 crores that is being made available to the rural population? How is that credit going to support them in any way? I would therefore, urge that more credit should be given, and further that credit should be given, in my opinion, with the same attention, if not more. That is being paid to the credit facilities for large-scale industries.

### Plan of Capital Formation Analyzed

A plan is being made now that unless tax relief is given, there would not be any capital formed, and no industrial advancement would take place. I would like to say in this connection, that the capitalists or the people who have got money to invest, would like to invest that money only in the numerous goods industries because that gives them immediate profits. Whichever facilities Govern-

ment may give to them, they are not going to invest their capital in any of the basic industries. These basic industries whether we like it or not, would have to be developed only in the public sector. So I would say that I should be completely satisfied if my capitalist friends here will give me the immediate wealth. They are producing today. Let us keep them at that, and let them have certain improvements that are possible. But they have concentrated on them to advance the economy of this country. It is my opinion, however, and I would therefore suggest that we need not concentrate on them.

There is one last point to which I would like to make a reference, and that is in regard to transport. It is my opinion that if transport is given over to private enterprise, it would increase employment. The main thing can be done by the unmechanized sector also. The State or the Central Government can run make progress in giving transport facilities, but particularly private enterprise. I believe transport, in the whole country should be nation owned. The Railway of course is nationalized, the Air Services are nationalized and I think the road transport should be nationalized. That is the policy and I feel that this policy should stand and the Government should not be misled by the private enterprise into giving up this social policy.

Therefore I think it is better, that the nation itself decides to make economic progress, in various transportation or underemployment, let us concentrate on that aspect and leave the citizens rest.

### MY QUAKER FAITH

(By Monica Alexander)

It may be good for us sometimes to try to put our faith into words, but it is not easy. Words seem very inadequate.

First, it seems to me important to distinguish between faith and belief. A useful latter definition is the things we believe in, but this faith is what lies below by instinct, emotions and will are all involved. The early Quakers considered that a religion of intellectual assent alone was a "natural" religion. Some of them did, in fact, accept most of the orthodox Christian dogmas of their day and generation, but they called men too much of experience. The Christian, in their judgment, should be a man who shared the great experience that Jesus has known and who lived a Christ-like life. This, and not intellectual conformity is their view what really mattered.

The Christian Discipline of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) Timothy Woodhead explains an essential foundation. In the introduction we read "Early learned friends, these things we do not lay upon you as a rule or law to walk by but that all with the measure of light that is pure and holy may be guided, and so in the light walking and abiding, there may be fulfilled in the Spirit, not in the letter, for the letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life".

William Penn, one of the outstanding early Quakers, wrote "It is not our opinion, or expectation, or notion of what is true or seem to be the subscriptions of parties or professions, though never so carefully worked, that make a man a true believer or a true Christian. But it is a conformity of mind and practice to the will of God, in all business of conversation according to the doctrine of those divine Principles of Light and Life in God's word which denote a person truly a child of God." With a faith most constant to never throughout a human life, in response to the experience that life brings him.

I was brought up as a Quaker and as all my forebears had been Quakers for six or eight generations, the Quaker view of life was, or so, in my, my mind. My parents my father in particular, held to a fairly orthodox theology in that when I began to think for myself, and found that I could not really accept such things as the Bible stories of miracles, or even the extreme view of the

"divinity" of Jesus, I began to gain through these deep values which, I suspect, hardly all thoughtful young people experience as they close or wander. But as there was no Quaker authority, neither a priest nor a deity nor any one else, who condemned these heretical thoughts as wicked I was free to see that there was no reason to wring from the religious history in which I had been brought up. When I was a student at Cambridge I remember attending a meeting of a society called the Christian Fellowship and a member of it, I do not recall any name to state the label "heretic" as my (father) where a protégé of the idea that Jesus never lived presented the so-called "Christian myth", he was walked back to college afterwards a lured told to me: "I wonder what would happen to Christianity if it were finally proved that Christ never lived?" I would not discuss his talk in the least. I suspect I should not speak with such dogmatic certainty then. But I recall the incident as showing that I had already learnt the truth for myself of this Quaker conviction that it is not belief in certain historic facts, important as they may be, which forms the first foundation of the faith in God, or if you like, the Christian faith as I at least understood it. It is the witness of the heart, of daily life. We had countless Christians, not because Jesus lived two thousand years ago, and performed certain miracles but rather because the New Testament, written to us in its time in the faith, speaking of truth, not just historic facts, but living truth, that can be and must be personally lived about in the life of the world.

My father, I have said, was a fairly ardent believer, but what really impressed me in my father was that he told friends who did not share his faith, or rather he tried to open himself to many public activities which he hoped would help to bring peace and goodness among men, among his colleagues were men of other faiths—as he had, in particular, many Christian friends who came to stay with us, and some of his colleagues and colleagues in the International peace movement of those days were Agnostics or Secularists who were heartily convinced that all, if they were fighting for some good cause, they must be good men, and I was not for him to judge them on theological grounds. Then, at Cambridge, I was taught by a well-known English scholar, Coleridge Lewis Dickinson, who called himself an Agnostic, but he seemed to me to be very much like my father in many ways. When the war of 1914 broke upon us, he withdrew the keywords of the time and bowed their veneration by leaving his school door and left and five years passed and he died, he had no such companion for all men to both any more.

Many years of our life have been spent in close contact with Christian theologians and some of them have become my close colleagues. Who can but admire the work of men like the late William Temple and many more of our generation? But theology itself seems to me to be an adequate guide to a man for keeping firm in the path of truth and righteousness. Karl Barth is truly a great man but I remain to a great extent a discoverer who when, in the conventional sense, might well be considered as one of the outstanding Christians of our day, proclaiming that, after all, there is some justification for anti-Semitism, with all respect to Karl Barth. I would say that either you are Christian or you are neither anti-Semite, and it is a case of either—or. If Karl Barth would so to take his Christian position seriously I beg him to reject these such or suchlike statements. Perhaps, after all, my brother Lewis Dickinson, was a better Christian than some of those who are active "Christians." I suppose the world that we all have to live in that our Christian sympathies may have just the opposite effect in the end we would wish, namely, that we may drive people away from Christ. I am reminded of the young Wm. Inge who was a few years ago, who said: "I shall never become a Christian; I have had too many disappointments."

But there matters end and he retired to his life of faith. What are the things that have come to mean most

to me during my life? Life today seems to produce many men, because we are haunted in by vast impersonal forces that a computer tells us slip by days of vast forces at work in the world, mighty military and economic powers are using magnificent this way and that by—by whom? If you read many daily papers, you imagine that a few statements are deciding our destinies. Or, if you read certain other papers, you will be assured that the average are really being pulled by amazing financial forces, by a few great capitalists or other men of extraordinary power. Most of this is just dramatic nonsense. There is no element of truth in the assertion that huge power is concentrated today in very few hands. But it is almost equally true that the men who appear to be deciding our fate are most of the time, just about as helpless as the rest of us. They are not scientists, but only political animals. However this may be I have often heard and seen to the conviction that life is in a great degree a living process for and about that. If we say: "Life is really too difficult, there is nothing I can do other to make mankind or to defend the cause of history, therefore I will just live in myself", then I believe we are failures. The history of mankind is, I believe, the history of all of us. It might even, that a man who is in a momentary mood, making the death, can make us further contributors in the story of mankind. But even that is not the whole truth. Through the vast majority of those who have thus been condemned to an unending death have left us this that we can share, yet a few here and there, would something which is by way of becoming immortal. Therefore those who you thus condemn the unknown but definite courage of vulnerability of themselves never. Very few of us will make immortal names to rest with the great men of old. But the modern age still calls for just the more personal dedication, the most joyful thing, the more love of truth and beauty than have inspired men in past ages. The stars have and the bygone have may have made names of part of the old time courage of conflict in warlike, but the courage of peaceful actions this is no more one of these today than it has ever been.

The eternal things remain. Human here, the passage of truth to the new earth, the apprehension of beauty, the creation of new beauty and all the rest, each day we live out in a day of glory. Probably none of us has known love because in a man or woman, perhaps in many, their goodness has been witness in the glory of God. These are the things that matter to.

<sup>1</sup> Our little systems have their day.

They have their day and ours to be,

They are too broken, signs of Time,

And Time, O Lord, art more than they!"

By Richard D. Parikh

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P.O. Box 103, ALOHA, HAWAII

# HARJAN

June 18

1954

## PHILOSOPHY OF BHODAN

(By Maheshbhai P. Desai)

Acharya Narendra Dev, the P. S. P. leader and Marxist doctrinaire, has raised a question about the philosophy of Bhodan. He is reported to have told prisoners at Poona, June 7, that

"He did not believe that the Bhodan movement would give rise to a new philosophy of life.

"He emphasized that he was not opposed to the Bhodan movement; in fact, he is ready not subscribe to the view that it had any philosophy of its own. He felt that by its very nature it was limited in scope. The movement was based on change of heart. A fight between class struggle, he would not agree with the view that proletarians class would bring about the desired social and economic changes.

"It was true he said, that the movement had created confusion among the landless and resulted in some cases of false-brothering. It was also true that a few rich landowners helped the movement by contributing gifts of land, on the whole, the change of heart was felt as noticeable among the rich as in the poor."

Why all know that the Bhodan idea had its birth in Telengana, in a peculiar and psychologically tense situation. The violent activities of the Communists, staunch believers as they are in the theory and technique of class struggle, had created a highly paradoxical situation both for the people as well as Government. It was there and in those circumstances that at a happy moment it occurred to Shri Vinoba that land which the landless people really wanted might be asked for directly from landowners and it be distributed among the former. The idea proved a capital one and it worked and so succeeded that today within the short period of two years it has caught the imagination of our people and streets, lakhs of acres have been already donated by people, prominent people in the P. S. Party as well have come to like the work as much as that one of its leaders, Shri J. P. Narain has declared that he will devote his whole life to this movement, and, in a broad manner, a philosophy of its own is taking shape at the hands of its leader, Shri Vinoba, which he has described in the following words: "A non-violent revolution based on Bhodan Tyles and with village industries as its backbone."

However, Shri Narendra Dev is right in a manner when he says that there is nothing new in the Bhodan philosophy. None, I think, has made such a claim. Bhodan is the new phase in the old technique and philosophy of Gandhi's Satyagraha and Sarvodaya—a new version of the same related to the present needs of our national work. For the matter of that, even the Marxist doctrine of class-struggle is no new

philosophy. And we know that Gandhi claimed no newness for his doctrine of Satyagraha which was as old as the eternal life-principles of truth and non-violence. What he did he said, was to adapt them for their mass use and application in solving group problems of our corporate and national life.

Similarly it may fairly be claimed for Bhodan that these old principles of Gandhi are being tried to solve one of our most intractable problems of New India, viz the land question. And it has proved successful. Lakhs of acres have been donated by the land-owning classes. A climate of the need for equitable redistribution of land in the country has been engendered and popular opinion for it is intensified by it. This is achieved not through class war ideas, but by provoking the philanthropic virtues of love and charity and mutual aid. Therefore, the movement undoubtedly presents us if a new philosophy of life, which was surely shown to us first by Gandhi; and if there had been no Bhodan, we would not have perhaps remembered the Gandhian philosophy and programme nor thought about it as keenly and urgently as we do at present. Gandhi taught us to note that India was a land of villages, our first policy should be to raise them from their slough of dependency and make them truly experience the glow of Swaraj, this should be achieved through truth and non-violence, through love and peace, and in such a way that freedom of man and his humanity are further enlarged. Therefore we would not accept the hasty creed of capitalist and controlled industrialism, but would aim to evolve a decentralised and self-reliant economy. To do it, we shall have to give land and village industries and Khadi to those who are today un- or under- employed and are landless. Without it, no true Swaraj can be felt to have come to them, nor can we remove agri-cultural unemployment from our midst. To rebuild India on these lines is a great venture, requiring philosophy which is different from that of the industrialised capitalist West.

Therefore it will not be wholly true to say that, if Bhodan succeeds, as it should, it would not give rise to a new philosophy of life. This cannot be obviously achieved by legislation alone. For law to be helpful, it must be preceded by necessary public opinion and change of values and ideas. This is surely not possible to do by State power, which could come in only if there is adequate change of public opinion, except perhaps that we choose autonomy or dictatorship. Bhodan is a non-violent movement, which means that it chooses democracy "Land to the landless" is its slogan. And because these people have enough time with them they should devote that time to produce their needs of cloth etc. through small-scale village industries—this is key for a new and revolutionary industrialism. To do these things by going to and working among the

people so that they become State policy as well by rebuilding new India, is surely a new thing in Indian politics. That the Bhodan movement seeks to do this without itself becoming a political party, is surely true. Bhodan aims to be a non-party i.e. an all-party movement. This is again a novel idea to work with, — whether one agrees with it or not is a different matter.

It is very necessary now to expound the philosophy of Bhodan to our people. That will help the movement also to advance further by clearing probable misunderstandings or apprehensions about it. As President Shri Rajendra Prasad said in his recent message to Bhodan work, now "this great movement is entering its second phase. This is no less difficult than the first." Its success essentially depends upon our explaining to the masses the philosophy of Bhodan.

19-4-54

(From the original in Hindi)

#### RECOGNISE THE SHIN OF THE TIMES + (My Friends)

In every good deed, when one starts doing it, there is first an initial period of hard labour, suffering and sacrifice. But if one is firm and continues to press forward undaunted, the difficulties melt away and one has a feeling of the great of God helping one's efforts which then begin to bear fruit. The same happened in the case of Bhodan. There was first a long period of hard preparation. We worked ceaselessly day after day regardless whether it was summer or winter or the rains. We are now passing through the next period. People are listening to us and responding generously. It is a matter of delight that the Bhodan message is making its way into remote villages. There are about five lakh villages in India. I suppose that our workers have by now visited about a lakh of them. The actual figure may be less or still higher, but anyway we have achieved noteworthy success.

Those who have realised the importance of this work have given with open hands. It has been borne home to the poor that this is specially their movement and I am happy to say that wherever they have had this realisation they have willingly come forward to donate to the Yajna whatever they could, even though it meant great hardship to them. There are innumerable instances of the owners of big holdings of three or four or less bighas donating a portion of their land to us. These donations from the poor are as much like little drops of rain which, seemingly small as they are, can fill in oceans. It is the most positive sign of the success of our work that the poor are waking up to their rights and to their duty.

The big landholders appreciate it rather slowly which is understandable because the more wealth a man has, the greater is his attachment.

But amongst them too, those who have understood it have contributed quite liberally.

I have received quite a good amount of land from your village today. But I understand the bigger ones among you have not given. They were willing to give a little, but our workers refused. This was quite right. If it were for the construction of a temple or a mosque we would agree to take that little. But our position is vastly different. We ask for it in the name of the poor of India and not as a gift from a donor to a beggar, but as a right which is their due and which, therefore, should be returned to them as soon as possible. We therefore insist on one-inch portion from the big landholders. And I am sure if they once understood its meaning and purpose they will give. For they do not lose anything as it but gain a lot. They do good to themselves as well as to the poor. There is an impression that for an increase in agricultural production, one must have more land. This is not true. One can increase production even on the amount of land one has by adopting better agricultural methods and by better management. This has been our experience in everywhere — in Hyderabad, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar etc. So the donors need not fear any loss to themselves even materially.

The Bhodan Yajna is not aimed at merely collecting and distributing land and wealth. We intend it as the means of reconstructing the society on the basis of love and justice. The present inequalities have split up the society into so many bits in which everyone cares only for himself. This is not the way men should live nor is it the way to achieve happiness. The society is consequently faced with a great danger which can be averted only if we all agree not to keep with us anything more than our actual need and to give the rest in the service of the society. This is the only way in which we along with the society can go forward and attain real peace and happiness. We should enjoy whatever God has given us through offering it to all.

Then we want to change the values. Today money which is only a material possession, which has nothing to do with inner worth of man, has superseded even the values as the object of respect. This has to be changed. There was a time when people thought a man who owned more wives — who had more queens in his harem, was greater than others who had less. The situation has changed today. Today if he had even two wives, he would feel ashamed. Similarly respect that is now being paid to money should go and it will. What is needed is for the villagers to grow conscious of their power to realize that the real wealth lies not with the moneyed but with themselves. They produce everything necessary for the maintenance and well-being of life. They produce grain, fruits, milk and ghee. But they sell it all for money. That is the real trouble. And why do they need money? Because they do

not have industries. They purchase cloth from the cities, get their rice ground and their wheat floured in the mills. If they would begin doing all these things locally they will not need money. And then they will be like kings holding all happiness in their possession. I want you that you have all you need for your taking it, for you have the capacity for labour. You need not discuss possessions between the idle rich. Realise the value of labour and learn to respect it. It is really strange that while people flatter and admire a man young in years, with only a smattering of education but occupying a well-paid post which enables him to live comfortably without any hard work, they look down upon one old in years and earning his bread by the sweat of his brow.

I want the poor to develop the awareness of their rights and the way to achieve them. The time is wholly on their side. They have the right of vote, that is, they can choose the Government they like and determine the way it will carry on the administration. Then it is they who produce all the necessities of life. If they slack their differences, they harmoniously and work in co-operation, there will soon rise up a new society in the villages and where today there is want and poverty there will be plenty and prosperity. If the big landowners give away willingly one-third of their land, the labourers will continue to work on their fields as before. If they do not, the day might come—in fact, I see it approaching fast—when they will stop working for them. I want to create love and sympathy between the rich and the poor and build up a peaceful society based on equality. The poor who receive loans will ever remain grateful to the donors, ready to die for them.

(Adapted from *Pravasi*)

#### REHABILITATION OF INDIAN LANGUAGES

(Shri Jambhadasa Das, poet, Orissa, is a member of our Parliament. He had come to Gujarat a few days ago and addressed a conference of Indian writers at Bhavnagar on 15th June. The following which is reproduced from his printed speech on that occasion deserves serious thought on our part. It is hoped that advocates of Hindi as the medium of instruction in non-Hindi areas will give special attention to the views expressed here. The Writers Guild of the United Provinces has been and some of the Hindustani people, too, contend with Hindi occupying the due position in our inter-provincial medium, are longing to put it in all these places which rightly belong to our various Indian languages. It should be obvious that this would be a step in the wrong, directed for our national progress and create a most disadvantageous impediment in the task of building up our common national or Inter-State medium. Our unity and the development of our democracy in our country, we are very thankful to Shri 'Gokulji' for having drawn our attention to this dangerous, in our work of rebuilding India of our dreams.—B.J.]

Another argument advanced in support of keeping English in its present position of supremacy is even more dangerous than others. It is said that if English were to be immediately removed, the vacuum thus caused might be filled in not by Hindi but by a regional language. This is a strange fear inasmuch as we are striving to

revivify English exactly in order that the regional languages may occupy its place. English will not vacate its entire position in favour of Hindi alone, nor can Hindi occupy whatever of its place except with the consent of the regional languages. Freely speaking it is only the regional languages, and not the national language, which can successfully undertake the task of revivifying English for the simple reason that the love and ardour which can be roused in the people for their mother-tongue cannot be so roused for the national language. I do not believe that some day Hindi will begin to be used in the States for all purposes for which English is used at present. This is a wholly wrong and unbecoming desire and all true lovers of democracy must oppose it. Freedom has not come merely to help Hindi in developing and take its rightful place. It must enable all other languages also to make similar progress. We are adopting Hindi essentially as an inter-provincial medium for purposes of an all-India character. But, it should be clearly recognised that for a majority of purposes in the States, their regional languages will be quite proper and desirable. So long as we do not lose sight of the limit of the use of the national language, the campaign for the spread of the national language in non-Hindi areas will undoubtedly remain beset with distrust and suspicion.

In fact, we have to carry forward the movement for growth and advancement of the national language simultaneously and side by side with the movement for all other Indian languages. The fate of the national language is tied up with that of these languages and the sooner did our people realise this fact, the earlier would all language controversy, which is raging at present, cease. At the risk of linguistic awkwardness which we had taking place in India today, there is at work the will for freedom and self-expression. Rather than shrink from it, we should welcome and respect it. Every Indian language is weighed down by a huge stone placed on its head which it is trying to throw off so that it may stand erect. This stone is not that of the national language but of the English language and of the English spirit.

The national language has not done and hasn't to any regional language. The truth of the matter is that all the Indian languages are weighing under the dead weight of English and as long as it is not shaken off, their agency will persist in the linguistic battle which is at present going on there are on one side all the Indian languages including Hindi and on the other English fighting from within the fort which is under her occupation. It is therefore urgently necessary, in the interest of national solidarity, that we remove English from its undue position at the earliest opportunity and install the Indian languages in its place. This is the task which

should receive topmost priority and be accomplished without further delay. The next step in the programme, that is, the question as to which of the necessities caused by the removal of English shall be filled in by the regional languages and which others by the national language should be left to the convenience of the country. We have a glorious future before us and we are determined to remain one and united, come what may. Each province of our vast land is a beautiful flower, a precious pearl, which are all strung together in one wreath and the country is firm in its will that this wreath shall continue to adorn the great head of the King of Mountains — the Great Himalayas.

(From 1934-5)

### JAPAN'S ECONOMIC FLIGHT

(By Alexander Dumasoppa)

Japan's problem No. 1 is economic. Her population of nearly 95 million is cramped within an area too small for their adequate sustenance. Most of Japan is mountainous. Only 15 per cent of her land is cultivable. Through intensive cultivation, the people try to obtain the maximum yield from the land. But in spite of it, the soil does not provide enough food for them.

Consequently they have had to obtain food also from the sea, and have developed a strong fishing industry. But defeat in the last war spelled to Japan the loss not only of 1,000,000 tons of fishing boats, but also of important fishing grounds off the coasts of Soviet territory, the northern Kuriles, southern Sakhalin, Korea and of Formosa, and in the Antarctic ocean. The annual catch of fish on these fishing grounds was approximately 1,200 million lbs. Japan has no access to these fishing grounds any more and so has to do with so much less fish. Formerly when Japan had a navy, her fishermen were safe from molestation by her neighbours. But now, as is reported, Japanese fishermen are being driven out even from their very hallowed legitimate fishing grounds, or are arrested and captured by unfriendly neighbours. Besides, this industry was hit hard recently by hydrogen bomb tests. It is well known that the explosion of a hydrogen bomb off Bikini in the Pacific last March not only killed large quantities of fish in that region, but also made the fish radio-active and unfit for human consumption. This practically ruined the fishermen of Japan, who form the most poverty-stricken people of the country; and everywhere one went in Japan, one heard vehement protests that hydrogen bomb tests were destroying the already too scarce food supply of the people.

Seeing that sufficient food is not available for the Japanese from land and there is chronic food shortage of 20 per cent on an average even with the present population, the only way of survival for them is to import food as well as raw materials such as cotton, rubber, wool, minerals and oil required for industries, from abroad, in

exchange for manufactured goods. This is what Japan did in the days previous to the War when she developed her huge industries and transoceanic foreign trade. The plan worked for a time and brought her a sufficiency of everything. But it tempted her to step into other lands and take possession of them for raw materials and markets. She did this successfully in Formosa and Korea, but not as successfully in China. In the meantime the war broke out and put an end to her ambitions. The Western nations took over Japan's colonies and confined her to her own native islands. Even the lands which were not her colonies before the war, but which supplied her raw materials, e.g. China, Indo-China, Malaya, East India and Burma, could not trade with her any more, for they were either in enemy hands or conditions in them were so disturbed that trade with them was impossible. Besides, Japan was not permitted to establish any relations with them. Moreover, her navy was completely destroyed by the U. S. A., the occupying power, so that Japan had no ships whatsoever to carry her merchandise. Japan's economy was so dependent on foreign trade that by these measures, her very life stream was cut.

Besides, Japan had with great effort and self-sacrifice built up her heavy and chemical industries, such as iron and steel, ship-building, chemicals, light metals, automobile and aeroplane manufacture. Her principal customers were her own army and navy. But with these debanded, these industries were crippled greatly.

On top of all this, as a result of the War, Japan was left with her land devastated, many of her young men killed and her houses and public buildings in ruins. She had to rebuild at enormous cost. With her foreign trade gone and her industries shattered, her economy was altogether disrupted and she was faced with starvation and despair.

At this point, the U. S. A. helped to save Japan. She propped up Japan's tottering economy with American capital, amounting to almost half a billion dollars a year. The American military bases and tourist traffic have also stimulated Japanese industry. By such methods, the country has been kept from complete collapse.

But how can a nation depend thus altogether on the tender mercies of a foreign Power? Japan's economy has to be built on a more permanent basis. She feels humiliated by her present state of dependence, but finds hardly any way out of it. Her condition attracts a visitor as most pathetic. She is trying her best to pull herself up. To give some examples, in 1945 Japan resumed her ship-building, and today she has more than 50 ship-building dockyards with a total estimated annual capacity of 1,000,000 tons. She realizes that without recovery of her ship-building industry, she cannot achieve economic independence. So she is putting forth strenuous

efforts to revive her ship-building. She is also doing her best to automobile manufacture. She is specialising in baby cars which are light and low in price, and in Diesel-engined vehicles which are fuelled by light oil, and are therefore suitable in a country like hers which has to import quantities of her petrol from abroad. She holds frequent exhibitions to advertise her wares, and is ever seeking to make improvements. At one such exhibition in Tokyo I saw a car with a very light body of aluminium, and seats with springs and nothing but a thin plastic quilt over them, and over the back. The car could seat five comfortably, and even six if needed. I thought such light economic cars may be more suited to India than the large heavy ones we now import from the U S A. I saw also a radio factory, where complete radio sets with all the necessary parts are manufactured under one roof from start to finish. It is surprising that with all the handicaps under which Japan is suffering she is applying herself with such doggedness to re-establishing her industries. Japan is trying very hard also to revive her great textile industry. Much of the machinery of her spinning mills was made into scrap during the war and most of the remainder was bombed and burned. But soon after the war, Japan resumed her production rehabilitation. Her cotton textile output in 1945 was only 35 million square yards. This increased to 1,535 million square yards by 1950. She has imported the latest machinery from the U S A., which, we were told at a textile mill we visited in Osaka, is several times more efficient than the machinery obtained from Britain, but also very much more expensive. Firm enquiries we understood that the textile industry was finding it hard to recover for lack of its former markets. Labour is poorly paid. The industry is trying to keep its production costs low, in order to recapture some of its old markets abroad. There was a huge textile exhibition held in April in Osaka, where Japanese textiles of every conceivable design and quality were placed on view and orders taken. One could not but admire the earnestness with which the Japanese went about the task of reviving their industries.

But as already said, all this is proceeding with American aid and it is not known for how long this state of dependence is to continue. It is obvious that Japan's economy can be built upon a more lasting basis only if she established trade relations once more with her neighbours, such as Korea, China and South-East Asia, exchanging her manufactured goods and machinery for food and the raw materials she requires for her industries. She realises now that it was wrong for her to have gone into these territories to colonise them for purposes of exploitation, and that her future trade with them will have to be

on a basis of co-operation and mutual benefit. There seems to be no other way for Japan's survival. And yet under the present order, Japan is not free to establish trade relations with most of her Asian neighbours. She has to buy American rice, for example, at a high price, while Chinese rice would be much cheaper. Japan has no grudge against China and would be glad to re-establish friendly relations with her. The two countries have close cultural and historical affiliations, and can undoubtedly work together to each other's mutual advantage. But the political barriers set up by the Big Powers in Asia make this impossible and Japan is being most unnecessarily blocked on to the U S A.

Further, the Japanese bear a grudge against the white men who have taken possession of all the sparsely populated areas of the world, like Australia, New Zealand, Africa and North and South America, and refuse free entry there to Asiatic Asia is overcrowded, and more especially Japan. But her people are forced by the whites to remain within their own boundaries leaving vast stretches of unpopulated land as a preserve of the whites. The Japanese feel this injustice greatly, so among the Asian nations, they are the most over-populated, and the ones most equal in modernisation to any Western Power.

Japan's economic reconstruction and advancement though hampered greatly is thus proceeding in spite of all odds. Any other country faced with such overwhelling obstacles would have gone under. But Japan is used to periodic catastrophes and black despair. She manages to get out of them with perseverance and industry, and takes her afflictions with a smile. She may still find a way out of her dire economic plight. But at the moment the prospect of her being able to build her economy on a stable and lasting basis seems rather remote. The realisation that she can achieve this only when she can shake off her present dependence, follow a policy of non-alignment with either of the two power blocs and establish friendly relations with her immediate Asian neighbours.

By *Shanta Shave*  
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# HARIJAN

(PUBLISHED BY MANMATHA CHAND)  
Editor: BHAKTHULI S. BHALL



Vol. XVIII No. 17

AGNEWADAD—SATURDAY, JUNE 26, 1934

TWO ANNAS

## THE SECOND PHASE OF THE BHODAN MOVEMENT\*

(By Vinoba)

I entered Gaya on the 26th January. I had intended and indeed declared that I would leave quickly after the work, that is, the quota fixed for that district had been fulfilled.

The quota could be fulfilled in any of the three ways: First, by collecting the fixed acreage of land, secondly, by securing the required number of gift-deeds, and thirdly, by rehabilitating the landless in every village. There was confusion and intensive work for about three months. Out of six thousand villages in the district, we succeeded in collecting land from about three and a half thousand and though the quota in terms of acres of land could not be reached, the number of gift-deeds secured far exceeded the quota. It has been a rich experience for the workers from every point of view. The work in Gaya having thus been largely realised, I am now leaving Gaya and proceeding to North Bihar.

There is another and a very important reason for this step. In the Conference just held, the Sarva Seva Sangh has explained us in every way, whenever enough land has been collected, the distribution without further delay. This was decided because it was found that a long gap between collection and distribution led to several difficulties. Many things which the workers and the people might have intended to do at the time the collection was made just disappear into thin air and the work suffers. It is therefore necessary to expedite the work of distribution.

I do not suggest that the postponement of the distribution for so long has done any harm to anybody. There has been no harm done to production. Because it was always understood that as long as the actual transfer of donated land from the owner to the new allottee was not effected, it would be deemed to be in the possession of the former who would continue to cultivate it. Moreover, in the first stage of work there was need for concentration on collection, and take up distribution only after the collection had

made sufficient headway. The distribution part of the work was not entirely ignored. It has been proceeding in some of the States though slowly. Till now about one lakh acres have been distributed. But now we will take it up more energetically especially, because distribution is a very powerful means of bringing about the awakening among the people and a better appreciation of our programme on their part.

The distribution work is something to be done peacefully and with the greatest amount of ease. It will take time. Workers will have to be trained for it. The fulfilment of the hopes of the landless will create an emotional upsurge which will help to procure more land. These considerations weighed with me and I felt that it would not be right for me to delay in Gaya merely for complying with the letter of my earlier decision and that the time had come when I should devote myself to organising the distribution and visiting other villages and districts in Bihar.

Besides, there has taken place another event in this year's Conference, the far-reaching importance of which has not yet been adequately appreciated. I am referring to the vow of *Janasankalpa* taken up by several workers, led by Shri Jayaprakash Narayan. I regard it as the manifestation of the duty of the Yajna following the successful completion of the sacrifice—a phenomenon which is frequently referred to in our Puranas. It is bound to generate tremendous power and I desire to urge it into a great weapon for the achievement of our aims.

Our work in Gaya has resulted in another important decision. A notable feature of our campaign in this district was the huge number of gift-deeds received by us. We have received three lakh gift-deeds in all from the whole of India. But from Gaya alone we have been able to secure sixty-five thousand, which is one-fifth of the total. I regard every gift-deed as a vote for Sarvodaya. The number of gift-deeds received would then between the readiness of the people to accept and to more earnestly implement our ideology. But if we would interpret and view our success in this respect as showing the spread of our ideology, we may, in every case first ask the donor of what it all means and accept whatever

\*There is a slight pause in the work in Gurgaon district on 14th.

he offers only after he is convinced of it. It has, therefore, been decided not to take even an acre of land without first educating the individual concerned in its meaning and the purpose.

Hitherto, though we have not used any pressure, land donations have not come always as a result of an inner conviction. In many cases, people have given just out of the usual philanthropic motives. There has not been the right kind of awareness of its social significance. Had it been so, we would have witnessed an unmistakable revolutionary change in this district. We must therefore keep it well in our mind that the education of the people in our ideology has an urgent importance for the success of the revolution we have in view and must be fully attended to.

I would now refer to one very serious fault in the otherwise admirable help which people willingly give us here. It has been a matter of great regret for me that while there were quite a large number of people who helped us in many ways, many of them were inspired by motives of party interests. We found that owing to the existence of parties not only was there a stamping of the social life but also a stamping of the minds and hearts of the people. The Bhooman movement is intended in one of its essential aspects to bring about a reeducation of hearts. Our work in Bihar, though it has much to show in the way of concrete achievement, has not succeeded in any appreciable manner in this important respect. This, I may warn you, is a great danger to the success of the revolution. This is an old old malady which has afflicted us for ages. The caste differences, petty rivalries between individuals and groups and consequent dissunity have spelled the greatest harm to the nation. It is indeed the reason why we had been slaves for the last so many centuries. Let me warn you that if you cannot rise above these narrow interests, whether personal or those of the party, you will neither get the purity of heart which is so essential for the success of our ideas nor win respect among the people. People may appear to be shocked but they are not fools. They can and do instinctively feel the difference between selfishness and selflessness.

The new Bhooman District Committee has been formed. It consists of three members. They have the power to accept but more. They will do both the collection and distribution work. There are people who would say why they should work if they are not on the Committee. But it is certainly impossible to take everybody on the Committee. We have appointed three persons who have a reputation for integrity and character. They will choose four others. I request you to be sure that the Committee will act with perfect honesty in all its dealings. But you must

trust them. Nothing great can be achieved without trust. You know this movement has nothing to do with the parties. You should not therefore allow any such thought to take hold of your mind that while this party is represented on the Committee, that one party. Be patient and you will see that these Committees will be manned only by persons who are broad-minded enough to represent all interests.

Lastly, I will tell you something of the future plan of our work in this district. The ultimate objective of the Bhooman movement is as you perhaps know, the establishment of *gram-svayas*, that is, an order of society in which every village will be largely a self-governing and self-sufficient republic co-operating with similar republics for the welfare of the nation and the harmony at large. We are now going to start experiments in *gram-svayas* at two centres—one, at Bodh Gaya and the other at Kumbhari. At Kumbhari Jayaprakash Sahu will start his scheme. It is situated in an area inhabited mostly by the aborigines. The work there will, therefore, start, so to say, on a clean slate. At Bodh Gaya we are going to open another scheme known as *Samanyas Ashram* which will devote itself, as its name implies, to work out the problems of world culture. It is a long-term aim and the full results of the enterprise will emerge only in a distant future. For the present, both these centres will proceed for the training of village workers and undertake various other activities with a view to the all-round development of the villages in their areas. Thirdly, we must further step up our educational campaign in the Gaya district. There should be a campaign for Khadi, for Nai Tambe and for Bhooman Farm Products. They will prepare the ground for the reconstruction of the village which we now want to undertake. The reconstruction work will be started particularly in those villages where we have been offered the entire village land. They will be organized to cultivate and practice self-sufficiency. They will purchase nothing from outside and will develop all the necessary industries within their own area.

The distribution of land will be entrusted only to those who can be expected to carry it out satisfactorily well. The distribution will be done strictly in accordance with the rules laid down for the purpose. There is in it absolutely no room for any party politics and favoritism.

(Adapted from Hindi)

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# MY SCHEME OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (By C. Rajagopalachari)

The present Madras Government have given up my scheme of half-day schools. My plan was based on the conviction — which was confirmed by educational officers of highest rank and experience — that three hours attendance was quite adequate for the purpose and would leave nothing out of the present elementary school instruction. But the crude utilitarian notion that whole-day schooling would give double the advantage that could be got from a half-day school prevailed and my scheme has been scrapped.

Education has been confounded with preparation for soft jobs and has ended in becoming a fraction of mass disemployment in a stupid people generating all the bad qualities that go contrary to social co-operation. Seeing that schooling has brought Government posts and soft jobs to a large number of boys belonging to the upper middle class, it is thought by a fallacious process of reasoning that if every child got that kind of schooling, every child could get such jobs and positions. This is of course impossible. The fallacy has already been amply demonstrated and the frustration will grow with accelerated pace. But jealousy destroys reason. The good is made to look bad and the bad appears to be very good.

To anyone with an understanding of the mind of the child it is revolting to see children of tender age shut up in the school-rooms practically the whole day. And what an unbearable person sitting there in charge all the time! There is a share of an interval in the hot middle of the day which is mostly taken up by walking the distance from school to home and back. It is revolting, again, to anyone with a moral sense to see one teacher pretending to 'educate' two and even three standards simultaneously. The waste of time involved in keeping a child shut up through the entire working day for four long years is terrible.

The whole thing is a vicious circle of fraud, waste and drab oppression of children and it goes by the name of elementary education.

A stupid notion has been propagated among uneducated families that education at all stages is a job-producing mystery and that it is quantitatively increased by the number of hours the child spends in the school. The idea is that if school-going gives an advantage in the new world, it is doubled by doubling the hours, and cut down by half if any one reduces the hours!

To the Marxo-social principle that through the child's interest and pleasure the mind of the child should be drawn out and the Gandhian principle that not mere manual activity but useful work is the proper medium of instruction, I felt that we should add the principle of communion with the current life of the village. This is of course the opposite of education as contemplated by those who despise the child's family

life and condemn his surroundings and whose concern is how to get the child away therefrom.

The Pestalottian principle of teaching through muscular sense is not the same as the Gandhian method of teaching through work. Mere muscular activity has not the value of meaning of real work. Work has a social meaning which mere activity has not. Making a pot or stitching a shirt or weaving a towel or even preparing the clay for the potter or sweeping the floor of a house or tidying up a workshop is something over and above mere manual activity. Doing something useful is a chapter in real life and a lesson in social cooperation.

The exigencies of the situation as well as the desire to emphasise that the work in basic education is only a medium and not concealed child-labour, led to the running of basic schools with old style literary teachers very imperfectly trained in some craft. Plenty of money is spent on them to enable them, after a brief and imperfect course, to function as craft-teachers. I have no faith in these made-up teachers of crafts. I believe that this has led to waste of money and has served greatly to discredit the Wardha Scheme itself. I am convinced that more can be learnt from an illiterate craftsman who lives by his craft and who knows it from 'A' to 'Z' than from a literate impostor who looks upon what he has learnt as a qualifying course for himself. Indeed, the status and respect that the illiterate farmer or craftsman would obtain in my scheme is itself a social gain and an education in citizenship for the children who otherwise get to believe that school-going children are a different caste from the outsider or the village blacksmith or weaver or peasant.

There will be difficulties to be faced in every new system, but we may not discard all proposals for that reason and stick to a bad system. We must clarify our basic ideas and find ways to overcome such difficulties as come in the way. Do we want primary education to be a gamble in which most of the students lose all and gain nothing, or shall we make it a training for citizenship? This is the fundamental question to be answered.

(Abstract from a public statement)

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# HARIJAN

June 26

1954

## KEEPING GOVERNMENT CLEAN

(By Mahasabhai P. Deas)

Vice-President Dr. Bhabhakrishnan, addressing the staff of the Accountant General's office on the occasion of laying the foundation stone of its building in Madras, on 2-6-54 is reported in *The Times of India*, 6-6-54 to have said :

"There conditions had provided every condition in the world—lack of national cohesion, economic depression and corrupt government. Therefore he felt that if there was a strong, moral, efficient and competent staff, and a moral staff, provisions can be worked off."

"The Vice-President also said that there was nothing of standards of maintaining accounts during the war period, as revealed by strict reports of various investigations, resulting in great loss to the Government. But, he added, 'There is now no justification for relaxing the standard.'"

Uphold the hard, and particularly if they are of Hindu and of other's race. Therefore, the Vice-President rightly advised the staff, "Do not shrink from truth for fear of offending men in high places."

There is another department of our public administration also which needs to be clean and above reproach. In our country and at the stage of democratic growth we are in, the habit of illegal gratification on the part of those that snatch of even a little of Government authority and power—even the peas guarding the tenant's door—is not held bad or unusual. Rather, in some quarters, it is held as obvious due for preferential, prompt and helpful dealing to public calls even though of legitimate duty.

Under Swaraj this thing was hoped to correct itself ; but, alas, that could not be. Our people are growing under the scourge of corruption. It is no answer to this to say that people get the government they deserve, even though it is a truce of self-rule. The stage is helpful only if one looks to it for self-improvement and not to quote it for other's condemnation.

On the same day, viz. June 2, as the PTT message from Ahmedabad (*The Times of India*, June 5) says, the Vice-President of the Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee, speaking on some occasion, called for drastic action to deal with the 'unpopular' administrative and official corruption in the country. He said that the general public was fed up with administrative corruption which was on the increase in spite of the steps taken by Government to eradicate it. He emphasised that "the disease has become so serious that drastic action is urgently necessary." And he asked for special tribunals to try cases of official corruption.

The general public reaction to this dismal state of affairs is loose talk and irresponsible gossip. It is obviously bad and in no way helpful to remedy the situation. It may be demoralising. However, it must be understood as a symptom of the malady in our body politic which the people, in their present stage of democratic growth and development, cannot otherwise react to or deal with it. The best way to remedy it and cut it off is to remove the cause thereof, i.e. stop administrative corruption.

In this connection I am reminded here of an amendment to the Criminal Procedure Code that is proposed by the Home Minister in Parliament. It aims at safeguarding Government servants by making their defalcation cognisable. If so, to say the least, this will be a wrong approach to the problem. It will disturb the confidence of the people that Government is seriously trying to do something about administrative corruption. On the other hand, such a measure might harden the corrupt officer and give him a handle for venalities and harassing dealing with the public. And surely it will not be democratic to give a privileged and differential position in law to a civil servant in regard to libel and defamation, in comparison to the common officers. The common law should be enough even for him as also for a Minister of State.

At the end, I may note a news item I came across a few days back, which said that Government servants in some State or the Centre (I do not exactly remember which), even though they were required to declare their property had not done it. If this is true, it raises a serious question. I hope the Government concerned will assign the people that it will be immediately remedied and those at fault will be duly dealt with under law.

A clean Government and its services above corruption is the crying need of our people now. And specially when we are planning to rebuild India, it is very necessary to see that our national policies and money, that we spend to implement them are in honest hands, and this must be felt so by the people.

12-6-54

## Un-British Rule in Kenya

A Press Service message from Nairobi, Kenya, June 14, says:

"An official release last week placed the number of Kenyan slaves killed during the Emergency at over 4,000, and more are dying at an average rate of about 120 every week."

If it is possible for the British to rule and hold on in their colony with such man-hunting and massacre, which, to use late Shri Dadabhai's phrase, is un-British and unhuman, is it not better, one feels, to quit Kenya leaving it to be ruled by the people as they desire?

12-6-54

M. P.

## FOREIGN ADVICE AND DEPENDENCE

(By Majumdar P. Dasgupta)

I devote the attention of the reader to the article, "Advancement of Small-Scale and Village Industries" appearing elsewhere in this issue. It is a critique of the major recommendations of the Ford Foundation Team that reported to the Government of India on the state of small industries in India and what could be done to advance them. Incidentally, I add here a point or two to the observations made in this article.

The Government of India have instituted a Small and Village Industries Board for the purpose of advancing our small-scale and village industries. Did they consult this Board when inviting the Ford Foundation Team? As appears from the article noted above, the F. F. Team seems not to have even met the Board for any consultation or discussion etc. If this is true, it is very much surprising.

Of late, there is much of foreign advice and investigation bodies coming to our land; and many of our people are visiting foreign lands to learn, observe or study this or that technical or industrial thing. There is nothing intrinsically bad or objectionable in this, if there may not be a pathetic dependence and inferiority complex contained in this.

It is being repeatedly said to us that India's problem is its own peculiar one and it can be solved by our own efforts and intelligent endeavours; that foreign aid in this department also is bad if it either indigenous initiative and spirit of bold inquiry and experiment. Again we say that India lives in her belts of villages which have their own way to find out and go by. A body of Americans and other experts who very likely believe in centralised large-scale production may not be expected to know and wisely realize our conditions. The approach might be fundamentally wrong. A few years back we tried to study Japan's small scale industries; now we have an international team to go into the question. The truth of the matter is that one has to help oneself to achieve any real or lasting good for oneself, by self-reliance and persevering inquiry. Others can help, if at all, only those who help themselves this way. In this connection, I may illustrate my point from the history of our fight for independence.

Before the advent of Gandhi on our political scene in the twenties, the Congress had been spending much of its mind and money on foreign propaganda. It was one of the major changes adopted by the Congress at Gandhi's instance, that this dependence was given up to our great gain and solid saving of nation's time and energies. And experience shows that the step was true and helpful. I think a similar change is necessary in our economic affairs at present; I fear that we look too much to the West and its special methods of economic and industrial

advancements to allow any scope for originality, initiative and real research through our own efforts to find out a proper way for our conditions. Even here we must realize that there is need for a true Swadeshi spirit and approach; the necessity of limitation and foreign dependence for solving our problems should be given up.

1964/24

## ADVANCEMENT OF SMALL-SCALE AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

(By "Observer")

Problems of productivity through the introduction of improved appliances in the technical processes of manufacture have engaged the anxious consideration of large-scale and small and village industries. In the organized large-scale sector these problems are sought to be solved through rationalization, etc. In, through the introduction of more up-to-date labour-saving machinery. In the village sector the question is one of adapting modern technological knowledge to the simple implements of the small producers. There is, therefore, nothing original in the Ford Foundation Team's repeated emphasis on this point. The other points discussed by it do not also suggest any new discovery which was not already known to those who are conversant with the needs of small industries or of village industries.

The Ford Foundation Team visited this country on the invitation of the Government of India and inquired into the problems of small industries. The Team has submitted its report a summary of which has been published. Though a full assessment of the work of the Team can be made only after an examination of the full report, the published summary is comprehensive enough to understand the approach and attitude of the Team to the problems of small and village industries. Going through this summary, one gets the impression that the Team has not applied that care and attention to a study of the rural economic problems and the logistics of rural manufacturing industries, which one would have expected of a body of experts.

For example, take its recommendation on technological institutes. "The institutes should, for this purpose," says the report, "be able to initiate and carry on investigation and surveys of existing methods as well as conduct experimental and applied research for promoting development of small industry. They should disseminate the methods and results thus obtained to the industrialists, their deputies or skilled workers."

If only the Team had cared to know what has already been done in this direction in the country, it could have obtained all the information from the All-India Small and Village Industries Board. The Board has already conducted a survey of the teaching facilities available for artisans and instructors of village industries

and has prepared an elaborate scheme for their improvement and extension.

A similar survey has also been conducted on research arrangements and facilities and has taken on hand the work of organising a Central Research Institute for developmental research. The plan provides for:

1. Information Service
2. Coordination of general allied research
3. Internal research in its own laboratories and workshops
  - a. Demonstration of village industries units through production, and
  - b. Training in village industries technology and research.

Dealing with the peculiar problems of village industries, the Committee says:

"Village Industries Research must intensify here its roots in modern science and technology and be not held to the constraints of the village. The problems of village industries, however, are not always identical with those of their counterparts in big-scale industry and have a different characteristic setting of their own. This precludes the wholesale adoption of the methods and processes from modern technology without a careful selection and development in the direction best suited for the village setting in view of this, the Research Institute for Village Industries, while having its basic contact with modern science and technology, should have a special orientation based on the setting for industries it will work on."

On the question of training, the Board's Training Survey Committee said:

"Utmost adequate attention is best paid to the technical difficulties and handicaps under which the artisans are constrained to work, efforts made for systematic training will not require that government which they should. The manner of reference made to manufacturers provide artisans by arranging short course training with assistance or partially assist artisans faced in the class by artisans will solve their problems. On the other hand, they will destroy the established crafts and shatter the already developed village economy in the long run. Consequently it is absolutely necessary that expert advice knowledge and resources available for training must be properly channelled and focussed to produce the right type of artisans and tool pattern."

Thus it will be clear that the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board, has, since its inception about a year ago, been fully conscious of the problems of productivity, of technological improvements and research in relation to the development of village industries. On it are persons who have spent a life time in constructive work and in the cause of village industries. They are men of great personal experience and have specialized knowledge of village conditions and needs. What is wanting, therefore, is that the Ford Foundation Team did not make any serious efforts to acquaint itself with the viewpoint of the Board which has been charged with the responsibilities of formulating programmes for the development of village industries, for training personnel and for research.

It would appear that the Team believes that the problems of village and small industries are mainly those of marketing and quality production with an eye on export markets. While this

may be true to a large extent with products of handicrafts and other fancy articles, it has absolutely no relation to the fundamental aspects of village industries programme. "Production and propagation of utility articles for satisfying the everyday needs of the masses should be the basic criterion in formulating the policy and prescribing the curriculum of village industries training. Instead of the present day training policy for encouraging the production of fancy articles for catering to the ever-changing taste of the urban population and foreign customers," says the Khadi Board's Training Survey Committee.

No doubt, as the Team says, "The Indian market is one of the biggest potential domestic markets in the world." It is also true that "if this market is developed in both the cities and the villages, it can stimulate, perhaps, the greatest industrial revolution ever seen and make India one of the foremost producing and consuming areas in the world." But behind this great potential market are tens of millions who live in extreme poverty and whose living standards are submarginal—even sub-human. There is then the question of great numbers of articles of first necessity as for as three millions are concerned. So, as to planning for development, first things must come first.

The first necessity, in the situation that obtains, is to find a way and a method by which the poverty-stricken masses could find some occupation which is peaceful and an environment and space within which they can progress without being broken down by superior organisation and techniques. It is the problem of a country with an immense man-power with immense idle man-hours and without the financial resources requisite for industrial development. The maximum utilisation of this immense man-power in productive work cannot be attained by "automatism" and "push-button production". But the Team thinks that they can, when it recommends "the creation of pilot plants for production and training workers in mass production methods—plants which are large and equipped with most modern machinery."

The pattern of industrial development in this country is in a way laggard-larry. Modern technology has been introduced in the very fields which could give employment to the maximum number. An industrial unit is complete in every respect, from procuring raw materials to the finished article. Little scope is left to smaller industries. Concentration has been on consumer industries. The result has been the virtual destruction of traditional occupations for millions of people. The emphasis the Team places on mechanisation in every sphere of production—industrial as well as agricultural—has only aggravated the present conditions in the country. The Team's outlook and approach, it is unfortunate, are conditioned by its experience in the







# HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)  
Editor: BHASKARLAL P. MEHRA



Vol. XVII No. 18

AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, JULY 8, 1954

TWO ANNAS

## HOW TO WARD OFF A BLOODY REVOLUTION

(By Gandhiji)

Economic equality is the master key to non-violent independence. Working for economic equality means abolishing the eternal conflict between capital and labour. It means the levelling down of the few rich in whose hands is concentrated the bulk of the nation's wealth on the one hand, and the levelling up of the weak-starved naked millions on the other. A non-violent system of government is clearly an impossibility as long as the wide gulf between the rich and the hungry millions persists. The contrast between the palaces of New Delhi and the miserable hovels of the poor bloating class nearby cannot last one day in a free India in which the poor will enjoy the same power as the richest in the land. A violent and bloody revolution is a certainty one day unless there is a voluntary abdication of riches and the power that riches give and sharing them for the common good.

(From Constructive Programme)

## "CONTROL THE EVIL OF THE CINEMA."

The Prime Minister of India today, (June 18, 1954) received a petition signed by about 15,000 housewives and mothers of Delhi demanding action to "control the evil of the cinema."

If the Government, they urge, do not have "sufficient constitutional powers" in this behalf, they should take steps to seek the necessary power.

Full names and addresses of the signatories are entered in the petition. The signatures of those who wanted to sign but who did not know how to read and write have been excluded from the petition. The tally, it is claimed by the signatories, would easily total another 15,000.

"The cinema film today," says the petition, "are becoming a major menace to the moral health of our children. Not only are they lulling them into precocious sexual habits, but are also serving as a major factor in incitement to crime and general unsettlement of society. Large numbers of children do not attend schools. They steal money somehow to go to the cinema. The juveniles are the most important element of classless

in big cities. Educationists have acknowledged that they do not know how to deal with this factor."

"The film which is becoming a means of mass communication and entertainment should be a contributory factor to social welfare and progress of society. If it is serving the contrary purpose, then it should have no place in the scheme of things. Foreign films which are coming here, more especially the American ones, are also adding to this moral corrupt and incitement to crime and bloodshed. It is the duty of the Government to stop these things. If Government do not have sufficient constitutional powers, then they should equip themselves with such powers and take necessary steps to control the present trend of the industry. We have held dozens of meetings all over Delhi attended by thousands of persons demanding this from Government."

The Prime Minister is understood to have pointed full consideration to the representation.

(From a Press Release)

"This appeal deserves the backing of all who wish to see that our new generation grows up to be morally and mentally healthy and robust. It is a challenge to our governing authorities as well. I hope that exhibition of violent, sexual behaviour and nudity etc., is prohibited for Indian films, but it is not applicable to foreign or American films, even though the prohibited sexual behaviour in the same if not still more obnoxious. If this is true it must be questioned a thoroughly serious performance on the part of the governing authorities."

In this regard of the motion picture it is so well that a Committee of parents and teachers is appointed to go into the question and report to the nation. We are sure the Prime Minister will give due attention to the matter and ensure the action that it will be fully protected from the dire consequences of the cinema industry although it gives some part of its profit to Government exchequer also.

12-4-54

M. P.

## Our Educational Books

By Mahatma Gandhi

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By M. S. Pand

### THE EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY OF MAHATMA GANDHI

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\* Price Rs. 4, Postage etc. Rs. 8.

### UNEMPLOYMENT (By Maurice Friedman)

I am giving below an extract from a monograph "Unemployment" by Shri Chandrajit P. Parikh, M.P.

"The implementation of the policy of small and cottage scale development of various articles will be easy if the following measures are adopted for utilising them:

"(1) After demarcating it will be necessary to provide that an article earmarked for a particular field will not be allowed to be manufactured in a more advanced field in order that production of the same article in both the fields may be carried on a competitive and survival basis. It may be necessary in some cases to levy a cess on the competing existing industries when the cost of production is too owing to mechanisation. Levy of cess, a differential rate tax, reservation of types of production, a ceiling on present production or a quantitative restriction to volume of production will restrict the desired field of expanding production in the demarcated field in order that the resources may not have to pay a higher price to certain products. It is suggested that the proceeds of the cess may be utilized for subsidizing the production of article similar products manufactured on cottage scale. The difference in the cost of production of cottage scale production will be then reduced to the minimum to the extent of the subsidy. Extensive control to be imposed by these methods because taxes and cesses duties are not applicable or are reduced when goods are exported.

"(2) Production of specific articles in specific states having suitable resources should be made as far as is practicable in production of such articles in suitable locations at a reasonable cost with a satisfactory quality. Though data are available in each state of the possibilities of manufacture by them and conclusions can be arrived at on early date.

"(3) Methods of improving the production of large scale industries by manufacturers of their particular component parts to be reserved for manufacturers by small or cottage scale industries can be beneficially adopted in some industries.

"(4) Many large scale industries are producing the imported products in preference to indigenous products on the plea of superior quality and lower price. This uncompetitive attitude has to be corrected by extending competition to such large scale manufacturers. It is not possible while the indigenous manufacturers should be made to compete all their resources in improving quality and reducing cost.

"(5) Many large scale industries have different mechanized processes through which an article passes before getting complete and there are some industries in which such mechanized process can be continuously and independently carried on an small or cottage scale by employing this, labour and persons and the articles thus produced may be finally as good as good for the purpose. For example the compressed parts of automobiles, bicycles and many other articles can be manufactured on small or cottage scale and then assembled together and the product will be quite suitable. A committee of experts should be set up immediately to ascertain what articles can be manufactured in parts and then assembled together.

"(6) Immediate steps should be taken to reserve for small and cottage scale the production of the ten industries selected by the Planning Commission by passing necessary legislation. The existing industries may continue with such regulations as may be necessary.

"(7) Survey and suitable resources should be made by examination and by the direct of laboratory and

Industrial Research to manufacturers or substitutes by manufacturers many articles that are imported.

"(8) All existing small scale and cottage scale industries should be strengthened by giving them necessary technical and financial assistance.

"(9) Use of mechanical and electric energy should be restricted in order that the domestic cottage industries products are not ousted by ultra-modern equipment."

Reservation of articles of primary necessity for home and village industries and elimination of all competition in this field between the individual and the centralized production is the only way to the creation in India of a new economic order based on neither State nor private employment but on self-employment with all the advantages of justice, stability and maximum return for one's labour.

### MESSAGE OF LORD BUDDHA \*

(By Vinoba)

Today is a Vaisakha full moon day. It marks the birth anniversary of Lord Buddha which is celebrated today throughout the world and specially in Asian countries. The message which Lord Buddha delivered to the world was fashioned by him not as a result of any speculative thinking but out of his experiences of life. It has stood the test of the centuries and shines even brighter today than ever before. India had not much contact with the world in those days. Besides, the world did not need it then so urgently. But today it needs that message.

"What is that message?" It is: "Not by hatred is hatred appeased, not by anger is anger pacified, not by falsehood is falsehood eradicated. Hatred will only increase hatred; and anger aggravates anger. Retribution therefore be met by love, anger by peace, and falsehood by truth."

The world is today seething with discontent. There is no peace to be seen anywhere. Mankind is searching for it fruitlessly but it eludes its grasp. Fear and distrust are on the increase. All the countries, whether weak or strong, are afraid of one another. Even countries like Russia and America, the two most powerful nations in the world today, are gripped with fear.

Never was there so much fear in the world at any time in the past. The countries in older times were so far isolated from one another that they did not even know, much less could they fear, one another. At the present moment, however, if there is a slight rift in even a remote corner of the world, it affects the entire globe. This is due to science. Science has annihilated time and distance. Geographically the world is now one unit. Science has now brought us to the point where we may easily wipe ourselves out of existence by encouraging and aggravating the forces of violence and hatred only a little more. It is a terrible prospect that we face. We can avoid it only by choosing not to tread on this path any further. It is open to us to be wise while

\* From a speech at Miran (Madhya) on 28.6.54.

there is yet time and rid ourselves of the vicious chain reaction of violence for ever and reconstruct a happier world on a new basis of love and peace. But there is now no halfway house available to us. Either we enter the abyss and get lost or change our direction and begin on ascent. That is why at this critical juncture in world's history we now need the message of Lord Buddha.

Buddha's message is not new. The Gita explains the same teaching when it says: One must be free from hatred towards all creatures. The Vedas also speak of it. The sages have always practised it. But the ways of the world have remained more or less unchanged. Because while the people respected whoever attained this ideal in his personal life, they did not consider it worth acting upon in practical life. They did not deny that it was an excellent thing to do, but they did not practise it.

There was another reason why this message did not spread among the mass of the people. It was this: Hatred is not likely to disappear as long as the factors which create it are existent. Suppose some one is thirsty. In the first instance he will most certainly search for clean water to drink. But if he fails to get it, he is compelled to take unclean water. In the same way the world is not hesitating after hatred. It does not love hatred for the sake of hatred. But it is faced with certain problems which it seeks to solve. If they can be peacefully solved, the world has now reached the stage when it is prepared to follow the path of peace. But it is able to respect the people to keep peace without first solving these problems. We must therefore strive to find out the way to produce the power of peace as we solve these problems and finally to establish uninterrupted peace. The world will not develop trust in the power of non-violence until this is done. Bhodan is an attempt in this direction — an attempt for the peaceful solution of the problems which bear the emergence of peace.

The Bhodan Tapes is following the path of peace — of freedom from hatred. It is aimed at solving one of our major problems — the problem of just distribution of land. We go from village to village and explain its message to the people and ask the land to be given to the landless. If the landless are thus returned to a just share in land, it will help preserve peace. Peace cannot be had merely by repeating — keep peace, get rid of hatred etc. If there is the people, that is, those among them who could, have been busy grabbing and hoarding. It was an expression of narrowness. But narrowness is not in keeping with the spirit of science. Science has been a force for the betterment of, at any rate, a great mitigation of narrowness in any form. But the narrowness of heart has remained. It is therefore necessary to educate the people in sharing their wealth with their fellow men which will dispel the narrowness lurking in their hearts and create in the society an atmosphere of love and freedom from hatred. Otherwise Buddha's message will remain

only a phrase with confined in words. It will not be put into action.

Lord Buddha, Mahatma and other wise teachers have told us of a few additional disciplines which need to be observed so as to achieve success in the implementation of non-violence. They are in fact the concomitants of non-violence which must accompany it whenever and wherever there is a sincere attempt at its realisation in practice. They are *ahimsa* i.e., non-violence, *aparigraha*, i.e., non-possession, and *arajap*, i.e., control of mind and senses. These teachers have firmly laid down that in case these disciplines are wanting, non-violence will not last, and the structure of society based on non-violence cannot be built, for long endure.

The more I reflect on these the more am I struck with the insight and foresight of these teachers into this problem. For example, if people do not practise *arajap*, if there is free indulgence in pleasures, selfishness, exploitation, envy against one another and an utter disappearance of inner satisfaction, all leading the society to a state of extreme dissipation and restlessness will become inevitable. Indulgence in the gratification of sex creates the problem of over-population which is one of the chief causes of war. *Sarajap* is therefore necessary.

Take *ahimsa* or non-violence. This we have tried to practice up to a point. The thief who steals is put into jail. But there are other forms of stealing which are not mentioned in law. We do not take any notice of these. What are the salaries, rich dividends, exorbitant interest, and the commissions of the middlemen, if not a form of stealing? We must eradicate all these different forms of stealing and put a limit on the amassing and possession of wealth. Consumption of wealth with a few individuals and non-violence cannot go together. This is not to denounce wealth as such. Wealth and abundance are good but they should be owned and used by the society and not by a few individuals. Here too we must be careful and exercise discrimination as to what constitutes real wealth. Wealth to be worthy of its name must add to the quality of life and not deteriorate it. It would not be an instance of wealth and affluence if lots of cigarettes were made available to the society and every one who liked was able to smoke to his heart's content!

Control of mind and senses, non-stealing and non-possession are therefore a pre-condition for the success of non-violence. Together, they will transform our earth into heaven. As a well-known Sanskrit verse puts it, "Verily they will become here and now whose mind is fixed in an attitude of equality."

(Adapted from *Bhodo*)

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# HARIJAN

July 3

1954

## A SERIOUS QUESTION

(By Mahatma P. Desai)

A fundamental question was raised by Shri Kharakdas Desai in his speech in Parliament, that was transmitted to the Harijan, by LHO of 19-4-54. He told us that of the total national annual income, Rs 4,800 crores were given by agriculture, Rs 900 crores by small-scale and village industries, and only Rs 500 crores by the much self-advertising and highly vocal large-scale industries.

But how are our Governments behaving in their respective attention to these three sectors of our industrial life and economy? Shri Desai has charged Governments that much remains to be done in this matter and it is now high time our national politics are immediately reoriented so as to attend more and more to agriculture and small-scale village industries which together annually yield 5,700 crores to the nation, i.e. 85 per cent of our total national income.

The question is important from another view-point also. How, why is it that what is most obvious and refused to do is not being done? And further, what should we do then to change this state of affairs?

We may not go into discussing here the how and the why of the problem. It is enough if we only note here that for the last few centuries the common man's life and industries, viz. agriculture and small-scale or village industries have been neglected by the powers that be and the poor common man is left to fend for himself in whatever way he can, if at all. This has killed all self and hope in him to work and has made him docile and subservient and committed to what Fate might have in store for him. On the other hand, the large-scale sector monopolized almost all attention and capital to itself, as if it were the only part of industry that mattered most and was really wanted for national economy. This illusion must now be removed, a way must be found out whereby the long neglected and the largest part of our economic life might be restored back to its due importance and attention both from Government as well as the public.

To do this and restore self-confidence and self-help among the neglected masses is one of the chief aims of the Bhodan-cum-Gravidyog movement. As we know, it starts at giving food to the tiller and so rehabilitate him that he secures his due place in our social economy. The way to do it is not through hatred, jealousy, malice or class-war, but through charity, self-help and co-operation. To achieve this so that

our villages are restored to the fulcrum of their economic life and self-sufficiency is the largest and the most difficult but necessary work before the servants of the people now. It means a real revolution through Bhodan-cum-Gravidyog.  
20-6-54

## ENGLISH AND SECONDARY EDUCATION CONSIDERED

(By Mahatma P. Desai)

A few weeks ago, I had an occasion to write in the daily Press about English teaching and hoping of our new system of national education in the country. The occasion was the Press release of the Congress Working Committee's historic resolution on the language policy regarding the medium of instruction and of public service examinations. This was inter-linked with the question of English teaching in Bombay State, and a poem was coined in the Press regarding the place of English in our national education and allied questions, such as: 'When to introduce it in schools? Whether it has a place in our would-be compulsory primary education? Where does primary education end and secondary begins etc.' Relevant points from that discussion are re-collected below, in the hope that they will help consideration of these matters by our educational workers.

A prominent political leader of Bombay city said that "English has been, and English will be one of our national languages." To which I replied that such a statement was really surprising, specially when the Working Committee's resolution expressly stated that English was one of the "important foreign languages of Europe."

It was further argued that as the secondary stage began at Standard V, English could begin to be taught from that stage. I contended that this was not right, and said that primary basic education as an all-India plan shall be for eight years and, as the Constitution prescribes, every child will have it up to the age of 14. The secondary stage will begin thereafter, which is, generally speaking, Standard VIII in Bombay State.

And therefore I asserted that the decision of the Government of Bombay, when it prescribed English to begin at Standard VIII which is the first year of the secondary stage, is in accord with the Working Committee's resolution, and the Constitutional Directive.

And I further said that, the study of Hindi as the second language begins at Standard V. This constituted, on sound pedagogic grounds, the introduction of a third language of study simultaneously. Therefore even from an educational point of view, free and compulsory primary education, which should last up to the 14th year of the child cannot give any place to a third language, say English. Hence English teaching

can only come at the secondary stage, i.e. from Standard VIII onwards.\*

Controversy my statement that from the educational point of view primary education cannot have a place in its curriculum for the study of a third language like English, a correspondent referred me to the Secondary Education Commission Report. Looking to the Report we find that the Commission agrees that Hindi and English should not be introduced in the same year. This means that English will be a third language of study in a non-Hindi area like Bombay State.

The Secondary Education Commission Report also says:

"Particular care will have to be taken to ensure that the education imparted during the first eight years in the primary (or junior basic) and the middle (or senior basic) stage forms an integrated and complete whole, so that when free and compulsory education is extended up to the age of 14, as envisaged in the Constitution, it will maintain a uniform pattern of education." (Emphasis added)

In the peculiar circumstances here Hindi and not English is the second language. And for a working knowledge of this lingua franca of India a pupil should have at least three years during the course of this compulsory education period, and obviously no third language can possibly be introduced therein.

Again, the Secondary Education Commission's suggestion to divide this eight years' stage of "an integrated and complete whole" into "junior basic" and "senior basic" is self-contradictory and it is right that this is not accepted by the Central Government Advisory Council of Education. It has rather laid down that the educational structure in the country should eventually consist of eight years of integrated elementary (basic) education, four years of secondary education, and three years of university education. When we are devising a system of national education we must keep this larger view of reorganisation before us.

The Secondary Education Commission also says that Hindi should be taught during the middle school or senior basic stage, and adds that English might be studied as an optional basis at this stage. It is difficult to reconcile these two recommendations if it is agreed, as the Commission does, that no two languages should be introduced in the same year and there should not be more than two languages to be studied

during the middle school stage, as these two will be the regional language and Hindi.

Why then is English mentioned by the Commission? If I may be permitted to venture a guess, I might say that the two sub-stages of 'Junior' and 'Senior Basic' in one "integrated and complete whole" stage of free and compulsory education up to the age of 14, were perhaps admitted to accommodate English teaching in some way and as a concession to the urban clamour of the educated classes. It would have been really helpful for the clarity of educational thought if the Commission had not succumbed to it. The Central Government desires to be congratulated for not accepting the reactionary suggestion of having two sub-stages in the one integrated whole of 8 years uniform pattern of primary basic education.

24-5-54

#### A GROUNDSLESS OBJECTION AGAINST HINDI

(By Mageshwar P. Desai)

Shri J. N. Borse from Gairhat has sent me a pamphlet in English discussing why Sanskrit should be adopted as our national language. It is really very surprising that though our Constitution has decided that Hindi in the Nagari script will be the official language of the Union, the question is still raised and debated.

Shri Borse's pamphlet discusses this question and recommends in favour of Sanskrit. I must confess that the arguments he advances in support of his suggestion are weak and difficult to accept. How are we to believe that learning Sanskrit is easier than learning Hindi? Again Sanskrit too, as he admits, will have to be simplified and developed, so as to become a fit vehicle of expression for this age. In that case why should we not spend all that labour on Hindi and develop it to make it fit for the purpose we have in view?

Shri Borse admits that there is at least one obvious advantage in favour of Hindi, namely, that a very large proportion—in fact some scores—of our countrymen will not have to learn it. This is no small advantage.

There is another advantage also. Shri Borse does not seem to take into account the fact that long since the English came to India Hindi was already in use as our lingua franca, which shows that it had the power and the capacity to serve this purpose. Again it shows that Hindi had the flexibility and the capacity for growth, so that it could be developed and moulded in such a way. The break in such a growth and development of Hindi or Hindustani, which would otherwise have become by now a settled reality, came during the British rule, when Hindu-Muslim communalism was introduced into our national affairs and our people were quite unwittingly caught in its meshes.

\* It is interestingly seen that the All-India Conference on Educational Structure of all States in India, convened by the Government of Bombay, which met at Poona on July 25, 26, 27, 1953, had unanimously passed the following resolution.

"This Conference is of opinion that English should not find a place in the curriculum of education of the child until it has gone through the full course of at least seven years whether Basic or sub-Basic, within English in the mother-tongue."

And as we know, this principle was accepted by the Bombay Legislative Assembly passing a resolution recommending it as the best budget measure.

Among the arguments which Shri Borch advances against Hindi, the following appears to me to deserve consideration. He says:

"Hindi is only a regional language. A large number of people know it, which is certainly a very great advantage. But in spite of this, 'if the spoken language of a province is made the national language of the Union, the language and the literature of the States can never thrive. Not only that, people whose mother-tongue is Hindi will always get undue advantages over others in all spheres. It is feared that they will lead the country.'"

Then he goes on to illustrate his statement by showing, for instance, what would happen to Bengal if Hindi were to be made the national language. He says that Hindi will then be taught right from the lower classes to all the schools, and all the business in every sphere will be conducted in Hindi. As such, people whose mother-tongue is Hindi will naturally get most advantages than others. If, however, Sanskrit is made the national language, all provinces will be on the same footing, none getting any more advantage than the other.

Perhaps it is this fear which drives Shri Borch to make such an unrealistic and unpractical suggestion, an Sanskrit being made the national language.

The fear, we must say, is entirely groundless. Why should public activities in Bengal be carried on in Hindi instead of Bengali? That all the work of education, administration, etc in Bengal should be carried on in Bengali is not only natural but also consistent with the principle adopted by the Constitution in this regard. Hindi is sought to be a medium for inter-provincial and other all-India purposes for non-Hindi areas. Hindi is not the *sanskritika*—the first language of the entire country, nor can it be so, nor are we out to attempt to do it. Hindi is to be our inter-provincial medium, we are only required to adapt it for the purpose of our Indian Union. That is why the Constitution contemplates two different forms of Hindi: 1. The regional Hindi which is the *non-Madrasi* of the people in the North; 2. Hindi as inter-State medium which will be the medium for all official work at the Centre and whose form will be developed in accordance with Article 351 of the Constitution. This point, as has been amply reported in the press, was clarified a few days ago by Shri Jawaharlal in a speech before the Congress Parliamentary Party. If Shri Borch and others who share his apprehensions understood it quite clearly, they will arrive at the inevitable conclusion that, far from there being any danger or inconvenience in adopting Hindi as our inter-provincial medium of intercourse, there will be a lot of good and a very great deal of help and convenience to our entire people.

To summarise, let us bear in mind the following points:

1. The inter-provincial medium is not intended to displace or weaken or suppress the

fourteen Indian languages of the country, (vide Schedule 3 of the Constitution of India) but rather to help and supplement them.

2. It is also not intended to be the medium of State administration or education etc. in any non-Hindi areas. Nor should it be allowed to thwart in any way the progress of the regional languages.

3. But an inter-provincial language is necessary to serve as a common medium for all our people to come closer together and have intercourse with one another, and to conduct all business of an all-India character. Necessarily, therefore, all our people must accept it and learn it to a considerable extent. It is therefore necessary to introduce the teaching of Hindi in our schools and colleges compulsorily and without delay. This language would not be the regional language of Uttar Pradesh but an easy, all-inclusive and growing language which Gandhiji advocated and called Hindi-Hindustani.

It would be good for our Hindi-speaking friends also to understand this point. Else the development of an all-India inter-provincial medium, as enjoined by our Constitution, will become difficult if not impossible, which certainly should never be allowed to occur.

12-3-54

(From the original in Hindi)

## THE SURE WAY TO PEACE

(By J. C. Kumarappa)

Since the Atom Bomb was introduced and the H-Bomb was exploded and threats of Cofalt Bomb have been discussed, the fashion of the day has been to discuss the various methods of maintaining Peace. We have War Resisters' Conferences, Pacifist Gatherings, Peace Council Meetings, Statesmen's Conventions etc., putting forward conditions, resolutions and appeals and yet we are still where we were. All this proves the futility of these methods. The reason for such failures and varied efforts being in vain is that all these are dealing with the symptoms rather than the deep-seated disease.

We have often pointed out that the basic disorder lies in our economic system which does not satisfy the basic needs of all. Hardly anyone is willing to face the facts.

Man is the only creature who makes his own environment and conditions the circumstances of his life. War is the result of our present economic systems based on injustice, greed and crusted wars, and of using wrong methods of satisfying our demand. We have to change radically our way of life if we would have peace as an inevitable consequence of our mode of life. This way is the Sarvodaya way which will generate non-violence as the necessary outcome of its practice. We give below a brief outline of this way of life:

**Demand:** Our main requirement of life should be natural and not one for making busi-

ness. It should be based on a strong spirit of Swadeshi restricted to localities under convenient political control.

**Supply:** The commodities to satisfy our needs must be produced locally, using available raw materials for the most part, with motive power not artificially made cheap as in the case of heavy labour. At present, we have coal, oil and electricity supplied at unfair prices which creates unemployment, poverty, and dissatisfaction. This cheap power enables centralized industries to produce standardized goods which create unfair competition.

All these sources of power are obtained from nature with very little human effort and sold at a price to cover this effort. These natural gifts are the patrimony of the people as a whole and so should not be sold to a few at bare cost. The price fixing must bear a comparative relation to the living cost of labour at least. Any excess over that price should be a source of income to the State, used for the general welfare of the whole population and should not be dealt with as a subsidy to manufacturers alone, as it is at present. Such a policy will immediately make commodities produced with such power more expensive and place human labour at an advantage and strike at the root of one of the principal sources of social injustice. It will relieve unemployment and alleviate poverty.

This one step alone will change the course of our economic order and lead us to self-sufficiency and self-help. Economic interference is one of the basic causes of war. If this is removed we shall be on the high road to permanent peace. Have we the courage to face this situation? It may simplify our lives and bring happiness to many. At present we have complicated our lives and brought misery and insecurity to all.

**Money:** Our price mechanism operated by money leads to all kinds of inequalities. We have to cheer money of its quality of accumulating purchasing power and sterilise its nature of earning interest and so make assured income a thing of the past. The use of money should be only to facilitate barter.

**Markets:** Exchange of surpluses, both of raw materials and consumer goods, should follow a natural course rather than be forced by political and other controls.

Adoption of these steps would leave no room for ornaments. Minor disputes can be solved by negotiation. Only then can man rise above the brute level and come concerning his fellow beings. The Swadeshi way of life holds out the only hope of ushering in world peace and saving humanity from committing suicide in a most barbarous though "scientific" way. Let us deal with the situation with courage and let it settle for.

(From *Drum Major* Journal, June, 1963)

## UNFAIR FOR THE FAIR

(By Sarash Ramashek)

The Vasaspati industry is flourishing surrounded with lamps and bonfires. Its products can be seen in places where they could never be dreamt of. The massive advertisements in our daily Press would have us believe that Vasaspati is the best food ever discovered by man, specially for a housewife. They have stimulated ignorant or helpless folk, many of them highly educated, to adopt it as a way of life.

Not content with its devastating propaganda, the industry has now taken to a new technique. It has employed our fair folk for the purpose. Immaculately dressed, these innocent and well-educated, almost charming, sisters of ours enter the household, take their seat unasked and begin to inquire about the welfare of the home, specially the health of the children. Slowly they turn on to the daily menu and then delicately come to the subject of the way the various items are prepared. In case they learn that Vasaspati has already found a home with their host, they dilate on its manifold virtues and the so-called miracle it has wrought in what is known as national health. But if they gather that Vasaspati has not yet stepped in, they make subtle suggestions for its trial. Quite accidental instances and point to its growing importance and significance. Thus they go on from home to home harping on the Vasaspati tune and carrying its message.

Obviously, the industry must have found this method "paying". So also must have our sisters, belonging as they do to the fraternity of the educated unemployed. But, may one ask, is it not unfair for our womenfolk to cheat others for the sake of money alone? When Vasaspati is a completely artificial product, possessing neither the qualities of pure oil nor those of ghee, does it behove our sisters to dope our homes — their own homes — for a few chaps?

Recently, in my Swadeshi tour of Mysore (Madhya Pradesh), I came across some very painful cases of the wrong being done by Vasaspati. I was at Barwahi the other day. Not far from that place live the Adivasis, aborigines, innocent and stalwart people, men and women of character and courage. They breed their own cattle and prepare ghee. Selling milk or *ghoskh* (*Gostimilk*) is a vocation amongst them. Their ghee commanded a wide reputation for genuineness and taste. But during the last two years or so, things have almost changed completely. The businessmen from Khargone and Barwahi has spread his net in the interior. He does three things: (i) He makes the Adivasi call Vasaspati in his own mother tongue in the name of pure ghee; (ii) Giving Vasaspati to the Adivasi, he asks him to introduce it while taking ghee at his home and takes the new product back; (iii) Purchasing pots of ghee from the Adivasi, he

mixes it with his own Venagatti and sells the whole product as pure glass. The natural result is that the Adhavi has lost his old reputation and pure glass is an impossibility in Bernal or the neighbourhood. And, what is worse, children, Adhavi or otherwise, and adults are now dented both milk and glass. Will the Venagatti industry congratulate itself on this encouraging development? Shall our states agree to thus destroying the health and morals of our people?

25-5-34

### VINOBA AND HIS MESSAGE\*

(By S. Radhakrishnan)

It is seven years since we won our political independence. It is a short span in a nation's life, but it is perhaps not less important than any other equal period. In the case of a human being, the period of the first seven years determines his character and so to a large extent his future. The same is perhaps true of a nation. There were many observers who forecast, at the time of the transfer of power, that the Indian State would not be able to survive the effects of partition, that the country would get disorganised, that the administration would break down, that there would be no rule of law and no security of life and property. Many people feared and quite a few hoped for a sudden collapse. But these friends and foes have both confounded by the results. The country is held together instead of disintegration there has been integration. There is no part of the country where the will of the Government does not run. The administration is still intact. A foreigner can travel from one end of the country to the other without the least insecurity of life and property. Even in international affairs our stand may not be generally accepted but it is widely respected. We have earned a reputation for honesty and independence. Our achievements in the economic and social spheres have not been spectacular, but they are not uncounted.

It is not, however, the running things in the old routine ways, that we struggled for and achieved political independence. Our aim is to bring about as speedily as possible a social and economic revolution. We wish to build a society free from caste and class, free from exploitation of every kind, social and economic, mental and religious. We must admit that our society still suffers from grave economic injustices, social oppressions, caste prejudices, communal jealousies, provincial selfishness and English animosities. These are a challenge to our competence, our courage, our wisdom. If we are to survive as a civilised society, we have to get rid

of these abuses as soon as possible and by civilised methods.

In the progress of societies three stages are marked. The first where the law of the jungle prevails, where we have the operation of selfishness and violence, the second, where we have the rule of law and impartial justice with courts, police and prisons; the third, where we have non-violence and unselfishness, where love and law are one. The rule of the jungle, the rule of law, the rule of love—these mark the three stages of social progress. The last is the goal of civilised humanity, and it can be brought nearer by the increase in the numbers of men and women who have renounced selfish ambition, unconsidered personal interest, who do daily that others may live in peace and comfort. The good people sustain the world by their virtuous life and *give more strength*: in Acharya Vinoba Bhave we have one such person who is striving to introduce the law of love in our social and economic life.

It is because we cannot make all the people prophets that we have to depend on legislation to bring about changes in our social order. The Bhavadan movement acquires great significance in this context of urgent change. It underlines traditions that are implicit in the Indian way of life. It reinterprets the idea of the social order as the family unit large. It appeals to our religious instinct that spiritual freedom can be attained only by those who are not attached to material possessions. The movement started by Acharya Vinoba Bhave is potentially revolutionary in character. The response to his appeal which has come from all levels of the social order shows that the moral reserves of our country are large. The movement is based on its act of faith. Even if it does not by itself bring about an agrarian revolution, it prepares for it by producing a climate of opinion in which non-aggressive methods of land reform can be put through.

Shri Surendra Dasgupta has written a moving account of the way in which Shri Vinoba was led to this movement and the progress it has made. It should be read by all who are interested in this unique campaign, its objects and its philosophy.

25-5-34

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\* From the Foreword to the book *Vinoba and His Message* by Surendra Dasgupta, published by Sarva Seva Sangh, P. O. Bangalore, Co. Madras.





# ABUNDANCE or SELF-SUFFICIENCY

(By William A. Gervase)

Most of the world's population seems bent on trying the way of "social abundance", rather than Gandhi's way of "abstinence and non-violence". The pursuit of "social abundance" raises the following questions:

(1) Are there sufficient resources in the world to support abundance for everyone? Today, the United States is notoriously dependent on South-East Asia and Africa and South America for the raw materials which support our high standard of living. Is not the major problem facing Europe today the readjustment in standards of living made necessary by the loss, or the imminent loss, of colonies? For, as these under-developed areas, also seeking abundance for themselves, progress, they will be less disposed to part with raw materials, and Europe, and eventually the United States, instead of enjoying virtually all that is produced, will have to live only on a just portion.

(2) Does not the pursuit of "social abundance" inevitably encourage the philosophy of self-indulgence? It seems to me that this debilitation of appetite is the very basis of materialism. It is responsible for cheapness and vulgarity of popular culture, and perhaps ultimately provokes most of our social maladjustments—juvenile delinquency, marital unhappiness and the rest. Is there any evidence that we can pursue abundance, and yet escape these?

(3) Do we really know how to prevent an economy of abundance from heading down? The only solution I have heard of is Keynes' use of deficit spending balanced by taxation and accumulation in good years. What one of our political leaders accepts this theory? The federal government cannot accumulate now because of the huge arms expenditures. Would it do so even if it were free from arms expense? To my knowledge, there is not a single State government which is gathering a surplus to be used for hard times. Will limitation of credit extension, the federal guarantee of bank deposits and all the rest prevent collapse? I am not qualified to judge, but I am sceptical. Of course, totally planned economy can avoid pitfalls, but we have not yet learned how to get a planned economy without getting centralized political control and loss of liberty.

There are some of the problems which attracted Gandhi's attention and which contributed to the development of his thinking.

Gandhi's Utopia is probably familiar to you. A system in which the village is the economic and political centre, each village or group of villages aiming at the highest degree of self-sufficiency, with authority resting in elected village councils. Freedom would be based on self-sufficiency and justice on an absence of interest in foreign markets. Gandhi was not, as an essay

states, an unqualified enemy of the machine. He offered prizes to those who could develop a most efficient spinning wheel, and was full of praise for the Singer sewing machine. Any machine, based on electricity driven, was inimical to his Utopia, provided it fitted into the home or village, where man would be master over it, and not mere appendage to the mechanical operation or victim of a complex economic structure large machines make possible.

It is thus incorrect to describe Gandhi's Utopia as impoverished materially. Packards, TV sets, refrigerators might be absent, but would they be missed?

Gandhi framed his Utopia in a country with abundant human resources and relatively meagre raw materials. Is not the United States approaching a similar condition, in view of the new automatic factories science has made possible, and the probable gradual loss of raw materials, either as they are exhausted from the earth's crust, or as the backward nations withdraw their aid?

Of course, American conditions differ from India. Gandhi cannot be transplanted here. But there are some Americans who have begun thinking in terms of the decentralized economy, which is the first step. And perhaps, unknown to me, there are others who have gone very far to think out America's problems with the insight which Gandhi provides.

Toronto, Ohio

(From *Review*, 11/19/64)

'Lancet' Correspondent as B. C. G.

The following is taken from the 'In England Now' column of the *Lancet* of December 12, 1955:

"As a conscientious M. D. (Medical Officer of Health) I have been put in a quandary. Shall I or shall I not advise my subordinates to accept the Ministry's latest suggestion, and offer B. C. G. vaccination to school leavers? If B. C. G. is good for nothing, it may protect children when they leave school for the wider world of exposure. In the other hand I am answering to the M. R. C. Official Research Council and in that case have week-to-week mass vaccination of this age group. To take notice now is rather answering an answer before the result is known. I was writing this passage over in my head yesterday evening while I read my way to sleep via, through the *Lancet*, *Lancet* (writing *Lancet*, B. C. G. and the best tips to be mixed up.

"Then B. C. G. work?" asked after "Is some people", the *Lancet* replied, "has we've arranged a trial to see if it would be useful to school children." "How long will the trial take?", *Lancet* inquired. "About 3 years," answered the *Lancet*, looking around, after school events and events of children, carrying state. The asked who they were. "These are school children being given B. C. G. said the *Lancet*, "every one of them can have it. "But I thought you were having a trial to see if it would be there any good," said *Lancet* again. "That's quite right, my dear," replied the *Lancet*, "but you see we're having the vaccine first, and the trial later." "Very interesting," commented after, as she went to get her own read."

T. S. G.

## VANASPATHI AND OUR SCIENTISTS

(By Sarah Rowland)

In the recent budget speech of the Finance Minister, Sri Chaudrasani Lakshmanai (of Madras U. P.) urging a ban on the Vanaspathi industry, truly pointed out that it was not only imperiling the health of the people but also robbing the place of history. Replying, the Finance Minister remarked that the "question of colouring Vanaspathi had been accepted by the Government, but the difficulty was that a suitable colouring material which could not be de-colourised had not been evolved." (Hindustan, April 29 '54)

It is gratifying to learn that the Government of India has conceded at last the country-wide demand for colouring Vanaspathi. But it is well-nigh impossible to believe that the Government's efforts to find a "suitable colouring material" have proved in vain.

The obvious and harmless colour in yellow which can be obtained without much difficulty from the commonly used condiment called haldi (gud) I am given to understand that India's well-known village-industries expert and chemist, Sri Satish Chandra Dasgupta, has repudiated the myth of the unavailability of the required colouring. What work has since been promised to alter the same fact has been proved to be a cry in the wilderness and the Vanaspathi business apparently continues to occupy new houses and shops in the after-dinner of the nation.

Should the Government be enthusiastic enough to colour Vanaspathi, it may entrust Sri Satish Babu with this work and later get his findings confirmed by its own official experts. Or, it can directly call upon the Ministry for Scientific Research to carry out this job within a specified time. Surely where there is a will there is a way.

One is inclined to feel that if our Government, which has a wide-spread net of scientific laboratories all over the country and is out to yoke the atom for peaceful energy driving purposes, is not able to get through this all-too-simple task of a colour, it is hardly likely to achieve anything substantial in any walk of life. It cannot but be concluded that our scientists can only create and execute the blue-prints coming from the West and are themselves incapable of any original research.

This is a very harsh conclusion indeed. I, for one, refuse to subscribe to it. But this is the inevitable conclusion if our scientists' attempts to save us, the Government's mandate to colour Vanaspathi have virtually come to naught.

There is, however, one point that must be noted here: That is the pressure of the Big Business tendency to state that colouring Vanaspathi will lead to the segregation and give

adulteration will stop. Wherein the unfair expense of Vanaspathi would suffer.

Thirdly, the industry may be a material source of livelihood in the way of implementation of the accepted policy of colouring the Vanaspathi. Now if that is so, our scientists must, in the name of science speak out the truth. They owe a duty to all of their duties a duty to their conscience.

## POVERTY AMIDST PLENTY IN U. S. A.

(By J. A. M.)

(Adapted from an article, "Spotted America" appearing in The Western Socialist, April 1954, 100-101, 102-103)

Our economists tell us that the wealth of the United States amounts to as many billions of dollars that one would require the mathematical genius of an Einstein to really appreciate how wealthy we are.

The thing is evidence that we do not seem to possess that power and power of mind that should logically follow in the wake of such lavish advantages.

Everywhere we look, there are ample signs of strife and contention pervading the strata of those who tell him as the take-home pay appears in the light of dollars and cents. It is continuous in its nature in relation to the prices marked on the commodities the workers must have in order to meet. Social discontent is apparent in all directions.

How, then can we reconcile these opposing attitudes as social conditions? Increasing wealth, profusion of all, most goods, most riches and better in our way, and plenty, trouble, and strife arise on the other.

Even the Government representing, as it always does, big business, occasionally reveals that the data compiled shows inequality in the distribution of the things produced. The Census Bureau, in the month of December, 1950 reported that the top fifth of the U. S. population gets nearly half of the national income while the bottom fifth gets only 3 per cent. This was confirmed by those who analyze the information gathered by the 1950 census.

Breaking down the distribution of income into fifth, which seems to be the prevailing fashion, financially as well as legally, the report shows:

- Highest fifth — 47 per cent.
- second highest fifth — 34 per cent.
- third highest fifth — 17 per cent.
- fourth highest fifth — 9 per cent., and
- the poorest fifth — 3 per cent.

The outfit releasing this report happens to assure us that they did not take account of the fact that a much bigger percentage of the big incomes is collected in income taxes than is the case with small incomes. They do not have to high pressure this information. Backward as we happen to be in perceiving the far points of financial logic, we can readily assume that such income taxes could very well be reduced.

most of the world's population. The world's surplus is not only being used to pay the wages of the people who produce it, but it is also being used to pay the wages of the people who consume it.

However, the world's surplus is not being used to pay the wages of the people who produce it, but it is also being used to pay the wages of the people who consume it. The world's surplus is not only being used to pay the wages of the people who produce it, but it is also being used to pay the wages of the people who consume it. The world's surplus is not only being used to pay the wages of the people who produce it, but it is also being used to pay the wages of the people who consume it.

## HARIJAN

July 19

1954

### BASIC PRINCIPLES OF WORLD PEACE

(by Rajagopal P. Jagan)

The American Pacific leader A. J. Hayes, quoting a British economist, says there seems to be a natural frontier of poverty running right about our globe. Its limits are roughly the tropics of Cancer and Capricorn.

And he adds that in present day the world's population runs about 70 per cent of the world's income, however these are not disposed to do anything about the problem of world's poverty.

And he notes that the world economy today is at a point where individual Western nations were in the last century, and the Marxist prophecy is forcing its acceptance, as the world were in the reformer business nations.

What can be done to relieve this dire agonous situation? After 1945, the British economist who makes a little study proposed that there should be treaties among nations "the equivalent of a people's international income tax, according to which all nations, whose per capita wealth is above a certain figure, should contribute one per cent of their national income to a common fund for the benefit of the world."

It is a correct and legitimate thing to do. It will be a peaceful way of reversing toward the most potent causes of world tensions, the declining inequality that kills the millions of economically backward or poor peoples of the globe.

It is a matter of some difficulty that the principle of economic aid to backward areas of the world is accepted as more or less by common international thought, as can be illustrated from the lines of A. J. Hayes in *Pacific* (1954) 1: 187-83.

But that is only the first step.

The main point in today's international programme is the world wide organized effort to relieve the world's poverty.

Thus, the world's surplus value will be used to pay the wages of the people who produce it, but it is also being used to pay the wages of the people who consume it. The world's surplus is not only being used to pay the wages of the people who produce it, but it is also being used to pay the wages of the people who consume it. The world's surplus is not only being used to pay the wages of the people who produce it, but it is also being used to pay the wages of the people who consume it.

It is a world wide organized effort to relieve the world's poverty. The world's surplus is not only being used to pay the wages of the people who produce it, but it is also being used to pay the wages of the people who consume it. The world's surplus is not only being used to pay the wages of the people who produce it, but it is also being used to pay the wages of the people who consume it.

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1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty.
2. Non-aggression.
3. Non-interference in each other's internal affairs.
4. Equality and mutual benefit; and
5. Peaceful co-existence.

\* If these party organizations and movements were simply party in the sense of democratic relations, generally in a high level of participation in peace activities and/or war and apprehensions that this party should not mind to a failure of countries.

As the two Prime Ministers further discussed, they recognized that different social and political systems exist in various parts of the world. If, however, peaceful relations and cooperation are accepted and an important part of this is no interference by one state in the affairs of another, these differences should not come in the way of peace or create conflict. With the assurance of territorial integrity and sovereignty of each country and of nonaggression, both sides to peaceful co-existence and friendly relations had won the position concerned.

1741

## SUBSTRATA AND BASIC EQUATIONS 4

### Life Insurance

We have been put up here at a home school. What does the word "home" mean as applied to education? The basic is that on which something stands. It is the foundation. If the foundation is strong the building raised on that base will also stand strong. The education and the development of a society is largely determined by the education given to its children. The education of primary importance in any scheme for the uplift of the country. The education imparted to these children has been so conceived as to produce the right kind of citizens needed by our country.

He feels it has been told from very ancient times that boys must devote the first twenty-four years of their life to the acquisition of knowledge and development of their character. Everyone must acquire knowledge which should be used to mould and guide his subsequent life. A student was required to live with his teacher and there spend his time and energy till he was twenty-four and mastered *vedge* — i.e. knowledge and *ved* — i.e. various moral vows which form the core of man's character. When both these things had been completed, the teacher bathed him with his own hands. This bath — *vedmoh* — he was called a *vedmohi* — i.e. one who has had such a bath — symbolised his entrance into the society. He then returned home and lived a *vedmohi* life devoted to knowledge and service. It has to be remembered that the student was not regarded as a full-fledged *vedmohi* until he had completed both the *vedge* and *ved*. He had to be both a *vedge-mohi* and a *ved* *mohi*. Then only was he considered fit to enter the *grihasthya* or a householder's stage of his life. Also! The most valuable ancient custom is now no more than a dream and a tale.

Today, when you come to establish our country, we must have the full education of our children, and we must have a free and open life. The new mode of living must have the same underlying meaning as the American & Western mode of living. It is a life of freedom, of progress, of opportunity, of growth, of a social order in which all men are free to develop and to help others develop. It is a life of progress. The great have control of the country, and there has been an understanding that there never will be any more. For I am not driven to seek employment, but that, unless we have freedom. If we have control, we cannot serve his brother as he is, and we cannot, and, naturally, then he is not regarded as being answered the call. Then he must also acquire wisdom and knowledge. Knowledge of the land, for health, knowledge of the self for spiritual development, and knowledge of the language for social intercourse. Knowledge of these things will enable him to do his utmost, that is, to do his duty towards himself and towards the society of which he is a part. Freedom is in the knowledge makes him a citizen. After he has become both a self-controlled as well as a self-controlled, the teacher must plant him to his home and nation on the basis of a free society.

There is an idea that in case agriculture and such, as taught in the lower or important subjects of study, the teaching of the language, of reading and writing will suffer. This also is not correct. The truth is that when more time is given to reading and writing, power to learn it in the present mode of teaching which makes it difficult. When reading and writing is taught in correlation with agriculture and handicrafts, the teaching becomes all more natural and much easier. I have taught a number of students in this way who are now engaged in the service of the country and are doing their work quite well which would show that the time given of agriculture and the crafts and the expenditure of time at present spent on reading and writing will improve the quality of teaching. In fact, reading and writing should not be allowed to take more than an hour in a day. There can be more teaching in this one hour than in all the five hours in the prevailing high schools for the simple reason that they go on changing from subject to subject in every 40 minutes.

Another prevailing misconception is regard to education is that people think their education is being ended with the completion of their student career. My belief in this respect is different. Just as a man continues to eat till the end of his life, so also should the continue to learn and acquire knowledge till the very end. Our entire life would be a period of continuous mental growth and therefore of education and not merely the few or two years spent in the school or the beginning of the life. Man must ever continue

<sup>12</sup> There is apparently a village by the Church of St. Martin, but this is not clear.

every day of his life. Before you give to him one word, sentence or talk, make him first think a little, so that he will have something to think on in the time that he is free. Then, as you go on, you will be able to give him more and more. This will be the only way to give him the right kind of education. The village is different from the city. The village is a place where the people are poor and the children are poor. The village is a place where the people are poor and the children are poor. The village is a place where the people are poor and the children are poor.

There is one more thing to be said. The village is a place where the people are poor and the children are poor. The village is a place where the people are poor and the children are poor. The village is a place where the people are poor and the children are poor. The village is a place where the people are poor and the children are poor. The village is a place where the people are poor and the children are poor. The village is a place where the people are poor and the children are poor. The village is a place where the people are poor and the children are poor.

It is your good fortune that there is a new school in your village. I wish that your children will acquire both wings and feet. If there is something wanting either in the matter of imparting knowledge or in the teaching of crafts in either one, there must be something wrong in the method or the management. Just as one cannot walk by using only one of his feet, but must use both, in the same way, both knowledge and work must go together. Knowledge gives strength to work and work gives strength to knowledge. Teaching in correlation with work brings students to know with nature and the world outside which broadens the mind. Teaching through books alone narrows the mind.

The present system of education has divided our society more and more into two exclusive classes: those who work with the mind alone, and those who work with the hands alone. The former exploit the latter. We seek to blend the two classes into a harmonious whole by making it compulsory for everyone to work both with the mind and with the hands. The workers are today looked down upon because they have no knowledge. When they have acquired knowledge, they will rise to the same level as the intellectuals, their status will be equal to the intellectuals, and they will be able to stand on their own feet.

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There is one more aspect of basic education in which attention may be drawn. Where does the wife of the basic education teacher come in in this picture? Then it often happens that

the wife of the basic education teacher is not only a housewife, but also a teacher. The wife of the basic education teacher is not only a housewife, but also a teacher. The wife of the basic education teacher is not only a housewife, but also a teacher. The wife of the basic education teacher is not only a housewife, but also a teacher. The wife of the basic education teacher is not only a housewife, but also a teacher. The wife of the basic education teacher is not only a housewife, but also a teacher. The wife of the basic education teacher is not only a housewife, but also a teacher. The wife of the basic education teacher is not only a housewife, but also a teacher.

There should be no difference in the status of the different teachers in the school. Equality of all work is an accepted principle of basic education, against of which will not stand the value of the work. I would suggest that the work of the different teachers should be divided into two parts and distributed to the different teachers. This will give a great help to the work of the different teachers. This will give a great help to the work of the different teachers. This will give a great help to the work of the different teachers. This will give a great help to the work of the different teachers. This will give a great help to the work of the different teachers. This will give a great help to the work of the different teachers. This will give a great help to the work of the different teachers.

In the Government Agriculture Colleges the entrance qualifications are that the candidate should have passed the Life Examination. Which means that these colleges admit only such boys who for the first eighteen years of their life have never known what it is to work in the fields or in the city and who are therefore already unacquainted with agriculture work. Then why should the knowledge of English be regarded as necessary for training in agriculture work? And why should these colleges be located in cities like N. Y. and P. M. where the students can hardly acquire any idea of the rural conditions under which the Kiangs have to carry out their work? While the Kiangs work in his field for eight hours a day the students work for eight hours in a week? And when they have finished this so-called education, they ask for employment, it does not occur to them that what they have learnt would be put to better use if they would settle down in some village, do cultivation work, carry out necessary research and popularize valuable improvements among the Kiangs. If I had any say in it, I would have such a college started under rural surroundings, and give them a hundred or two hundred acres of land. The boys would be forbidden from receiving money from home and the professors would not get any salary. They would have to carry on with whatever they can grow on the given land. That would give them real education in agriculture.

When the land is redistributed, we would start basic education in every village. This is what is our Sarcophaga programme.

(Adapted from Sheng)













## HARIJAN

July 17

1954

### THE OWNERSHIP OF CAPITAL AND SARVODAYA

(By Mahatma P. Desai)

One of the things which mark the unfoldment of a revolution may be said to be a growing realisation on the part of the people about the existence of vested interests. They come to perceive the close link between such interests and the exploitation rampant in society and feel ever more powerfully the need to abolish such interests so as to achieve social justice. The mass support of these interests in the industrial sphere is the legally protected right of the ownership of capital. This right, whatever might have been its usefulness at the beginning of the present industrial era, has tended, in course of time, to become more and more paralytic and socially irresponsible. It has led more and more to the disappearance of such social virtues as hard labour, charity, self-denial, philanthropy etc.—virtues which are the foundation of the maintenance, the preservation and the solidarity of a well-ordered society. It might be said that this led to the source from which the seeds of revolution sprout and grow—to the end that the duty to work and the sense of social responsibility may be re-established.

If the above analysis is correct, we can safely assert that such a revolution is already under way in India today. With the exit of the British the tensions which arose and prospered during their rule in India, are being loosed increasingly to come in the way of the progress of living—which in itself acts as a potent factor in impelling the forces of revolution to go forward.

The impact of this revolution is the most obvious in at least the following two spheres: (1) the Land Tenure system and (2) Capitalism, organisation of industry. We might also mention a third sphere—that of education where vested interests are strongly entrenched on the basis of the knowledge of English.

The Bhoomi movement aims at abolishing the first, while the second is being assailed by the advocates of decentralisation, Khadi and village industrialisation. As to the third, whose expelling role is not so evident, people are awakening to the need of displacing English from the improper place which it occupies in our education of present.

Such is the threshold revolution which has to be worked out to a successful conclusion in the immediate future. Needless to say that the time is ripe when we should start thinking about it more seriously and build up a body of

unbiased opinion. This thought, indeed is the foundation of Sarvodaya.

One of the main functions to be performed in setting up a new economic system of limited liability (as suggested by the managing agency system) is ensuring the co-operation of merchant capitalists. On this subject I have just seen a paper in the well-known labour paper, *Shramikbhar* (Dina) which he had made a personal appeal to Shri. Mukherji had noticed a statement about this speech by the President of the All-India Industrial Workers' Association in an English paper which valued was the occasion that he was in to speak. The issue involved in the discussion raised by these two responsible persons are of great importance.

Shri. Ghoshal also pointed out in his English speech that there were at present 3,000 industrial concerns working in our country. They have a capital investment of 1,200 crore rupees of which 600 crore, being to the shareholders and with the remaining 600 crore represent the actual investment of the managing agents that is their supposed wealth. Regarding how the profits are distributed Shri. Ghoshal said that on the whole 80 per cent of the total profit goes for the management. Commenting on this seriously disproportionate distribution, he further stated that looking at it from the point of view of responsibility, the shareholders had not the whole responsibility, their liability being limited only to the amount of their own shares. Despite that, the law enables them to act as though they were the owners of the entire capital at their disposal. And if the ownership—which is so potently devoid of all responsibility—is allowed to be inherited from father to son, it inevitably leads to other evils. Shri. Desai has therefore put forward the demand that due right had better be scrapped now.

It is natural for the owners to oppose this rather forthright demand. And we find with opposition voiced in the statement of the President of the All-India Association. The most valuable aspect of his statement is the complete absence of any constructive suggestion for the removal of the evils which characterize the management of such systems at the present time. It may be accepted, for the sake of argument, that this kind of industrial organisation—whose parallel is not to be found anywhere else—had some justification when it was created a hundred years ago. Perhaps the evils which have crept into it in course of the century were not there at the beginning because it was then quite new. But it should not be forgotten that we have now to examine it in the changed set-up after a lapse of hundred years and in the context of our freedom under Swaraj. The question, therefore is as to what we should do about the absolute ownership of capital as a legal yardstick and title for self-assertive considerations.



# ARE FOR KHANDI HAND-BAG

The cloth hand-bag is today an article universal use. It has become an inevitable part of every household. Boys and girls who go to school find it handy. Men who go to office, it is a handy purpose utility. To women it is a boon. For it is the best as at the same shop the cloth hand bag is their waiting companion.

The cloth hand-bag is a great lifeline and a friend. It does not add any distraction of time and waste of effort and money. Men, women and children, of all classes, communities and creeds like it. The cloth hand-bag is popular and has become an indispensable article of everyday use in the home and outside. It is made in different types and in different sizes.

But has any one paused to inquire as to the give or an useful article? Who set the fashion for this cloth hand-bag? Does the Father of the Nation does this surprise you?

This is how it happened. It was the year 1920. The non-cooperation movement was gathering momentum. The National Congress had shed its Western character.

The Congress was meeting in Ahmedabad. There were no chairs, no in post room. Dots, rows and clusters had gathered in their thousands. Where were they to sit? Where were they to keep their shoes and chappals and slippers? Goodbye was their reply. He saw himself carrying a Khadi hand-bag. His chappals were already in it. He said:

"Let those who attend the session, stand on the ground. In their bag, a Khadi hand bag put their footwear in it and sit in the position, sitting bag with them. The idea had never struck the audience. Goodbye's solution was simple but novel. It caught. Khadi handbags were sold by the thousands.

At the Congress session, it was the problem of keeping one's footwear. But those who bought the Khadi hand bag soon found to their great satisfaction that the little bag performed a variety of useful services. So, the hand bag entered every house and cottage and day after day carried the message of Khadi to the high and the low alike.

In those days, when the problems of Khadi sales faced the country the Khadi hand bag was more not merely to our use as it may even act as an incentive to more production of Khadi and therefore to greater employment to a destitute rural population. Let us see how this employment works out.

According to the latest census, the total population of India is 356,80,000. There are 7,25,00,000 families.

If every family consisting of five members, as an average buys two Khadi hand-bags a year,

the country would require 14,50,00,000 Khadi hand-bags. This means, assuming an average of 1000 families per village, 14,500 villages would have to produce 14,50,00,000 Khadi hand-bags.

Every family has a small hand-bag to bag their small things. The big hand-bag is to be sold to the Government.

Let us assume that the small hand-bag is sold at Rs. 0.10 and the big hand-bag at Rs. 0.20. This means that the Government would receive Rs. 2,90,00,000 from the sale of the big hand-bags.

The Government would then have to pay the small hand-bag makers, at the rate of Rs. 0.10 per bag. A policy plan is being worked out for this. The price we pay for a Khadi hand-bag goes to feed the hungry mouths of the hand-bag producers.

Let us assume that Khadi there is no Government. All the 14,50,00,000 hand-bags are sold to the Government. The Government engaged in the production of Khadi.

Let us assume that the Government is engaged in the production of Khadi.

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Let us assume that the Government is engaged in the production of Khadi.

"You, for who?" "Khal" answered the question and the writer knew the answer was: "for the millions."

What else, other than Khal's presence, made the scene beautiful?

(From the English version of the Hindi poem "Panchajanya Village" by Indira Devi, Bombay.)

# THE FIRST STEP

(By A. H. W.)

The desire of every sane person is to have a healthy body in order to be able to contribute.

To this end many take up various physical culture, exercise called sports, cold bathing and such like and for a time appear to achieve success.

But "man shall not live by bread alone." He also needs spiritual life and physical well-being because he has a mind which needs some satisfaction and aspirations which may reach a goal through his efforts.

The very real but invisible reinforcement is found in ideas, in creative effort, in understanding, tolerance and long-suffering as well as in what is called education. To achieve of this spiritual reinforcement there must be response and there are few who do not know how difficult it is to respond to these three influences after "a good meal" indicating that food affects the power to respond.

Any balanced examination of this idea will inevitably lead to the further question: do the three vital responses will be better achieved by nourishing the body on living vital foods, foods in which the life principle is found in its fullness and not after other substances have destroyed it.

The planetary life is wonderful and the natural living foods, of which there is such abundance fall into seven categories. These are:

1. Root vegetables (onions, turneps, etc.)
2. Vegetables grown above ground (cabbage and potato)
3. Grains (wheat, oats, barley, rice, etc.)
4. Nuts of all kinds, especially pine kernels
5. Stone fruits (peach, apricot, plum, etc.)
6. Pige fruits (apple, pear, orange, etc.)
7. Gingers—except the three which are out of doors

They supply most of what man needs for his physical nourishment. A balanced diet, sufficient to maintain health and energy, is found in the use of these seven categories with, but preferably more frequently without, the use of food in cooking. There is much instructive literature about this, easily obtainable.

In the use of such a balanced diet of natural living foods, the power of response to the seven spiritual influences will be more easily attained. A clearer life, in many aspects, will result and a greater potency and refinement of taste and smell will develop without effort.

"I have been asked, 'I've adopted' a pure diet and I haven't got that extra reason for 'Vegetarianism'—the fact, using of the combination of the seven foods for life in all its expressions, and the resultant acceptance of the teachings as the only true life 'my little brother', who is said to be explained for one of our purposes—enlightening, food or medicine."

It then has the effect of—(a) one both major and minor life of the body, of the disappearance of disease and the end of war. War will cover the world and man cannot to make any upon the physical kingdom and means to exploit his existence one slave upon another and one race the other as objects in general.

Good things have small beginnings and the common way of life is the first and most necessary step in the bringing of "Peace upon earth" and in following "in His steps."

(Adapted from *Seven Days With Him*, Dec. 1953)

## BHOODAN AND PALM OIL INDUSTRY

To the Editor, *Morning Star*,

When Thambi Chetty has said:

"If Bhoodan is to be successful it has to be worked on along industries" Palm Oil Industry is an ideal supplementary occupation for the Indian Village.

1. The raw material i.e. Palm trees are already growing throughout the land.

2. The trees need not be in a bar place of residence and go out to get the industry.

3. The operations of this industry do not affect his cultivation work.

4. His technique is very simple and requirement is insignificant, and all the raw material is available in his own village.

5. There is ready demand for the produce he can use his produce as fuel for household consumption.

6. The trees which up till now are put to an unproductive use, such as toddy tapping will now be put to better use.

What is required is that the Government should declare complete prohibition of toddy in India where land is distributed to agriculturalists. Bhoodan movement. Every State which has to see that the State accepts this process in order to see that the toddy is given to those who are willing to manufacture it for good.

Shri Kripalji has presented a timely warning in that he has said:

"If the landless has a few acres of land and there are a few toddy shops in their midst, their mind will expand in a few years."

Let us awake in time and do the needed in the matter.

Bombay, 21-6-54

Yours faithfully,  
M. N. Kulkarni

## THE TRUTH OF THE MATTER

By N. S. Balakrishnan

There is a highly exclusive as well as a highly inclusive society created by Nature. Its members are to get subjected to the existing political, economic and social conditions of the nations of the world alike. There was a herd of cattle some two and a half days inside a wire-fenced enclosure. It being the enclosure there was a vast area of land with beautiful green pastures in plenty, but inside the enclosure there were not quite enough feeds to eat. Consequently these animals gnawed one another and trampled down what little grass was left to them.

Despite the owner's best attention and a large amount of money spent on these animals they were day by day getting weak and emaciated. The owner, his wife, were for their medical condition, but he consulted himself and alone learned that he had spent a huge sum of money for feeding the starving animals and 'well-meaning' hired sheiks for their shelter and comfort, depressed many visits for their benefit, employed many servants to water the cut grass and to look after the mouth of the animals. In fact, the owner did everything he could think of to improve the condition of his animals and he was actually spending every day a fabulous sum of money for their feeding and welfare.

One day one old man visited the place, and after seeing the deplorable condition of these wire-enclosed, naked the owner who he had not seen the most obvious thing—namely to fence them, pour milk in five and pull down the fence so that they may freely go in as they like and eat as much as they want instead of tame them with wire and restrain them up inside the shed where they die a painful and a cruel death. The owner, hearing this new suggestion, laughed and replied that this did so he would no longer be able to milk them but milk the sky.

Similar governments all over the world have done this: they are doing their maximum for the physical progress of their people. They claim to have created many bigger houses, opened schools and colleges, encouraged employment exchanges and welfare of citizens. Yet people get more and more diseased, cancerous and refuse to multiply day by day and the cases of suicide, starvation-death, poverty and unemployment are on the increase.

On the other hand, like the plentiful crops of rice outside the enclosure, God has provided in this world enough for all and nature is always beautiful and responsive to man's misery. The real truth of the matter is that we are hindered by the invisible forces of money system and God-given land is monopolized by some few. As the old man in the story told the owner it is high time to preclude

the earth's soil from the hands of a few and to be distributed to the masses and peace and prosperity in the world. But all governments and authorities are probably aware that if they do so they will no more be able to extract the maximum from their people.

## AS OTHERS SEE US

### IV

My husband drove along a road built by village co-operatives for an expedition by Government of Allahabad. Later he saw a written notice by a P. W. D. engineer for closing this same road with construction and the notice was, was handed to me. But after seeing this, says he (about about 1940 P. M.).

"That Superintendent has been placed on record as saying: 'If the Government and my Public Enemy No. 1, the P. W. D. are my Public Enemy No. 2."

I sat and listening to a beautiful language in which there is a study of civil conditions due to them as, as you said, I saw how the good old P. W. D. spent the money for the road, two inches for the engineer and two inches for the contractor."

When I inquired what this meant, I was told that it was a matter of fact, which was to be applied to a road. I had already seen on the road the money value of the road, the price of the engineer and that of the other who had the power of the contractor.

"The P. W. D. is not a man who can only a very good man could make money for long money. As for contractors, they don't get an honest contractor for he would not get a single contract. Why should an engineer give him a contract without being bribed when there are a hundred other contractors willing to try to bribe each other to bribe just outside the door?"

It is clear that now due to the Government in India we get in the extremely more than can be seen in the P. W. D. and I shall leave only. And many jobs are accepted.

"The P. W. D. position is India's largest at this moment."

T. Q. D.

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# HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY KRISHNAJI SANTHANI)  
EDITOR: KRISHNAJI P. SANTHANI



Vol. XVIII No. 21

AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, JULY 24, 1954

Price 2000

## THE PHILOSOPHY OF BHODAN\*

(By Vinoba)

I have been constantly moving about for the last three years and my real sticking to the campaign, instead of dithering, has been ever increasing. How has it been possible? Because there is behind Bhodan a great philosophy—a truth which I know to be inviolable and which therefore survives, come what may. You see those transpiring there. They draw their sustenance from within the earth and so they do not wither away even in summer. Rather the more scorching the rays of the sun the greater is their veridicality. It points out that where one gets one's sustenance from within, the outer difficulties cannot damp the spirit, on the contrary, they serve to rouse one's ardour to a higher peak.

I have just seen the report of a speech by Acharya Narendra Dev who is also a member of the Uttar Pradesh Bhodan Committee. He is reported to have said, "Bhodan work is good, but there does not seem to be any philosophy behind it." What am I to say in reply to this sweeping statement? I would only say that if there was no philosophy behind it then I should have become utterly exhausted after these three years of ceaseless work and quite loath to pursue it any further. But I have no feeling of exhaustion, in anything I feel more determined. When there is no powerful truth behind one's work, one's interest in it begins to flag and the work suffers. But when there is at its root a great and powerful truth one's interest grows and the work prospers. You know Bhodan has led to a number of auxiliary campaigns—the Sampat-dan, Shram-dan and now Jeevan-dan. It shows that the work is progressing. When all these campaigns get into full stride, they will comprehend within their orbit not only all the constructive activities but also all the other aspects of our social life, material as well as moral. This could not have happened if there had not been any great truth at the root of our work.

Acharya Narendra Dev did not say that the

effect of change of heart was useless. But he said that as a believer in class conflict, he could not subscribe to the hope that the change of heart technique would suffice for all that we have to do. What does it mean except, that one has formed a certain view and is not ready to budget from it? But the views are formed on the basis of experience, and since one is always getting new experiences in life, one should keep an open mind and be ready to change one's view if experience warrants it. A revolution cannot be limited for all time to one fixed technique. By its very nature a revolution is bound to throw up new and newer techniques for its success. A revolution with a fixed technique would be a contradiction in terms—in that case it would be no revolution at all.

I would say that if he who has concluded, as a result of his thinking, that only class conflict brings about revolution, but is open to new kind of experience, then he would certainly feel that the change of heart and the change of thought can successfully bring about a revolution. The change of heart is necessary for those who are caught in 'Moha'—ego and identification, born of it, while the change of thought is necessary in regard to those whose heart is sound but whose thinking is either obscure or wrongly directed. The combination of these two—the change of heart and the change of thought makes up a perfect technique of revolution. And to do this in my programme, I moved towards this goal simultaneously from two directions. On one hand I carry on an education campaign to introduce the people to the thought content of the message of Bhodan and on the other I am doing tapes to warn them from their selfish ways and rouse them to a sense of duty. Along with these and as a result of them, there comes about the change of outer conditions also. I think this makes for a full and complete formula of a revolution as our world wish.

Some people think that how will change the order of material conditions. Granting that this may be so, what has to be done for getting the necessary law passed and enforced? The usual answer would be—to seize power. And how to seize power? Would it not require educating the

\*From a preface to the book 'Bhodan' (Champani) written by Vinoba.

people in the dissidence of the proposed legislation to "pull out and return to power the party which is doing such a job." Under democracy this is the only possible answer to the question. Which means this: the change of thought is the only way to achieve our end, and since we are already doing it the advocates of legislation have no reason whatever to find fault with us.

Thoodan has another weapon in addition—that of changing the heart through love. There can take many forms. To go round the villages on foot, as I am doing, is one such form. It helps me to explain to the people the injustice involved in the existing inequalities, social and economic, and to awaken them to the duty of weeding themselves away from this sort of sin. For example, at the present moment widows are taking place at the temples. We go to the Zamindars and convince them how unjust it is. If they do not understand it then they run the danger of non-co-operation. The people would withdraw their co-operation and make it impossible for them to continue their present exploitation. Thus our technique which includes non-co-operation and Satyagraha, in a way, helps legislation also. I confirm that if people are driven to disappointment, there may come a bloody revolution. But there is a fair possibility that all this may not be necessary and Thoodan by itself may succeed in resolving the whole problem. If only the workers would apply themselves to it from all sides, and bring this message home to the people—**AND THEN WITH EXPERIENCE I HAVE HAD OF OUR PEOPLE**—then does not seem to be at all impossible. Anyway, I am working and will continue to do so in this hope.

But supposing that this hope does not materialize there will be three ways open, to bring about the change. Of these the bloody revolution has to be ruled out of court. Indeed it is no way at all nor is it a revolution in the real sense of the term. That leaves only two—legislation and non-co-operation. As explained above I am not obstructing legislation, rather I am helping it in my own way. And I want that it should be an effective piece of legislation.

What is happening at present is that as soon as a proposal for land legislation begins to be seriously discussed, questions of ending etc. are raised which take time to resolve themselves. In the meantime, landowners get their lands distributed that any legislation when it eventually may come into force is almost circumvented. It happened like that in Hyderabad State. A land-legislation has been passed there which allows landowners to keep 300 to 150 acres of dry land. The talk of the legislation had been in the air from the time I was in Telangana three years ago. The landowners therefore, had ample time during which to redistribute their lands in a

manner so as to escape the undesired operation of the law. The rich have not only riches but also ever ready intelligence. Therefore I say, do pass a legislation if you will but it should be so drawn as not to result in making a fool of its makers.

Now remain non-co-operation and Satyagraha. The way of non-co-operation and Satyagraha is just and right, and one may resort to them if conditions demand it. But these weapons depend for their success on love. Love is the power behind Satyagraha. The more love one has the more is one's right to undertake Satyagraha. Now love expresses itself normally in the form of negotiation. I am therefore first going to the people and explaining to them lovingly what they should do. I am sure many will heed to it and donate land. However, if they do not, there are with another weapons—those of Satyagraha and non-co-operation. These are such that they do not trouble the opponent but bring out his change of heart.

Lastly I have a word for our workers. They must be aroused by they should have firm faith that every one has a soul, and if we appeal to it his heart can be changed. The belief in such soul-force lies at the root of Thoodan. For those who do not believe in it, the change of heart theory and Thoodan must appear as void of sense. But if we believe that every one has an atom—a soul, then it follows that our threshold technique consisting of the change of heart and the change of thought and the consequent change of outer conditions must work. This is in short the philosophy behind the Thoodan Tajna.

(Adapted from HINDU)

By Richard S. Overy

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## COMPULSORY HEALTH SERVICE SCHEME

To

The Editor, *Bharjās*.

The *Bharjās* has been forcefully championing the cause of *Pancham*—political, economic and medical. Time and again the cause of *Nature-Cure* as the one feasible solution of the health problems facing our country, has been advocated in the paper.

May I, through the columns of your valuable paper, give vent to a problem of serious importance? It would appear to effect, at present, only residents of Delhi and New Delhi, but as it is often repeated it is just a beginning of a 'reform' to be extended all over the country, it would affect the entire country in due course.

The Central Government Contingency Health Service Scheme for Central Government Servants in New Delhi and Delhi may have been thought of as a measure to bring relief and succour. The scheme, however, suffers from serious deficiencies:

First, only allopathic doctors are proposed to be appointed under the Scheme. Does it stand to reason why specialists of other systems should subscribe allopathy?

Secondly, the system suffers from another great deficiency. Some doctors are to be recruited and a few hospitals will be placed under the charge of one doctor, so that there will be no choice left for a particular individual, even if he happens to be a votary of *Nature-Cure*.

The greatest sting of the scheme is that it is compulsory that every Government servant should make a contribution to it, irrespective of whether he utilizes the scheme or not, irrespective of whether he is a conscientious objector or not. Followers of the Douglas School of Healing—"Nature-Cure" gurus (with full data to support their contention that dragging produces chronic disease) can followers of such school be forced to pay for a dragging system, when they hold that dragging is a (heinous) sin?

The index of a nation's health is to be measured by the fact as to how low the incidence of chronic disease is and as to how little people resort to doctors and hospitals. Increasing hospital facilities and provision for free dragging would not mean less but more incidence of disease. A country like ours cannot pay the cost of a cadaverous scheme. *Nature-Cure* is best suited to India, as it is a science that can be learnt and practised by every family, in every home.

New Delhi

Vid Pushkar

In regard to the issue of *Bharjās* related to the above correspondence, it will interest the reader to know of an important observation made by Lord Douglas of Balfour in the House of Lords (British) January 27, 1904. I reproduce it here in unaltered original English.

Statement by the peer Lord Balfour Douglas in the House of Lords on January 27, 1904. The speaker is Lord Douglas, B.C.

M. P.

The letter on the liberty of the subject has been read and thought of every age. No corner has been reached but been swept away than any other man to take its place. The passion to acquire, the love of others in deep-seated and hard to root out. It is more dangerous and more insidious when it arises not from motives of personal gain but from the desire to inflict benefit upon others. In this era the greatest danger to human freedom is the specialist or the expert, the man who has worked himself to some branch of research and who wishes to improve upon others the pattern of conduct which he thinks is best. I do not refer to scientists, for a true scientist is one who has learned to take a broad and balanced view, one who is imbued with a healthy spirit of scepticism and sceptical freedom.

## In Praise of Action

This eloquent passage, selected from *Four Minute Sermons* by Dr. Frank Crane, appears on the front cover of *Vedantam Digest* of August 1948.

Living alone, the mind Physical activity has a peculiar tendency often upon the judgment. The smallest change of the course but from the path of the path should be, not from the workdays.

It is not a thing to end down a straight, to lay it down up in the light of the reality. It is not a locomotive or even a good copy of some machine exists upon the locomotive. Such things are the very nature of the mind of a machine—physical things are the nature of a house, not mind of his own construction, and does not find life thinking near to some power with a large brain.

During winter nights. All the religions that is of any account in fact, we think up with our own hands suffer out with our own hands and find out with our own minds.

Doing creative acts, doing comes from thoughts and other life forms. The only people who believe the few fundamentalists are those who do them. Those who believe the world is growing better are they who are trying to make it grow better.

Doing things (2). The most real of joy is the joy of accomplishment. Make the and you will feel great, great making love and you will make love, the mind, morality and punctuality and you will believe in goodness. Be patient and you will come, there at night's sleep to sleep. Be good and you will come to believe that is my position in the world.

"No a man has his own doctor, his own priest, his own law, at least his own religion, in his hands—the rain is his hands. For all the responsible actions of goodness can have in your hand and heart was made up from your hands."

W. B. B.

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—Post Box 125, AMRITSAR-5

# HARIJAN

July 24

1954

## QUIT ASIA

(By Mahatma P. Patel)

I think it was in 1943-45 in a speech that late Sardar Patel gave after coming out of jail, he said, not 'Quit India' but 'Quit Asia' should be our slogan now. I have never must have thought then that the statement was surprising and too far-fetched to be true. Today we are that it was not so.

The invasion of Asia by the Christian world of the West began in the 15th or the 17th century. The English occupied India, the French held Indo-China, the Dutch occupied Indonesia. European Christianity reached China and Japan too, though not with similar success. The whole age constituted a new chapter in world's history. A new one in that history is being enacted now. Its watchword is 'Quit Asia'.

It is in the nature of a vested interest to be paranoid and exploiting the poor. This applies to foreign rule as well. It is quite apparent that the colonial occupation by Europe of Asian territories is today a danger to world peace and humanity. Even the little foreign spots like Sri Lanka, Ceylon, Pondicherry, etc. are menacing enough and threaten to rouse the writings on the wall by 1960 means. The tragedy of Korea is being repeated at present in Indo-China. Instead of the Christian world realising the signs of the times and quitting Asia.

'The Asian Revolution' is the title of a pamphlet containing a lecture by Sir Mahom MacDonald, the British High Commissioner, S.E. Asia. He describes the present Asian situation in the following terms:

"At this lively moment in history the peoples of 15 E. Asia—Burma, Thailand, Indo-China, the Philippines, Malaya with Singapore, Indonesia and Br. Borneo—are playing their part in the Asian Revolution, which is one of the great events of the 20th century. They are in process of throwing off the yoke of the imperialist but in some way restrictive rule of overseas Colonial Powers and they are building their own two National Governments. Politically conscious people in all these S.E. Asian countries are devoting themselves to the two great aims of Asian Nationalism: to these ends first, the attainment of full political self-government and second the achievement of economic progress which shall bring higher standards of living for the Asian masses. By throughout S.E. Asia, the old type of colonialism is giving way."

It is a question whether the French or the Portuguese or other colonial powers realise this or no. It is equally a point how England or America think and act in this matter, because,

it seems, they are reluctant to take out their hands from the Asian pot.

Such reticence on the part of Western powers in Asian affairs is defended on grounds of growing fear of Communist expansion in Asian lands. To quote Mahom MacDonald again from his above-mentioned speech,

"Like many human institutions colonialism has lived a full and vigorous life—but it is growing outmoded and is making way for a successor. But as that succession is proceeding with its necessary, national activities it will not very slowly, it will continue in S.E. Asia it will comparatively quickly it is growing up. It is entering its strength. And of this moment before it has attained its mature strength, it is daring to meet the attack of an enemy, a powerful and despised enemy—Communism. In international affairs Communism means Imperialism."

So it is that the 'free world' of Europe, America have undertaken the 'white man's burden' of bringing in the new age of freedom in Asia, and to that end, the dollar is out to help not only economically but actually with arms and armies even.

These countries came to Asia during the colonial period of world history, they were not as disinterested nor altruistic as they say of present. They may not be taken to be free from colonial consciousness and egotism. For example, even this day we see how France and Portugal cling to their little colonies in India. The British Commonwealth countries have captured territories in Africa and Australia and they allow only White immigration, and it appears as if England and America stand in defence of such policy of exclusion. Therefore the first thing that is expected of these powers is to leave off the colonial policy of the bygone days. Instead of that we find, in the name of stemming the surch of Communism, there is going on warfare and internal corruption among divided Asian countries. This is jeopardising peace and freedom. But this is not realised by the colonial powers, nor do they stop taking to military means of intervention. Therefore, people fear whether there is now growing in the world a new type of world imperialism.

Such a world imperialism aims to capture the whole world in its grip. Two protagonists of this 'ism' seem to have arisen at present—America and Russia. They come forth with the aim of a certain ideology prevailing in the whole world. If so, it is wrong on the part of both of them, because spreading of ideas cannot—should not be done through the wrong means of diplomacy and warfare etc. The means must be as the ends aimed at—non-violent and peaceful permanent. Otherwise, surely they will not succeed.

A few days ago, an Indian Press correspondent at Geneva had put a question to French Minister Chou En-lai, which is worth quoting here:

Q Can it be said that there are certain major problems which are common to the people of Asian countries? In what way does Premier Chen Kai-feng think the people of Asian countries can help each other solve these problems?

A The aggressive policy of splitting the Asian countries into opposing military blocs is increasingly threatening peace and security of all Asian countries. This is a major problem facing the people of all Asian countries at present. It is our view that in order to remove the cause of Asia and safeguard the rights of the people of all Asian countries as national independent states and self-determination, the Asian countries should extend co-operation among themselves with a view to creating suitable measures to safeguard peace and security in Asia by assuming obligations mutually and collectively." (The Straits Times, June 25, '54)

The Prime Minister of China immediately thereafter came to Delhi and saw Shri Nehru during his three days' stay in the capital. At that very time President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Churchill were meeting at Washington, and it seems they discussed what should be done for Asia's security against Communist infiltration.

It is obvious that in such a discussion there should be Asia's statement also. Supposing that there is a collective responsibility of the entire world, even then it must be accepted that the nations of the part of the world, whose peace might be in danger are surely the most concerned. It would not be a proper policy to invade them or not to consult them. We are in a new age now, wherein old ways of secret diplomacy are fast growing out of date. Asia wishes to manage her own affairs with self-respect and without any humiliation. This is not to refuse whatever aid and advice friendly and peace-loving nations of the world may give to her. In a way freedom means the right to err. The first thing needed by Asia is to have her freedom to manage her own house. It is also necessary that Asian peoples unite for mutual benefit and friendly co-existence, and on the basis of never join together to work for their happy and peaceful security. The only condition for such friendly unity should be that it must be consistent with and in furtherance of world peace and security, and not a group formation aimed in rivalry or war against another group.

30-5-54

(from the original in English)

By Mahatma Gandhi

### DRINK, DRUGS & GAMBLING

Pages vi+125 Price Rs 2-8-3 Postage etc. As 14

By Mahatma Karamchand

### WHY PROHIBITION

Pages vi+43 Price As 12 Postage etc. As 3

NAVJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 305, AHMEDABAD-9

### A CASE FOR PROHIBITION \*

Prohibition is a fundamental necessity to improve the social order in India today and its enforcement is a duty enjoined by the Constitution, says Shri Morarji Deas, Chief Minister of Bombay State, where prohibition has been in force for over seven years.

Shri Deas says the drink evil has wide ramifications and the standard of living of the masses cannot be raised unless this evil is wiped out.

Q The enforcement of total prohibition in Bombay State since April, 1950 has aroused a measure of opposition. Do you feel that the ideals or goals behind the policy are understood in their proper perspective?

A The policy of prohibition and the ideals behind it are understood by an overwhelming number of our people. There are a few, however, who refuse to understand and they deliberately carry on misleading propaganda against prohibition. There are others who do not understand the proper economics of prohibition because they are guided by some pre-conceived notions of economic theories.

Q Why was the introduction of prohibition found necessary?

A Prohibition is a fundamental necessity to improve the social order. Its proper enforcement gives happiness to the masses. Practically, since its very inception, the Congress has been demanding prohibition. Now for many years a large section of the people has been in its favour. Remember also the large-scale movement against liquor and the subsequent picketing of bars and liquor shops. Even at the cost of jail sentences, late charges, and other forms of persecution from the Government of those times the people persisted in this constructive programme. Because of this history and the ideals of our country, prohibition has been unanimously adopted in our Constitution as a directive principle. It thus becomes a duty to be discharged and by enforcing prohibition, therefore, we have done nothing but our duty.

Q It has been argued that social reform of the extent required, widespread propaganda. Please explain some Statewide steps taken in this direction.

A "Who could have done better propaganda than Mahatma Gandhi himself?" He saw the havoc wrought in the lives of our poor people and consciously propagated the advantage of weaning them from the destructive effects of narcotics and alcohol. Before prohibition was introduced in Bombay State a was provided by years of persuasive propaganda made by Congress workers as laid down by Gandhi. Today, we are conveniently forgetting the background. But more propaganda cannot suffice in making social reform effective. For, if propaganda alone

\* An interview with Shri Morarji Deas by Prof. Prabhu Das.

ment in the necessary work, there would be no room for penal code to reform criminal conduct.

Q: Does prohibition infringe the right of the government in a constitutional democracy? Because it has been suggested in some quarters, that, prohibition is meant to be a social reform for the exploited classes, the rest of alcohol itself should be made prohibitive. Is this viewpoint compatible with the need for total prohibition?

A: Certainly not. Prohibition cannot be said to infringe the liberty of an individual as the liberty of an individual can be greater than that of a class or a corporation. Every individual is free as guaranteed by the fundamental rights of the people as embodied in the Constitution. There is no in all circumstances even to the West and to America all narcotics have been prohibited. If this is possible as democracy, action as all democratic States, how can the same be classified as an infringement of the constitutional democracy in our State? In the final analysis it begins a movement to say so. By making the issue of alcohol prohibition, effective prohibition cannot be enforced. Therefore prohibition of strong liquor would become nullified.

Q: Is it true that statistics reveal that the "drink habit" is prevalent among nearly 10 out of every 100 people in this country? If so, was prohibition introduced solely to reform this consumption of society as far as its unwholesome effect on the people as a whole?

A: I cannot say exactly what percentage of the people, even 10 per cent. Statistics show approximately 10 per cent of the people drink, almost 10 per cent of the population is concerned. Drunkenness in any individual affects his or her family and surroundings. This total action was not therefore he said to be a small one. Habits with evil potentialities spread fast and are not easily given up. Besides the drink habit is more prevalent among our poorer people. Their low standards have to be improved if we desire to raise the entire level of our country. Each aim must be achieved unless the destructive habit of drinking is removed from them. It was Mahatma Gandhi who said that "the drink curse has infected more a laborer's home. There is no halfway house here for drinker and prohibition. We have to run away pasted to be moderate. But there is no such thing as moderation possible among laborers."

Q: What, in your opinion, have been the consequences of prohibition under the following general heads: (a) In rural areas where today 60 to 70 per cent of our State, (b) on our rural economy, (c) on crime throughout the State?

A: (a) The consequence of the policy in rural areas has been the raising of living standards among the village communities. These facts are obvious and are freely admitted by those honest enough to do so.

(b) Drinking State has continued to spend more money on welfare schemes than other States even after the introduction of prohibition. The dry policy has become a contributory factor in raising the living standards of the people and in providing a diversion for money from drink to valuable measures of life. It has thus actually improved the economic conditions.

(c) Prohibition has helped in lessening the crime of certain categories throughout the State.

Q: Do you agree the long roadmaps of the State because of prohibition have in some States along its border lines and lack of a uniform prohibition policy throughout India are the factors which pose the difficulties of prohibition?

A: All these are impediments to a certain extent but they do not deter us. In fact, however, in most of the States, excepting the Godavari border, have given good co-operation to us in enforcing this policy.

Q: Do you agree with the experience of social workers that prohibition by its very nature is full of difficult problems?

A: All social workers are full of difficulties but these should not prevent us from making attempts to introduce reforms. Human ability is of little value if it cannot face difficulties honestly and squarely. Nothing of lasting value can be achieved without solving difficult problems.

Q: How do you measure the success of prohibition?

A: Actually out of every 100 people who used to drink, 70 or 80 have given up the habit. The rest even though they drink through the lease of permits or illegal ways, have also partly benefited. I do realize that despite the prohibition, there some people continue to drink but their number is much less than before. Take for example public holidays, fairs and the like. You will see fewer results of drunkenness on the streets than ever before. Moreover we receive numerous reports of people giving up drink and of the benefits that have accrued to them. Politicians, requesting the Government not to relax prohibition are also not few.

Q: Is prohibition closely connected with the morals of the people? Are not moral principles interconnected with the practical exigencies of daily life?

A: Prohibition is meant for the crimes and social uplift of the people. Moral principles play the considerable role in life and hence their relevance to exigencies of everyday life.

Q: Will you say something about the difficulties the State encounters in enforcing prohibition?

A: The difficulties are the ones created mostly by those opposing prohibition.

Q: As a member of the AICC what do you think will be the result of its latest directive recommending prohibition in all the States?

A: The directive will strengthen our hands and help the country to go dry.

## VINODA IN CHAMPARAN

(By Dada)

Though Vinoda entered Bihar as an Bhaddan mission in September, 1912 and began covering the district after another, he had Champaran set of mind as he felt sure that land would be obtained in that sacred and fortified district for the more arid. As we know it was in that district that Gandhiji had his first Satyagraha. And he was perfectly correct. For, I myself have had some experience of Bhaddan work in Champaran sometime ago when I contacted about a dozen small villages whose grateful population easily donated about 50 paise on daily basis also. But the general people could not quite follow, not wrongly, why Vinoda should not come to their sacred district. As the time of his departure from Bihar drew near, their call became insistent and Vinoda decided to devote one month in Champaran, and entered the district on 14th June, 1954.

Champaran is a district of big farms and sugar mills. A common saying of its peasantry is 'Netha gava, Milika apa' (the indigo planters have been replaced by mill proprietors). On thousands of acres of land there is grown, more which looks like Bihar sugar mills. I need not go into the story of cane cultivation here. Suffice it to state that they are as miserable and unfriended as their brethren in Gorakhpur and other sugar districts. But they are lovable, hospitable and full of feeling and warmth. Despite the rains they came to attend Vinoda's prayer meetings in their thousands to listen to him with respectful attention.

On 30th June, Vinoda was at Brindaban Ashram, near the Kumbharbagh halt of the N. E. Railway. Brindaban Ashram is a prominent educational centre of Bihar. Also in 1953 was held there the 25th annual session of the Gandhi Sava Sangh attended by the Mahatma himself. Close to it lies Karkipur, the village home of the late Purbi Prajapati Mahua, former president of the Bihar State Congress Committee. Vinoda's post-prayer speech at Brindaban, was a reply to Ashwini Narasinda Dey's criticism of the Bhaddan movement. The speech is given elsewhere, therefore I may not dilate upon it here.

Three days later, Vinoda reached Sagauli, used for the British-Gorkha Treaty of 1815. From here goes a railway line to Ranchi whence one gets a bus for Kharasanda, the capital of Nepal. In the afternoon, the workers of the district Ganes Prasad gave a demonstration of physical exercises. Seeing them, Vinoda observed that they did not form an essential part of parishad activities. He, however, placed a few points before them for their consideration:

1. There should be study circles or mandals in different places where people should be brought in touch with new thoughts

and currents. Sarvagada and Gandhian literature should be studied and read out to the people.

2. They should raise production of the country. Unless production is increased and village unemployment removed, village people cannot be utilised in any activity. What is the use of building roads that help city-people to exploit village-folk?

3. The parishads should see that there is neither anybody unemployed in their village, nor hungry. As boycott of foreign goods brought freedom, boycott of mill goods was necessary for Bihar to get a Government.

4. As land was the primary basis of production, village land must be redistributed. Land must belong to the village and there should be no one landlord anywhere.

5. The real strength of the parishad lies in public opinion. The parishads should not according to the will of and under the control of village people. It matters little whether Government recognises them or not. People should work with their own strength.

Thirteenth of June was the solar eclipse day. In his post-prayer address Vinoda said that people went to Bhadrachalam on that day because there was taught the great lesson of detachment through the Gita in which Krishna asked Arjuna to cast off his attachment (vibhava) and thus remove the eclipse (vra) which had an overshadow of his (Arjuna's) heart. As people travelled and made pilgrimages the day, on that day, they should resolve more and increase their wealth and lands. Our detachment had no liquid our intellect and heart. He made an earnest plea to take lessons from the sacred day and offer to the society what they had with all their heart.

We were at Arrah on July 1, 1954. Near to Baidyanathdham, it is one of Bihar's most important religious places. In his current programme, Vinoda expressed his joy at the fact that Bihar houses consisted of large families, which was an indication of progress here. But he regretted that lately, on account of zamindari abolition measures or otherwise, they were rendering land less places and transferring it in the name of their relatives and near ones. This would result in loss of love and goodwill and was bound to prove useless. He said that God's object in giving much to some was only to test whether they spend it on improving to make it for some greater than himself.

Wealth was a sort of strength to be properly utilized. Tulsidas wrote Ramayan-Chalisa (verse number) and not Ravana-Chalisa (verse number) though Ravana was not less powerful than Hanuman. Tulsidas did so for the simple reason that Hanuman used his energy and talents to help and serve others while Ravana for contrary ends.

the Harijans in this hemisphere next day was a great relief. As it was a clear day that day after a stormy night and every day most of the villages had gone for public toilet-planning. There were more children in the meeting. Vinoba told them that their parents expected them to study diligently and do right work at the right time. He deplored the practice of modern students of wasting eight months and snuggling up the examination time right and day in the last month. Knowledge was to be acquired bit by bit and regularly, without any break. He referred to the narrative story of the hare and the tortoise. He said that we must be steady like the tortoise. These days, our western social or political talk to many things at a time and hence miserably failed to achieve any substantial results. What was seriously required all over the country was single-mindedness.

Our last halt of the week was at Turballe, some six miles away from Modhura, the headquarters of the district. We were staying at the local middle school. An important visitor in the afternoon was an official who asked a common question. If everything depends on God where is the liberty for man to do or undo anything?

Vinoba dealt on this question at length on his evening discourse. At the outset, he observed, we must know that in our horrible language we tend to describe God. There was no reason to suppose that our descriptions were correct and sufficient, but of His infinite goodness, He tolerated them. But it was better to sing His praises with our faulty or incomplete expressions than to waste our time in trifles and quarrels. Coming to the question, he said that God did leave some liberty to our own hands too. When we are a husband, is a pillar by a rope, the husband's responsibilities are confined to the circle with rope. Such rattling round the pole. But he is free in the circle to sit or stand, lie or sleep. So also God has imposed certain limitations on man. But in the sphere of those limitations, he is absolutely free. As for example, He has provided us with a body which cannot stay without air. But He has left it to our choice, whether we are good and fresh air, or the bad and foul one and whether we keep our houses and villages neat or dirty. Another restriction that He has imposed on us is that we would reap as we sow. That is His law. Once having made it, He does not at all interfere. He has ordained that a good action bears good fruit and vice versa. Fire can be used both for cooking a meal and burning a house. If our house goes off, it is due to our carelessness and we cannot disavow ourselves of our responsibility, by saying the thing on God. God's name was being used for maintaining the status quo, which is awful. If it is the will of God that a

rich man should have wealth, why does he go to the court in case there is a difficulty in his house? If a patient dies, we hold God responsible for it. Why do we not do so when the doctor's medicine causes him of disease? It is strange distribution of responsibilities. It is such silliness. Because the world is unhappy, God like a true father, wants a change in the status quo in the existing situation. If we act according to His law there would not be that misery which makes the world today. Overstating, Vinoba explained upon the people to do things that would be liked by God. That would make our life happy, change the miserable world and usher in new society. *Shudra* was the symbol which called upon them to do their duty to their neighbour.

3-3-34

Camp Chalis

### BIHARIAN PROVINCE

S. No.	State	Up to 30-7-34	
		Total Collection (Acres)	Total Distribution (Acres)
1	Assam	1,893	—
2	Andhra	12,976	—
3	Uttar Pradesh	5,08,045	46,686
4	Gujarat	24,045	708
5	Karnatak	1,889	258
6	Kerala	37,289	—
7	Gujarat	35,326	843
8	Tamilnad	21,897	268
9	Orissa	5,382	41
10	Punjab	6,842	—
11	Bengal	2,218	—
12	Bihar	22,78,972	537
13	Madhya Pradesh	65,268	1,416
14	Madhya Bharat	68,812	—
15	Maharashtra	15,480	—
16	Myore	3,454	—
17	Rajasthan	3,21,544	4,858
18	Vindhya Pradesh	5,191	152
19	Saurashtra	41,808	—
20	Bihar	1,800	—
21	Hyderabad	92,214	19,565
Total		38,02,571	85,876

(Total collection on 31-3-34 was 35,71,972 acres)

P. R. No. 42  
Gaya (Bihar)  
COMMUNAL AFFAIRS  
Office Secretary  
A. I. Sarda, New Delhi

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## HARIJAN

PUBLISHED BY HARJAN P. BHATT  
TAKET, MUMBAI P. BHATT

Vol. XVIII No. 12

MUMBAI — SATURDAY, JULY 31, 1964

TWO ANNAS

## GAINFUL EMPLOYMENT FOR WOMEN

(By Jagdish P. Bhatt)

The National Congress of Women met at Calcutta in June last and passed several noteworthy resolutions. I have on my pending file, the calling of the following one deserving to be specially noted here:

"Whereas the lack of employment was the subject of heated discussion; It proposed a permanent scheme for utilizing the spare time of housewives who are not usually engaged as indicated by providing a network of their own in a village or ward type where women could find work to be done either in the nature of work for maintaining local work etc. The employment of (spare) women of work for women was discussed and it was suggested that for women to work in a village or ward, it could be started with an initial self-financing facilities provided by the Government.

The hard times through which we are passing today make it necessary for women, specially of the middle classes to be in search of gainful employment. I do not know whether it is a healthy sign of our social order wherein women are required to go out of their legitimate and rightful sphere of the home and in search of employment in urban areas, the much is growing rampant chiefly on the part of the educated young women. It is but on its way to create a social problem not merely economic in nature.

However, having a idea this larger point for the pre-ent, it must be admitted that our womenfolk do generally require to be profitable and healthily employed in their spare time from their daily home duties. They should, therefore, have with them suitable home-crafts and due training facilities should be made available for them. This may be, certainly done in our home educational system itself, to be further supplemented by diverse vocational classes conducted by voluntary agencies, chiefly of women.

The resolution quoted above rightly points out such a need, and at the end notes that facilities for gardening produce from such home-crafts must be provided in Government. While appreciating the suggestion it must be added that much of such produce should be better consumed in our own homes. Normally spending it must have

a corporate market—our homes themselves. The home-crafts that may be chosen should be accordingly thought out. It is here and from this point of view that Gandhiji's suggestion of spinning and Khadi is pre-eminently useful and important. The Women's Congress can well take up the idea. Khadi is the Queen of women's home-crafts. That alone is potent enough to supply all our homes with a highly useful, self-reliant and remunerable home-industry, which may in course of time revolutionize our social, industrial and economic life. It will have a very wholesome effect on the education of children and the peace and well-being of our homes. The Charkha is the real emblem of happy employment for women in their very homes. At other crafts etc. will develop round that existing centre. It is the job for our women, creating revolutionary forces for the good of our social economy and the nation as well. It will be a real act of service to the nation if our women's organizations take up this suggestion. They will enable them to go out in the villages, where really the work of the welfare and uplift of women is most needed.

11-7-64

## TO THE TOWN-BRED

(By Gandhiji)

The village work frightens us. We who are town bred find it trying to take to the village life. Our bodies, in many cases do not respond to the hard life. But it is a difficulty which we have to face boldly, even heroically, if our dream is to establish Swaraj for the people, not substitute one class rule by another which may be even worse. Hundreds of villagers have died in their thousands for the Swaraj we might live. Now we might have to die. They may live. The difference will be fundamental. The former have died unconsciously and involuntarily. Their cultured minds had degenerated. If now we die knowingly and willingly, our sacrifice will enable us and the whole nation. Let us not flinch from the necessary sacrifice, if we will have an independent self-respecting nation.

11 Aug. 1942, 1942/43

## VINCHA IN CIAMPARAN

## II

By Sada T.

The work began with our march to Mochani leaving Vincha in the small hours of the morning on Saturday July 26. We reached Mochi Sunday in the Puma Mochani in the headquarters of the Spanish district. As we approached the town the sky resounded with the noise of "Champeros alla veno Mochanos de Kio no salgan En su escape" (There will be none here in the district of Champeros). We accompanied by Champeros, Pardo, the headquarters of the District Congress Committee.

There was a stream of visitors all through the day. In the afternoon representatives of the press and intellectuals of the city met Vincha at a conference. To a query whether he intended to offer non-cooperation against the Zendenado or Government, Vincha replied: "I intend to go to Bolivar where defeat is out of question. But a step comes in future if there be need. Non-cooperation and strikes are a part of the liberating process. But I do not think in terms of the next step. As Pope said: "One step is enough for me."

When questioned about the progress of the movement, he observed: "Of course, the response of the people is beyond expectation. Only workers are wanted. But those who have not started land work will do so tomorrow. They are as anxious as ship-rattled cargo dealers."

The evening prayer was attended by more than 1000 people, including women. In his post-prayer discourse Vincha began by referring to a recent utterance of Porfirio Jimenez Nolasco in which the latter had asked the people to stand on their own feet rather than seek others' help. Vincha said it a right resolve made at the right moment and in keeping with the teachings of our religion. He pointed out that we must be self-sufficient in our basic requirements like food, clothing, medicine etc. in which no nation should depend on another nor expect aid from others. We have ample wealth in the form of human power, intellect and natural resources which can help us easily to stand on our own feet. Vincha declared that some people were afraid of the enormous population in the country. If we had 20 years of months to feed, we had also 20 groups of hands to work with, which must be provided with suitable tools and implements to work with. He added that for an adequate employment of these resources, two things were very necessary — unity amongst ourselves and decentralization of the powers enjoyed by the Centre. As regards the first he suggested that changes must be introduced in the methods of election which were aggravating the evils of centralization and autocracy. We might have different strategies, but for work we must have similar programmes on

what all programs contemplated. The second regards the need for limitation of the powers held by individuals. It was further said that a few things, if they remained only in the whole country or then only some basic things must be developed on a planning basis. What was desirable was a decentralization of power in every level and the third, viz. demand for unity in the village level should be propagated. He asked the city people to contribute to the forgotten Tanya regularly. Finally he inspired upon the youth to come forward and change their life for the cause.

On the 28th, we stayed at Huanacain form. Champeros is rich in farms belonging to various institutions. In his post-prayer speech, Vincha placed these points before the farm-owners of Huanacain. Farms should be converted into trusts and all the labourers working on the farm should be taken as trustees of the farm with the same ownership rights as the farm-owners. Secondly, in place of the money crops they should grow all such crops on the farms as are required for the people in one town or another. Thirdly, some of the farms should work and labour on the farms together with those of the labourers, and that no workers except for breaking fallow lands, be allowed thereon.

Our next halt, on the 29th, was at Mediaterra Asmara. During the course of the morning walk from Huanacain to Mediaterra Asmara, there was a talk with Vincha on the place of the State. Vincha observed that officials, however small, were a burden to the Central government body or authority, while labourers involved no burden. Labour being all those who received no salary should do some facility labour regularly. They may get reward for 25 days in a month and rest for five days at one spot. When they must have feeling of sympathy while they must behave as a slave being without.

We had a violent water from Delhi shortly to go to Europe on some tour. Explaining to him the programme of the Huanacain Tanya movement, Vincha said: "Essentially it is a moral movement. Man is not so much to provide food to the hungry as to bring it home to the people that before this talk, their food they must share it with others. I want to create an atmosphere of "give" in the case of "taking." Vincha also dealt on the necessity of the "recognition of Huel Toba and Bonani in world conference. He held the view that an international gathering, although which was open to more than five million people should find a place. There being languages like of Asia via Hindi Urdu Bengali, Chinese, Japanese and Arabic and of Europe via English, French, Spanish, Russian, Italian and German must be provided equal status.

In his post prayer speech, Vincha asked the people of Mediaterra locality to take a pledge that they would refuse to use those city-made

things which this man, present himself, as a good old, good steady, strong man, have their own wisdom and common-sense, intuition. They would then be able to stand in harmony in their villages.

On 7th July, we were in Thana, a Thana headquarters in the eastern part of the project. Vinoba said this Thana must develop into the greatest democracy in that part of the country, made with change in their life. Vinoba was enthusiastic without the power of love and harmony. The society, named Vinoba, was said to be divided into two classes, the better and the poorer. But the latter had also feeling of weakness like the former. He, in fact, also wanted to have two classes, viz., those who had cast off the ownership and those who had not. The war here was the two would be a non-violent war. If the Karmas transferred ownership to the society, his society would gain strength and solidity and he would be regarded as a true philosopher in the terms of the Gita.

In the afternoon on the same day, Vinoba met the young Brahmin students of Srinidhi Mahavidyalaya at a village in the district. He asked them to make their own cloth and produce their own vegetables. He recommended regular study in the early hours of the morning. He also stressed on the need of imparting essential elements of all religions together with the teaching of the Father religion. The Brahmins were the same in all. Besides they must be taught some language other than the mother-tongue, Hindi.

The workers' meeting in the afternoon of the 24th July in Bakhri, in Pithuli Thana, was very remarkable. About 14 workers, both Congress men and Pro-Communist, came forward with their gifts. Vinoba expressed the hope that they would be able to carry successfully the banner of revolution in this Thana as also the district.

Referring to the event in his post-prayer speech, Vinoba said that like all diseases was also contagious. May it was contagious lasting for longer as disease was an attribute of the soul. To spread this 'contagious' more and more people should come forward to devote their life for the cause.

On the 25th we were at Chhatra, another village in the Pithuli Thana of Champaran. The response in the workers' meeting that day was not so generous as in previous one. Workers, rich as they were, recognised the virtue of the movement but their attachment came in their way. They said:

The work closed with our stay in Mithilanchal where the evening meeting was attended by more than thirty men and women. Addressing them after the prayer, Vinoba observed that a right thought, self-interest if not turned into ac-

tion, is wrong, is wrong. It must be turned to the right and the left. The right is the service of the poor and the left is the service of the rich. The right is the service of the poor and the left is the service of the rich. The right is the service of the poor and the left is the service of the rich.

By Vinoba Bhave

(Continued)

By Vinoba Bhave

## NATIONAL HEALTH SCHEME

One out of every eight patients who go to a doctor under the National Health Scheme in Britain are brought to him either, you to be treated for the common cold—except the exercise of common sense! One-eighth of the doctor's patients, in fact, are wasting his time and their own.

Not in this at all, in a book just published a former medical Director General of the Royal Navy, Sir Charles Dreyer, reveals us that there is still no specific treatment known for influenza. Yet even a means to shorten the duration of the attack.

And did you notice that there is no medical student that the operation for tonsils performed annually on thousands of children, is of any benefit to them?

In other words huge sums of money are being wasted on "treatment" and "cure" which are of no clinical value whatsoever.

Mr. Dreyer says it very aptly: "We will keep our people preoccupied with disease and instead concentrate upon health. Prevention, he believes, is better than cure."

The Minister of Health Mr. H. H. H. has been saying the same thing: "We must encourage the cult of good health," he tells us, "rather than emphasize the healing of ill-health."

But what is Mr. H. H. H. doing about it? The cost of N. H. S. is growing to a frightening rate. We cannot afford the present wastage in what are virtually "quack" remedies. Unless the Ministry acts quickly, the N. H. S. may become unworkable.

(Quoted from a journal, The Daily Mirror, London, 2nd Nov. 34)

There is not one country in the world to say that it is not a better plan to spend resources on the prevention of disease rather than on the treatment of disease.

12/1/34

M. P.

By Vinoba Bhave  
BHODAN TAINA  
[Kand Lake, Mysore]

Page No. 124 Page No. 1-2-3 Page No. 1-2-3  
MADRAS PUBLICATION HOUSE  
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# HARIJAN

July 31

1954

## EAST AND WEST MEET

(By Mahabhar P. Desai)

The four great statesmen of the modern world met in conference a few days ago—Sir Winston Churchill and President Eisenhower in Washington, Prime Minister Nehru and Zhou En-hai in Delhi;—the former two in the West, the latter two in the East. A participant suggested in his drawing whether this was how East and West, which should meet as one, were behaving at present.

There is also another significant thing about the two meetings. At Washington met only England and America, the Soviet Communism which is a product of their world, was not present at that meeting. Unlike that, the Delhi meeting might be said to have both the worlds in it, viz., the so-called 'free world' and the 'Communist World'.

At Washington the latter world was not present. Not only that, the two statesmen who met there did so with a view to confabulate what should rather be done to bag the latter world and stop its march in S-E Asia.

The separate deliberations therefore that took place at the two places marked themselves out accordingly. We saw something about it in one of the previous issues of this paper.

Fundamentally the world problem is only one. Technology and values which are the new attributes of this age. The Western world intensely devoted itself to science came to discover the power-driven machine, and with its help set up a new and exclusive economic order, and buttressed it with adequate armaments etc. With the strength and power acquired therefrom it roamed over the whole wide world and brought as much of it as it could under its boots. The side aim of this episode in world's history was to draw away raw materials for feeding the colonies of the all-devouring machine that Western individualism had devised. To do the job successfully well the West established its colonial rule in the East and thus assured to itself uninterrupted supply of raw materials and monopoly market for its manufactured goods.

This business of colonial exploitation by the Western world is going on far the last one century and more. The world is now starting under its on-effects and is trying to see its way out of them.

One very apparent effect of this new order was that the peoples of the world came to be divided in two camps—the colonial powers of the West and the rest of the world that became

under the domination of Western's greed and drive—of nations of the former. The latter are at present developing economically backward, who have not become capitalists and desire to come to the level of a peasant and then, lands. Naturally they are a cause of hatred and discontent for the colonial powers.

There came about a second thing as a result of the new order which is even more significant than the first noted above. This was to divide the new world which gave birth to the new age. Western thinkers called it capitalism, which got in a class-war among the very people who prospered under the new economic order in the world. A great loss of the peace that he was, Marx closely studied the whole phenomenon and provided a thought world that has been a very efficient cause of revolution among those peoples, which we all know is the socialist or the communist doctrine. Thus the new machine age not only divided the world into two but it also caused a deep schism in the very Western world as well.

The effect of this new age on the exploited Eastern peoples was no less remarkable. It gave birth to another great and alienating cause of revolution. Gandhi hoped the weapon of Satyagraha to meet the challenge of colonialism in the Eastern hemisphere. The world has not till now decided to not attack the Satyagraha doctrine as well as Marxism, however it is a complete social philosophy. On the removal of the force which the whole modern world is suffering from separation or is expected to represent the new philosophy.

I do not propose here to go into an elaborate comparison of these two philosophies or their techniques of revolution. However one of their aspects should be noted here. Marxism is the birth of the 19th century urban civilization of the modern West, in comparison to it Gandhi's was philosophy of the rural civilization which is an emblem of the ancient culture of the East. Marx did not work in rural environments and for those problems or civilizations, his work was conditioned by the industrial and surroundings of the urbanized West. Gandhi's work was more broad-based than that. If we note that most of world's population live like that of India or China, lives in villages, the chief problem for the world too is to study them and work for their problems. Cities do not constitute a special or separate problem as they come in I think, as a part of the larger problem of rural life. The theme of David Mervay in his recent book

"Japan, as a result of Western power on her, took to imitating Western ways—which is not good here for the obvious reason that it was no new philosophy but a new technique of revolution. One may find historical evidence of the East to rise and come to their own. China's revolution is in the process of building itself and ending alienation."





1

We believe one of the chief causes of much of today's reckless thinking in the somewhat naive of seductive advertising which actually convinces a large part of the population that it is beneficial to take poisons into the system, ignoring "doctors" in support of their convictions, is the specializing in fads and necessary commodities as legitimate and in the spirit of "free enterprise" that our track gambling is a sport for kings and their henchmen rather than for knaves and fools. Indeed not only does this type of advertising at the consumer's expense too often determine what we shall eat, drink and wear, but also what we shall think.

Therefore, we are going to attempt a small adventure in the line of advertising, to see if the public might not really appreciate a bit of truth and honesty, instead of a daily diet of lies.

**THE 'WORTH' MARKET IS SET TO OPEN**

2014 1 10

People complain about the existence of black market in India. But is our so-called 'white' market any better? Let's venture here to go to the market and the shopkeeper looks upon it as an opportunity to cheat an aware customer. The evil is widespread throughout the land and not confined to any one part.

Yesterday I was in Kashi for a few minutes. I went to a shop to buy a hat. I selected one and asked for the price. The shopkeeper said—twelve annas. I paid him twelve annas, bag and all, as I was told me that it could not cost more than three or four annas. I was rather astonished at a mathematician's love to trick of things mathematics. I could therefore know that the real price of that hat could not exceed three annas.

The shop has, of course, moved to the place where I am taking my meals. The shopkeeper there here knows me by a bit but one day when there was no other customer about he called me and specifically put in my hand some sweets which were the ones he had changed for. I was delighted to see that after all God in His own way never forsakes a devoted servant. I was, however, much the wiser and was always there in the heart of every individual.

Look at how they hang out with each other in two quarters, over the most ordinary things. They hardly suspect the offerings have come when the seller puts his demand of justice upon you, and goes on his five long minutes, with intent to exhaust themselves. The only thing you can do when anyone tries to deliver a sermon like this, is to turn it into a sermon about things that have deteriorated to such an extent that even friends and acquaintances are not regarded as being outside the sphere of such explication. If I go to a transit stop, in a world and there see any disorder, rather than be a friend, he would change me the same day, and put me in the same place as he charges others.

Each is the more vital of our needs which we have to set right: The church has a cultural and social-humane mission.

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## REFERENCES

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One of the questions raised when some members of the local purchased saw me this morning was: Why is there so much increase in crime today even in the villages? This is an important question and I propose to deal with it here at some length.

It is true that there has been lately an alarming increase in crime which a broad consensus exists to all those who have the wellbeing of the people at their heart. But there is nothing surprising in it. The surprise rather is why it is so little, looking to the appalling conditions—the ignorance, the poverty and the injustice—in which our people live. The conditions indeed are so encouraging that it should have been far more than it is. The reason why the cases of crime in our country are still so few lies in the fact that the Indians are a highly civilized people. They are not Hittites in the sense of having the ability to read and write—scarcely about 50 per cent are literate—but they have culture and character and a store of an experience which has been a stimulating for the past few thousand years. There has been in our country an unbroken tradition of the teaching and practice of dharma in right law and even the efforts at building up a just world organization. All this has entered into the texture of the character of our people. Hence they are by nature gentle and peaceful and prone to control the violent

On the night of 17-18 October, 1944, at about 11 o'clock on the night of 17-18 October, a terrible storm of tropical force hit 100 people at 1 o'clock, according to Government statistics. The number of the people was still higher. We were in bed in those days. Some of us wandered into the kitchen people died without waking even to make a noise. Why did not they when they were in such desperate straits like shivering and howling? This is even not to be an exact answer to this shivering question.

There were some who said that even weather and lighting required some plan, but our people like to thoroughly consider that they could not even stand still. In other countries, under similar conditions people would have thrown up all restraint and there would have been an outburst of violence.

The 1919-20 thinking: "I asked myself if we were really as bad as that. Had we not even such courage as to do things which even rule and rats could do?" The question kept revolving in my mind and indeed I felt very miserable, if it had something from within told me that this was not so. If our people did not take to looking it was because our rights had taught that it was not right whatever the provocation, to have others merely out of spite and anger. It made me feel that there was no death, there was then only

<sup>18</sup> From a month of *Pravda* (Moscow), 1946, pp. 184-5.







nothing to be proud of except culture which has made them famous in some one's land and which has made them so greedy to waste the valuable time that has been wasted in things, to divert the happiness and energies of those over whom they are asked to, to high power to rule.

But the point is that a real Western culture. The point is that in the modern of education. But for the fact that the only higher education, the only education worth the name has been received by us through the English medium, there would be no need to go on such a self-declared proposition and the youth of a nation to receive a nation must receive all instruction including the highest in its own vernacular or vernaculars. Surely, it is a self-declared proposition that the youth of a nation cannot keep or maintain a large part of with the modern ideas, then knowledge is acquired and assimilated through a medium understood by the people. Who can calculate the immeasurable loss sustained by the nation owing to thousands of its young men having been obliged to waste years in mastering a foreign language and the ideas of which in their daily life they have the least use and so learn up which they had to neglect their own mother tongue and their own literature? There now was a greater superstition than that a particular language can be capable of expansion or receiving advance in scientific ideas & languages is an exact reflection of the character and growth of the speaker.

Among the many evils of foreign rule this blighting imposition of a foreign medium upon the youth of the country will be counted by history as one of the greatest. It has sapped the energy of the nation, it has shortened the lives of the people it has estranged them from the masses, it has made education unnecessarily expensive. If this process is still persisted in, it will bring to the nation of its soul. The sooner therefore educated India shakes itself free from the hypnotic spell of the foreign medium the better it would be for them and for people.

— Dr. B. K. S. S. S.

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# **DANGERS OF 'AIDS TO BEAUTY'**

(By) Vagdevdas P. Desai

A Briefcase message from Bonn, Germany dated July 8 1954.

"I am warning to German women and rest of the harmful effects of nail polish, eye-liner, lipstick, and other aids to beauty are being given recently by a 40-year-old German woman doctor Ingeborg Winand-Viktorson.

In articles published in several West German weeklies, and giving the result of a survey which she has made, she has stressed the suffering caused to some women by certain commonly used products.

Dr. Winand-Viktorson began her survey at Bonn, Berlin nearly two years ago while practising as a dermatologist. She said that lipstick, for instance, was not meant as an attack against symmetrization of cosmetics and beauty aids, but as a warning to women and to family doctors to detect the real causes of skin damage and other diseases more easily.

Nevertheless, no modern fashion may be, that can have considerable ill effects" she tells her readers. "Not a few of my patients and girls have to pay later for their retail attractiveness with an ugly, irritated skin or lasting diseases."

It is ill diseases caused by cosmetics and beauty aids are already pretty frequent, and in a list of them.

Among the most common, she names acute dermatitis, chronic conjunctivitis, blepharitis, rhinitis and inflammation of the mucous membrane of the throat. They are caused by allergic reaction of the skin, the mucous membrane, and the respiratory tract.

In addition to conjunctivitis and other lesions, she lists Dr. Winand-Viktorson, which some females, especially those coming from countries like, have several ailments, such as conjunctivitis and blepharitis, as well as some kinds of jewellery, produced in allergic reaction.

The most dangerous cosmetics are perfumes, lipstick, nail polish, eye-liner, black, cream, powder and powder. All of them can also result from the use of hair dyeing substances, particularly those containing paraphenylenediamine, hair lotion, hairbrushes, and the shampoo and soap for hair waves.

She warns soap and hair shampoo are not to be harmful to the face and scalp they contain lipophilic soap or oil-free soap. Dr. Winand-Viktorson declares.

Women continuing to use them, which causes skin to clean their faces can cause not only skin diseases but also, by inhaling dusts and effluvia.

More people do not realize that rheumatism, another skin disease may be caused by lipstick, particularly by the cream contained in it.



# HARIJAN

Aug 7

1954

## "PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE"

(By Mahatma P. Das)

In the editorial article in the issue of July 18, p. 142, I had quoted, from the joint statement of the Prime Ministers of India and China, the five basic principles of peace laid down in it. The fifth principle was named, 'peaceful co-existence'. In common parlance, it is only the general idea of 'live and let live', which is rendered so in international diplomacy.

Prime Minister Churchill referred to these words in the British Parliament in the following noteworthy manner. He said :

"In the speech which my Right Hon. friend, the Foreign Secretary made in winning up the debate before our departure, he used, in speaking about the relations of the Communist and free world, the remarkably phrase 'peaceful co-existence'."

"The fundamental and broadening interpretation certainly had an influence upon some of our converts. Thus at Washington I was very glad when I read, after we had left, that President Eisenhower had said that the hope of the world lies in the peaceful co-existence of the communist and non-communist powers sitting also the morning—with which I am very agree—that this doctrine must, not lead to appeasement that compels any nation to submit to foreign domination."

The above does not underline the importance of this broad measure of co-existence in what was, in this case, the English-speaking world. What a vast ideological gulf there is between the idea of peaceful co-existence rightly interpreted, and a kind of far-ride underpinning the communist policy and concept it is hard to find.

"This statement is a recognition of the appalling character which war has now assumed, and that its fearful consequences go even beyond the difficulties and dangers of dealing with it side with the new moral issues."

"Indeed I believe that widespread acceptance of this policy may in the passage of years lead to the problems which divide the world being solved—or at least themselves as so many problems do—in a manner which will avoid the mass destruction of the human race and give that, human nature and the mercy of God, their chance to win salvation for us."

(HIS) From The Christian Times, Friday, July 18 1954.

As I said at the beginning, the exception of peaceful co-existence is a very old in human relationships. As a matter of fact, that is the broad law which governs our family life. Good neighbours always live and let live one another, so only can we hope for peaceful co-existence in society. The law must equally apply to the whole human family consisting of different nations. But the trouble has been that aggressive ideologies which are wedded to world revolution among all peoples recognised no limit or feasibility to its idea and way of life and frantically worked to foment revolution among other

nations without, significantly, for the means to be adopted for a. Traffic not only Christians or the Buddhists, there was not a peaceful crosser wedded to persuasion and hoping only true or heart conversion. It did not accept co-existence of diverse ways of life and economy. It seemed as if Soviet Communism was out to impose on the world the one pattern that it thought was good. Thank God, the position seems to have changed since then and the world today is in a happy position to realise that peaceful co-existence with the richness of various ways of life and economy is the great human family tried in its diverse national patterns, is the true ideal, and world diplomacy must work to achieve that end. The law of such enlightened and humane diplomacy is peaceful persuasion and discussion only. To speak in ancient terms of Aryan politics, Sans (Peaceful Persuasion) is the only right way, —not Aksha (Division and Partition), nor Dawa (Economic Aid), nor Danda (Military Aid and Armed Action). To our east and to the west of world peace, the latter three are rampant in the international relationship today. This should change and peaceful co-existence should be established instead. That will be the true basis for happy and mutually beneficial inter-trading, inter-visiting and inter-communicating between nations, to the common end of the great glory and advancement of the human family.

26-7-54

## THE COMING REVOLUTION\*

(By Das)

We aim ultimately at abolishing the ownership of land. It should be free and not subject to individual ownership as it is at present. Land is the mother of us all. It is the foundation of life. We need it not only for maintaining our life but also when we die. It is obvious that such a thing cannot be allowed to be the subject of exclusive ownership. The first thing therefore we have to do is to see that everyone is provided with some land. There should be no one in the village without land. After this we will ask the people to collect all their land and make it the joint property of the village and cultivate it co-operatively on a planned basis. They would find out what things they needed and in what quantity and grow the different crops accordingly. At present, there is no such planning, they grow just those crops which seem to promise the maximum return in money, with the result that, maintaining our unsatisfactory food position about eight and a half lakh acres of the country's land are being used for growing tobacco.

There is a new kind of landowning class growing up lately—the farmers. They too do not live in the villages. Like God Mahadeva in his Kailas, they also live far away in the

\*From the paper-speech at Chauri (Chauri) on 6-7-54.

cides beyond the reach of the labourers who work in their farms. I would like to tell all concerned very frankly that the labourers and the workers must have the same share in their farms as their proprietors or this disguised introduction of commercial exploitation in the sphere of agriculture would not be tolerated. After all the people are the real masters and anything which goes against their interests will have to be scrapped. It is to arouse the people to their rights and their duties that I am moving about from village to village.

I not only ask for land but also for the gift of their workdays from the landowners. I want them to take up that work or their own. It would give them real prestige. What prestige have they today? Only yesterday a labourer came to me weeping. Hardly three days after the day's work he had begged leave to go home whereupon the master not only did not allow him to go home but also beat him very severely. I ask—what prestige is there in this? People forget that the workers are also entitled to a sense of self-respect. What should be the plight of the so-called owners if the labourers—because one of them had been unjustly beaten—were to declare that they would not work? Would they not be reduced to utter helplessness? Well, if the owners do not mend their ways it is going to be so in India. In the same way the workers also have to change some of their ways, before they can justly claim equality of status and respect. They must be frank in their work. They must not fight among themselves and they must give up evil habits, such as drinking etc.

When a big landowner gives me only a hundred out of his one thousand acres, I am asked how I am going to get the remaining nine hundred. I reply I do not worry about it, for I am sure that they will come to me automatically even without going through the formality of the filing in the gift-deeds once the poor get well-organized. Let the poor give away all their lands and become united. It will produce such a big army of Bhodolan workers that none will need to go to anybody and yet the work will get done in no time.

Only the other day, there was land distribution at Senka in Palamu District. The distribution ceremony was performed by the Governor of your province. How did it come about? All the small landowners gave away their lands. Only one big landholder, who did not even live in that village, resisted. The workers wrote to him that all the villagers had given away their entire land and it was now for him to give his. This had immediate effect and he consented that he was also giving his entire land. He also wrote that at the time of the distribution he may also be given a few acres. In his speech at the distribution, the Governor referred to this incident and said that there were very clear indications

that the Bhodolan and the Kumbhidian Tapes were going to bring about the social revolution. Now what happened at Senka can also happen in every other village. The Senka people are just ordinary men and women like you, the only difference is that they have realised the importance of the Bhodolan Tapes while others have not till now.

The Communists say that I am doing injustice to the poor by asking for land from them. One Congressman asked me why I was robbing the poor. I told him that this was a non-violent fight which had its own peculiar technique. It requires that first we rob the rich and then only the poorest come into the charity it must begin at home. But the Communists do not understand this supreme act of a non-violent fight. I have received three lakh gifts-deeds all now of which more than two and a half lakhs must have come from the poor. It is this which has provoked the big landholders like those of Bangash, Borkhanga and Pakur to offer their big donations. The mother and the sister of the Raja of Bangash have donated their jewellery. Once the good come over to our side, no one will dare get himself against us. We will then become absolutely irresistible. The year 1935 is drawing nearer and I tell you that by that year India will see the glorious use of the Ray of Dardou-monyama—the Poor. The rich are intelligent and we can be certain that as they see that landed gentry coming down, they will willingly give up at least half of their possessions. This is not meant to rob them the rich in a non-violent fight in party matters defeat, both win. We are not going to humiliate the rich; we will love them and respect them.

We love them even today. It is love which makes me speak these words. We are not the enemies of the rich. We are in fact going to save them—we, that is this Bhodolan movement. It is following the same movement path that was pointed out to us by Gandhiji in the present and by the Buddha in the past.

(Longest note filed)

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## KHADI GRAMODDOLA BHAVAN, BOMBAY

[This Part I. L. White speaks at the opening of the 24th Gramoddola Bhavan in Bombay.]

In many ways, the auspicious occasion of the opening of the Khadi Gramoddola Bhavan, in a shape and in the assembly that has gathered here today there will be many, I believe, who will recall the events that were events, I at the initiation of the process that the Khadi movement, in the eventful days in the critical upheavals of 1916 and 1922. The large departmental store of Messrs. Whiteley, Laidlaw & Co. Ltd., represented something that was representative to the spirit of Swadeshi which was considered an inseparable part of the kind of Swaraj on which the nation had set its heart. The upholding of the departmental store in an organized but undemocratic and possibly unfair manner merely by brute violence was an integral part of the language that was then launched in Bombay City. Numerous arrests took place in front of the shop and occasionally there were demonstrations on the part of sympathizers of the movement. It is a veritable transformation that has taken place with the advent of Swaraj that these very premises should now stand for all that is best per unit Swadeshi.

Let us turn to another aspect. This is the first occasion on which the National Government of the country actively entered, right in the marketing of Khadi, the purely home-made product which is indubitably linked up in our minds with our country's struggle for freedom. The political implications of this economic aspect of the national program do not concern us any longer now that Swaraj has been won. But we cannot forget this while these aspirations were never absent from Mahatma Gandhi's mind, it was always the economic aspect of the revolutionary programme that counted most with him. It represented to him a movement for conserving the dormant skills of the people, for revitalizing life in the country-side, for checking the drain of money from villages for reweaving cloth and for restoring lessons of organized self-help. The Bhavan subscribes a movement which stands for all these objectives that by his advocacy of the cause Gandhi had before the nation.

The promotion of the industrial revival was, until the advent of Swaraj, the responsibility of an organization founded by Gandhi and run by his followers in a spirit of service, with the aid of such resources as the organization could secure. The Government of the day, when it was not actively hostile, looked at the revival, appreciating little what it signified in the life of the people. Until about a couple of decades back, it was again unthinkable for Government to be associated with any attempt at organizing the marketing of the products of village industries. But though subsequently there was a change in the outlook, it is only now,

with the establishment of the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board, that the resources of the State have come to be harnessed for the production and sale, first, of Khadi and then with it of other products of village industries.

It will not be out of place to refer briefly to the factors that have induced this change in the outlook of Government. This arose not merely by reason of the fact that the Government of the day is a Congress Government and hence it does allegiance to the constructive programme of Gandhiji. Practical visionary that he was, Gandhiji's dreams always had relation to fact. And the most glaring fact of our social life today is the need for employment and yet more employment. Industrialization in its organized large-scale form has definite limitations as can be seen from the fact that all the large-scale organized industries put together do not provide employment for more than 30 lakhs of persons, whereas an equally large number is even now engaged in the hardsome working industry. The scope for increase in these numbers will, for whom large-scale industries can provide employment, be seriously limited. With the growth of industrialization, moreover, the numbers engaged in cottage industries tend to diminish thus swelling the ranks of the unemployed as the under-employed who flock to towns and cities in search of employment. In his days, Gandhiji provided for a reversal of this process and the adoption of a national policy to stimulate employment in and through Khadi and other village industries. It is this policy that is sought to be implemented as part of the First Five Year Plan through the All-India Board and cognate bodies in the various States.

A useful symbol of this reorientation in the aims and action of the Government of India have entered in the Bhavan. The Bhavan will be run by the Board out of funds provided by the Government of India against the allotment placed at the disposal of the Ministry for Commerce and Industry.

The Bhavan is mainly a sales organization where the principal commodity on sale is Khadi. This is a pioneer enterprise of its type in the sphere of State effort at organized marketing of commodities, stimulation of the production of which is deemed to be in the interests of national economy as a whole. The opening up of such a market is the main purpose of the Bhavan. Those who are in charge of the Bhavan are not well-versed in the technique of high-pressure salesmanship nor have they resources for much to modern methods of advertisement. Their appeal is, however, based on the needs of our economic situation which calls for action to promote rural employment and to preserve the skills of the artisans in our towns and villages. Coupled with this appeal is their assurance that







# HARIJAN

FOUNDED BY BHATINDRA PRASAD  
SARAFI (MAGAZINE) P. SARAFI



Vol. XVIII No. 24

AMERDAR—SATURDAY, AUGUST 14, 1954

TWO ANNAS

## AUGUST FIFTEEN

(By Bhupendra P. Desai)

Democracy and freedom are eternal hard task-masters. Not only are they to be won by sweat and blood and enduring faith, but also they require to be paid their unceasing price in will which is eternal vigilance. On this memorable day of our people's history, let us examine, rich or poor, whether we are paying that price, or no. If yes, it only means, and should so demonstrate itself that we are growing richer and richer in our only worth while human good—our freedom. If not, no more proof is necessary to show that we are going down to that our first former worth.

Our liberty and self love are the worst enemies of eternal weakness. They tell it to sleep and create a false sense of satisfaction, by means of which our weakness, which is our greatest enemy, may be, at least, only a sleeping one. On the other hand, self-love, I may well quote here, Shri Jankaraj's words from a press report of his speech at Delhi, that East Punjab, the other day.

The time has come now for hard grinding work and we cannot do anything of any kind but intensified fighting to show our heart of our people are backbone and steady. We should apply them all.

I want everybody to get into the thick of it in right earnest. There is too much of freedom in Punjab and self-love seems to have no work and are a hindrance to work and action. This is not correct. People who display will are not only satisfied in the world in high or mighty. They feel proud to be known who work and believe who work simply and bravely himself with the power of the poor.

I want to warn you against becoming complacent and relaxing that India has become a great power. We are a weak and feeble people and we are not yet ready to take our place as a nation among nations.

(The Times of India, August 1, 1954)

May we, in the sacred memory of all our contributors and readers who sacrificed themselves for the glorious achievement of freedom and independence be ever vigilant I say, chiefly to the readers of this journal, name him Shri Mahadevji who fed us harvest on this day twelve years ago, but to whom they owe no such through their volume.

## THE MEDIUM OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE

(By Jankaraj Mehra)

I have no doubt whatever that Hindustani is going to be the common language of India. Indeed it is largely so today for ordinary purposes. Its progress has been helped by Indian universities about the north, south or Punjab, and by the mutual effects of the two factors to use language which is either too Sanskritized or too Persianized. There is no way out of the acute difficulty for it would grow heat and passion, except to drop both officially, and allow people to use either. But an effort must be made to discourage the extreme tendencies and develop a middle literary language, on the lines of the spoken language in common use. With mass education this will probably take place. At present the main literary languages, Sanskrit, Persian, Urdu, Hindi, Marathi and Gujarati, are, in their own way. They cling to antique forms that have no life in them and have few contacts with their own masses or with world literature.

The development and spread of Hindustani must not and will not conflict with the continued use and enrichment of the other great languages of India—Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Oriya, and the Dravidian languages of the South. Some of these languages are already more wide-spread and richly developed than Hindustani, and they must remain the official languages for educational and other purposes in their respective areas. Only through them can education and culture spread rapidly among the masses.

(The Times of India, August 1, 1954)

## TO CORRESPONDENTS, SUBSCRIBERS, CUSTOMERS AND FRIENDS

From August 10, 1954, the Harijan Post Office working on our premises is converted into a Delivery Post Office. Correspondents, subscribers, customers and friends are therefore advised to note the following change of our address:

Harijan Trust,  
P. O. NAYAJIVAN  
—AMERDAR—H

5-15-54

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## NOTES

## French and Portuguese Colonization in India

The French Premier, M. Mendès-France is adding some more feathers to his cap after his brilliant and speech-making performance at Geneva in regard to Indo-China. He carried home peacefully and the reports are that the French are finally quitting the remaining Indian soil under their possession in Pondicherry, Karaikal etc. on the eve of our Independence Day, August 15. The Indian people will warmly congratulate the French people for this their gift to us on the memorable occasion of our Independence Day. The French Premier sending the agents of the terms also flew over to Tanjavur immediately after Geneva decision and settled a sort of Rome Rule for that French colony. European colonization in the modern context of the world situation is looking almost like a neo-lesitism in the present age and it must be carefully legislated if the new idea of peaceful and co-operative co-existence of all nations is to be made a living ideal for mankind. The Portuguese people here have a lesson to learn. Taking a leaf from the French book, they also should quit their feudalistic hold over India soil. Let us hope what they are exhibiting at present in Goa, Dha, and elsewhere is only the last fluster of a dying flame.

6-8-58

H. P.

I share the following letter from a reader of the *Horizon*, with others. He writes:

"Your article on 'Uniform and Khaki' in the *Horizon* dated 21-2-58. This is to endorse, the attitude of the educational authorities about the use of Khaki for Civil Corps in the schools and the Universities. This attitude happened when my younger brother was sent to the Christian University and had to take Military Science in it. He just after the Partition. But our father bluntly told the authorities that education of his son rather than he could not suggest the use of uniforms which for any purpose. And we all endorsed his view and practice in this regard. They agreed too with alacrity."

"Last week there again all the Indian protest. The Principal Government Institute Training School Allahabad would not admit my elder's three children because they would not wear their uniforms. Uniforms which the school provided, as it was not in its mind to make khaki, and on the other hand the Principal would not judge to allow khaki to be used as uniforms. However, the note brought down for Principal's meeting. Has the long loop of this?"

Surely, the attitude and outlook of our educational authorities on matters of education and otherwise require to be radically changed. What goes on all around at present should surely not last long unless the so-called educated few still wish to sit tight over the gear through the ways taught to us by our ex-rulers, of which English education was the most potent and important one.

6-8-58

H. P.

## NATIONALIZATION AND EMPLOYMENT

(By P. Srinivasachari)

Of late one hears much talk about rationalization. The spokesmen of large-scale industries are never tired of pointing out that unless the latest technological methods are adopted and the machinery in the mills is modernized it would not be possible to expand production, reduce cost, and increase the standard of living of the people.

At the outset we wish to make it clear that we have no objection to the introduction of scientific methods and the installation of improved machinery, if thereby we can increase the level of employment and the living conditions of the people. But it should also be made equally clear that by blindly following the example of some other countries we would be derailing ourselves if we think that we are achieving our goal, since the conditions in our country are totally different from those in the highly industrialized nations of the West.

According to the recent census figures the number of persons who are self-supporting without depending on others is miserably low.

	Population in millions	Percentage of total population
Self-supporting persons	104.40	29.27
Earning dependents (that is, whose total income is not enough to meet even the bare necessities)	77.54	19.94
	181.94	49.21
	* 386.38	100.00

It is indeed depressing to note that 29 per cent of the population supports fully 69 per cent of the population and partially another 11 per cent of the population. About 104 millions of persons who themselves struggle for subsistence have to bear the burden of 214 millions who are entirely dependent and cannot earn anything for want of work and another 17 million earning dependents throughout the year. Even giving a wide margin for the old, the sick, the invalid and children, the number of entirely dependent persons reach a colossal figure of more than 100 millions for whom work should be created if we want to make any real progress.

The whole question of rationalization should be viewed with this background. More increase in production and slight reduction in cost will not contribute to the economic progress of the country, if the large number of the unemployed find no scope for work. On the other hand there is every possibility that, if the policy of rationalization is followed without any human consideration, it may throw large number of people out of employment and worsen the situation.

\* Figures of 1951 with a proviso relating to Jammu and Kashmir were not included. Since the total population given differs slightly from the actual total population.







every one has the great advantage of the fact of  
knowing that the Government is behind us. I have spoken  
about this joy<sup>4</sup> before, but any joy for the job is  
increased by this fact. In the same way if the  
school teacher, her husband and the wife  
want to live in a congenial life. They may  
pursue business and the job which must suffice  
for a living purpose will not be there. Even so  
if there is no link between the people and the  
Government, the community cannot become  
strong. Laws will of course be made and people  
will observe them as well as they may. But that  
may not add to the strength of the nation. If the  
people have no trust in the Government, they  
might feel the latter just at the time for war  
with their own people for both. In the absence  
of trust between teachers and students we find  
the universities being kept in the examination  
hall in order to prevent students from copying.  
But how a improved student? And what is the  
value of an education which has failed to pro-  
duce trust among the teachers and the  
students. The distrust between the teachers and  
the students is the first step of a world system  
of education.

Thus we see that Law cannot create from which alone is the source of strength. Law cannot create life, and respect. Only Nature that is the consequence of a moral temperature or sense of moral obligation — this only can do it.

—Ludwig Von Mises.

RAM AIR ATOMIC THERM PROP

[77] Following are the important resolutions passed at the Small Firms Conference by Japan, held during April 1989: 77-1, 77-2.

Considering the Hydrogen Explosions cause horrible scarring, leukemia disease and death and also power the limited food supply of the world, we see it associated as terribly in the movie *Hydrogen* a sure

Considering the configuration of atomic planes, it had to satisfy various conditions of all kinds: value, time, price and right relations among men will become inseparable.

44. The members of the World Pacific Conference in Japan assembled in Tokyo from all parts of the world.

and people and the United Nations.

1. To help minimize the manufacturers and users of A/Cs and H. Green, Florida.

5. To identify the books already mentioned.

2. To direct future research to constructive versus harmful practices.

Whereas, the soil effects of the test stands barely dropped on Han-Long soil percent over a five year period, in some remarkable places and depth, Soviet three-year man with total irradiation rates he develops discussion to the handling of nuclear energy, and

Whereas, in the present context, research in storage theory is being conducted along lines that verified the extensive distribution of material, as it has been clearly demonstrated by the seven major epidemic outbreaks which have recently supported inverse loss, and showed that many other losses between total extinction

and rings (endemic) (ongoing) through the use of

Whom? The Asia-Pacific Conference in Japan is now looking out to its company in Hiroshima.

**Abstract**

1. That any and all use of riotous weapons, even for the purpose of retaliation, shall be absolutely prohibited and all riotous weapons now in existence shall be effectively dismantled.

2. That translations of atomic weapons and experiments with them and any other attempts at obtaining nuclear energy for military purposes shall be immediately banned.

3. That atomic energy resources shall be placed under strict international control so as to make them available for peaceful use only, for which purpose all information relating to the manufacture of atomic energy shall be made available to all countries.

4. That, the crime committed by using the above bank shall never be allowed to be repeated.

That as a token of this intense devotion, the City of Birmingham shall hereafter be known as the "City of Peace" which will stand as a monument calling on all men to strive for the abolition of war.

Where: The Americas June 7-10

FAIR REPRESENTATION UNOBTAINABLE  
FOR INTER.

1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

It is concluded that the surface of the globe, both land and water, is about 20 times as fertile as of this total only a little over one-half is available to man. About one-third is cultivable, i.e. about 120 million square miles. This leaves to about 1,600 acres of arable land for each of the 400 million people of the world. Of this cultivable land only 300 to 400 acres of arable are cultivated at present. The world's total population is estimated to be 750 million. To the estimated food per head in the world at about 1.5 acre, in total it is only 0.75 acre per head.

It is a problem for the world as general, too. Increasing agriculture production, such with a small usage of cultivated land per head. Can it be done by large-scale agriculture or the small-scale agriculture? It is perhaps possible to increase production by large-scale mechanized agriculture. But some experts believe that the land will deteriorate thereby and in the long run that will end the fertility of the land.

This is a pertinent question for India as we see the policies of Dr. L. Bhaia Shree, world's best, and we see the land we give him. I am pleased to follow in his footsteps. — Dr. Bhaia Shree

"If the millions of unemployed could be given food, clothing and better employment, and well, and directed to their proper work, taking off former crops with a better yield, and up to the new crops, and then the most profitable and the most stable, and have a surplus for sale — well, this is the result of thousands of years of social activity, that the progress of the country and a full life are necessary of progress in food."

In 1958, the Government was that nothing would be done at this stage, by any means in the agricultural or industrial fields. It is called by writing of that year that would change the entire social and economic life of the country and of which it may seem to measure whether there is reason for the war or









## THE ECONOMIC PREREQUISITES FOR PEACE

By J. C. Keessepp

Assistant Secretary, Department of the Economy,  
League of Nations, Geneva, Switzerland  
(June 1934)

Peace agreements and appeals have little effect in bringing about lasting peace. The world of peace and international tension has largely in the field of economics. As it we want to deal with it, with war we must study the present day methods of production, distribution and consumption. War is the end result of the friction generated in the daily life of everyone of us and is not the result of the evil designs of one or two outstanding world figures. If anything such world figures are but the victims of our greed in benefit from the social position of our neighbours.

### Cost of the Producer

In the so-called "underdeveloped" countries the producer of primary products rarely gets a square deal. Every producer is enabled to have his rights included in the price of the finished product. If anything less is received for the producer from the consumer's price there results violence through this exploitation. This multiplied results in devaluation and war.

In India the Indians themselves are starving because the price of raw materials do not provide for their domestic requirements. If they did the price would not be so as consumers are not prepared to pay honestly for what we get.

### Price Regulation

Prices to be fair should be regulated by the producers, and others concerned. For this purpose at present there is no adequate organization, with the consequence that what is due to the primary producer, who is the weakest member on the line, is cut down to a minimum.

### Dissimulation of Information as to Cost

Often the consumer does not know what material cost items he is paying for in the price he pays of a "fixed" price. Thus he pays and still believes that he has discharged his duty from it. If only the consumer knew that the price he is paying is not fair, but is too low to give an adequate return to the producer, he himself will probably not be at peace. It is, therefore, our duty to make available to all concerned, full information as to the spread of the cost of an article.

If for example the worker knew that the return he receives is produced under conditions which lead to the starvation of other people, his conscience will not allow him to purchase that kind of labour. We must bring this moral factor into play in the economic order.

### Employment

Every raw material producer, opportunity of employment. The export of raw materials therefore deprives the local producing the

raw material of its possible employment in the domestic market and with the removal of the local market with it the local is consequently put almost in a state of collapse. Thus there will be a "deflation" of the price of the raw material and against that "deflation" of the price of the raw material the local market will be put in a state of collapse. It cannot otherwise be.

To work out this new order we have to educate farmers, industrial and the government. We should organize the movement to educate nationally and set up a strong machinery for the fixing of prices. Before undertaking all this we ourselves should be willing to make the necessary sacrifices. If we are not prepared to do so, it is no use just dreaming for world peace.

### International Trade in Surpluses Only

When goods are produced they should first be available in the producing country and only the surplus left over should be free for export to other countries.

### Conclusion

Since we see that a great deal of our effort is obtain freedom from world tension lies in restoring an economic organization. 1. The raw material producer must be given sufficient to sustain himself on a reasonable standard of living. 2. Prices must be fixed with such as the local and the raw material producer must have a voice in fixing the price of his produce.

3. The price of raw materials must be fixed with such as the local and the raw material producer must have a voice in fixing the price of his produce. 4. The consumer must be educated to reduce his duties towards the producer and for this purpose he should be supplied with facts and statistics about the component parts of the price of articles and the material and trade must be in accordance.

5. Economic justice and fair play is the foundation of peace. This alone will shape economic order and policies which disturb the peace of the world. Therefore to bring about world peace we have to find ways and means of liquidating so-called underdeveloped countries and be prepared to share the good things of the world equitably. This will make a big roll on the industrialized countries. As they prepared to make this sacrifice? If not all our efforts towards peace will be short-lived.

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## DEMENTE V. Z. 130 SUPPLEMENT 2

1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

As we go around as a working body, the opinions of individuals here, of course, are not necessarily more or less important than those of individuals in other parts. And I want to mention another, the William Frazer and Voltaire Anderson case, only if the new idea of a "non-identical" understanding of an individual's moral position and the status of the individual himself is consistent with the idea of a new and viable, again good, distributive justice. It very easily might be, and I want to suggest and explain the reasons for thinking so against a good deal of the conventional wisdom of State businessmen and, I think, many well-meaning but unreflective persons. I want you to feel that we are going to have a chance to be enlightened and free. I think it is worth it to try that.

There is a strong emphasis on the use of the computer in the design of the building. The design team has used a computer program to generate a series of three-dimensional models of the building. These models have been used to visualize the building's form and to test different design options. The computer has also been used to generate a series of two-dimensional drawings of the building. These drawings have been used to create a set of construction documents for the building.

The program has been categorized in the following records:

"The primary duty of the State is to create an appropriate security in which the individual can live safely. The State has to strike a proper balance between the liberty of each and the liberty of the State."

He developed his argument further by taking up the question of law and morality involved.

What the State has right to impose by compulsion  
 It has withheld of itself. If I can it permits a child  
 even, conversing with the sun, the sea and morning  
 I am through, I am gone.<sup>1</sup>

Downloaded by [University of Cambridge] at 11:52 11 September 2015

[illegible]

11. I would appreciate it that  
you would send me a copy of  
the report of the committee on the  
subject of the proposed  
amendment to the constitution of the  
association.

It's still weird!! First, what is more  
to me? I can't afford to drive a life  
I can't afford to drive a life.

I am not interested in the welfare of nations, nor do I care about the results of morality which most people generally believe is well illustrated by the moral code of the Jews.

Figure 10 summarizes that in this pattern of trade, Russia may lose the secular standards or welfare of household 1.

The following essay is an illustration of a response submitted by a learner. Though he includes some good points and an attempt to bring his reasoning forward he contains numerous errors in spelling as well as in the quality of his reasoning. He has conducted a literature search on the topic of intervention in bankruptcy, but he identifies that normally only courts have the right to implement the law and he is of the opinion that to hold the general principle. Therefore it would be a mistaken view of accountants which could lead to a legal battle with the courts and the state.

Chief Justice, a reply offered to the larger question of the function of religion and politics and the right of the citizen to display a law which is manifestly bad or immoral. And he said something to that effect, delivered in Southern law.

[illegible]

It is difficult to agree with the observation that the explanation thereof "An opinion can result in a violent or non-violent civil disobedience against those that act, in essence, who believe in an order and order were wrong. It is a peaceful and non-violent way of meeting what we hold to be true, through direct action, often and only when the non-violent members of constitutional procedure are exhausted. It is a duty that comes from a moral duty and responsibility. And progressive politics is to be in the world to change it, progress the end of such a system if that ever it is wanted and fulfill its function as the way of good government. Obeying laws, even if they are bad or incorrect is no part of the duty of a citizen of a free democratic society. Images of such defiance were well described by one of our leaders."

So that even results from who stops them help inform us about who is wrong. And what, then, is it about a particular treatment that makes him or her a recipient of mercy? It is difficult to answer this question. It also goes on to a government that cannot be seen as a bold front in a more acceptable manner. It is difficult to answer it because:

... is a situation, which bears the right to regard itself as a situation, which is a conscious agreement with the power to act on it. Nothing else is a between, something and also the correlation the right to act on it. I regard the belief that the future is a situation, that the thought of a free existence is the basis of the road to the future.

Again the manner and the way in which democratic values are built up and started off have to do not warrant us to say that individualism, or if need be, economic freedom of trade

<sup>1</sup> Due to a lack of literature and other resources (Kangas et al. 1999).











## HARIJAN

PUBLISHED BY ANANTHUS CHANDER  
Editor: MANGAYAM P. DEVAI

Vol. XVIII No. 26

AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, AUGUST 26, 1956

Price 15 Paise

## LAW, DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM

(By Prabhu)

God has created diversity in the world. This diversity is the source of all the joy that there is in life. Had He fashioned the world on a pattern of uniformity, life would have lost all charm. Diversity is an inalienable constituent of delight and as it always be witnessed by us.

Every man has his own idiosyncrasy which are different from others. If we are able to overcome them and utilize them to good advantage, it will be a source of enrichment and in life. But in the absence of the wisdom to utilize these diverse elements, they will collide against one another and in consequence produce clash and conflict, reflected in our life.

Indeed, how many are the languages and the ways and customs etc. to be found in different nations which people the human world? And each has its peculiar location, which add to the richness of life. But today whenever one turns one's eyes one finds people growing increasingly incapable of appreciating the good in others. They are proud of their country but disdainful of others; proud of their race, religion, language etc. but they regard those of others with contempt. The result is that the entire world is living in a state of mutual fear. Whole countries and nations are gripped with this morose and selfishly serving emotion.

About the most tragic and dangerous aspect of this situation is that humanity has entrusted its destiny in the hands of a few persons. As long as there was monarchy, it was evident that the fate of communities lay in each case in the hands of one single person. But now when it is believed that equality has been replaced by democracy, it should not be so. And yet there is no real democracy to be seen in the world anywhere. Once the elections have taken place, the power is entrusted to a few persons. It is claimed that they carry on the government on behalf of the people for the people. Thus democracy has been reduced to a form. But nowhere do we see the spirit of democracy. In every country the power is concentrated in the hands of a few individuals.

They can make or mar the destiny of the country they rule. And what is worse, they themselves denying the extent to which they then rest the responsibility for the progress of the country.

Look at our own country. Some eight or ten — at best very able — persons have been entrusted with the task of planning for our five lakh villages and some thousands of cities. How however competent they may be, it does not seem right that such a small number of persons be asked to draw up a plan for the whole country. Then the people demand legislation for the most ordinary things. In Bihar for example, there is the evil of dowry. People demand that this should be abolished by legislation. They demand legislation for the abolition of child-marriage, smoking and a lot of other social evils. Economic reforms such as the distribution of land and regulation of wages, nationalisation of industries, it is difficult to think of it with the help of half a dozen planning members. After thinking over things I demand that legislation should be that we have taken that step and march in the spirit of true democracy. If our dependence on legislation is thus placed in forefront in the course of time, we will come to a point where we possess of the power of will and initiative. We will then become uncreative, willing and willing to others want to do.

It would seem that we have created the institution of government in the position of a goddess who will give us all that we desire without our having to do anything for it. Like Karasahi and Lakshmi, we now have another goddess — distinct Government. For example, someone who is suffering from ill health and is in need of someone to care for us, we do not give him shelter in our home, we just send him off to a hospital. It does not strike us that there is something like human sympathy and that every individual is morally bound to express it in action towards every other individual whenever an obvious demand is. We just leave all social responsibility to be borne by the Government.

The protagonists of the Government in the name of fulfilling all social needs seem to have rationalised their attitude in some such way: How long are we to strive for the development





## HARIJAN

Aug 25

1934

CHRISTIAN ATTITUDES TOWARD  
OTHER FAITHS

(By Floyd M. Ross, School of Religion, University of South California)

New Christians have sought to understand the world that is religious at their best. On a shrinking planet, where diversity is the rule (and where we hope it will remain the rule), every Christian church might well have study groups seeking appreciatively to understand what the non-Christian religions teach. The attitude should be that of the honest inquirer, not of the evangelist or apologist. Some of the shorter Oriental classics like the Bhagavadgita and the Dhammapadam and the Tao-Te-King should be read and discussed as thoroughly as the Bible.

The basic human questions having to do with meaning and destiny have been grappled with for thousands of years, yet many of us have been allowed to fall into an abominable rut. Some of us might be awakened from our degenerate slumber by the words of an Oriental poet or sage where the repetition of Occidental phrases has operated to lull us to sleep in to superficial conclusions about life. Those who are quite western-minded should ponder the words of King Asoka, of ancient Buddhism here:

He who does reverence to his own land while disparaging the acts of others with intent to enhance the splendour of his own, is really in such conduct inflicting the severest injury on his own.

The attitude of those who insist that Christianity is "the only way" to salvation betrays a lack of faith and an undue reliance upon certain scriptural passages. The relevant question to ask is "Why do such people seek certainty so insistently?" To seek certainty is to die, to accept uncertainty is to live, to grow, to be strengthened (the saying today has a plethora of persons cursed with nervousness, anxieties out of all proportion to real life situations, anxieties regarding all manner of things). The resurgence of tribalism, or nationalism is but one more evidence of this profound danger. Many persons are trying to escape from facing the basic question of life, "Who am I?", by identifying themselves with various causes, some religious, some economic, some political. They are seeking not to partial aims of integration, unity, love, peace. These partial ones of integration thrive on feelings of "special characters" and exclusiveness. They are made up largely of persons who cannot forget the Mayflower in their past and are haunted by their unfulfilled lives in the present.

It is hard to understand how persons can be so rigid in their religious, social, economic or political loyalties that they cannot look beyond the persons doing the persecuting and the necessity to incorporate fundamental values in the living present. Such thoughts hold us in its embrace, we need to understand it, but we walk on if we cling to it as if it is a "truth" so-called that cannot be directly appropriated in the present use of doubtful validity, as far as the fundamental integrative growth processes are concerned. The "eternal now" is the straight way and the straight gate into the abundant life.

Persons who call themselves orthodox tend to ignore this. They urge us to take only one segment of human history seriously, that segment culminating in the life, death and resurrection of Jesus. This emphasis was quite understandable in the earlier centuries of Christian history. The early theologians knew no other religious histories save that of the Hebrews and those writings that came to be called the "New Testament." They interpreted the meaning of their new outlook on life in the only terms they were intimately acquainted with.

To continue to interpret human history solely in terms of early orthodox Christian interpretations of the Bible is no longer acceptable. Let Christians make their confession of faith that for them Jesus is Lord, but let them not try to legislate to Jews, Hindus and Buddhists, that Jesus paid, also be Lord for them.

There have been persons in every age, I suppose who while profoundly appreciative of what has come to them through their cultural heritage, have refused to synthesize it or get serious about defending it. God is not to be deflected but explored. Revelation is not to be defined but developed.

We live in a time when increasing numbers of people are a little weary of being labelled "Jew" or "Gentile", "Negro" or "White", "Hindu" or "Buddhist." That which unites us in our humanity, not our culture or our colour. Part of the cause of the modern world lies in the fact that so many of us have not discovered our humanity, but rather insist upon identifying ourselves weakly with fragments of ourselves. Like the Prodigal Son, once we "come to ourselves", we will start on the journey back to the source.

We religiousists have made too many forthright professions or affirmations and then have prostrated ourselves in front of them. But the one affirmation is never as profound as the one rejected, as some of the greatest mystical teachers have reminded us.

Only as we negate our fragmentary interpretations of the meaning of life and theory do we reach the teachable. Every historical religion is a strange mixture of superstition, myth,

weakness on the one hand, and wonder, mystery, reverence on the other. They have been vehicles for delivering man into further bondage whenever the former elements have predominated. They have been vehicles for delivering man from fear into true blessedness whenever the latter elements have been primary.

Let us honour a Moses, a Jesus, a Gautama, a Lao-tse, a Confucius; but let us not linger too long in the shadow of the way-side shrines of the past. If the spirit of these men is an eternally present as we of the faith have said, then we should not be concerned unduly over the particular robes that it may wear in differing cultures. What one man calls the "Eternal Christ" another man may call the "Eternal Buddha", and who among us is dogmatist enough to stand in judgment upon equally honest professions of personal faith?

Labels are of primary importance only to the onlooker, or to the person who selfishly uses labels as liars. To all others, a label is simply an incidental handle for taking hold of a specific problem. It is not a club to be used against fellow human beings.

The righteousness and tightness of some Christians' attitude towards the non-Christian religions suggests to me something of the depth of such persons' feelings of "not-ness". Feeling cut off from the ground of his own true being, he compensates for it by assuming himself that it is the others who are cut off from God, from the true pathway, from the only way. Only as such a person finds release from the clutches of his anxieties, his sense of alienation, his shadow selves, through the insight that comes through sympathetic relationships with his deeper self and with other selves, can he move beyond his dogmatic bitterness. As John Donne put it in *Devotions Upon Several Occasions*, fixed ideas, fixed institutions, and fixed theologies are all symptoms of a spiritual sickness. As Lao-tse put it centuries ago, one must become sick of his sickness if he wants to be cured of his sickness.

Christians have nothing to fear from a two-way educational or missionary process, though they have much to learn, even as Hindus and Buddhists have learned from contacts with Christians. "There is no truth that does not include all truth", that is, if it be experienced deeply enough. Nor is it that we need to appreciate Semitic history less; rather we need to appreciate Oriental wisdom more in order to be wiser in reinterpreting our own heritage. We must not idealize the East or its religious concepts; but we must cease identifying ourselves and our own religion.

I personally do not look for the conversion of great numbers of the adherents of the other religious traditions to some form of Christian universalism. Overlooking the ever-present pre-

sence of "rice-Christians", the major impact of Christian values upon these other peoples or cultures will be registered in a continuation of these traditions but with changed emphases. I would hope for the same thing to happen to Christianity. In any event, the process should be gradual and certainly non-coercive. We must respect the right of each person to travel at his own tempo insofar as the fabric of a society is not jeopardized. Just as we must let a child be a child in order that he may move through childhood to true maturity, so we must be willing to let persons be "Christians", "Buddhists", "atheists", "atheists", "Mormons", "Sikhs", with the hope that each will grow towards an ever larger spiritual maturity.

"The world is a divine vessel;

It cannot be shaped;

Nor can it be treated open.

He who shapes it, damages it;

He who treats upon it loses it."

Tao-Ts'ung, 29

(Adapted from *New Outlook*, April, '54)

## SHOULD WE COMPEL?

(By Manohar P. Sood)

As the saying goes, half-baked truths are more dangerous than even untruths. One of such half-truths is often to be found in the remarks of high placed persons, about the place of English in our life and education now.

For example, a P.T.I. message says that

"The Union Ministry directed today (Aug. 4, 1954) for compulsory teaching of English in schools as a third language the other two being the mother-tongue and Hindi."

"She said that in Russia and Switzerland children learnt four languages in the school and 75 per cent of the Russian children learnt English as one of the three."

"Saying that knowledge of English was extremely useful, she said that she had had several Indian delegations to international conferences and had found that India's success in international affairs was owing to her knowledge of English."

All agree that English is necessary and useful for some of us in some ways, and that schools must provide for its teaching. The question is, should all learn it? Are all going to visit foreign countries, e.g., for international conferences? And are we all the while going to speak English and not gain the status to speak Hindi in these conferences? Can we not allow those that wish to study in Indian language other than their own, as a third language? To many of us will it not stand in better stead than English which is say day going to be necessary to only a few among us? When quoting Russia should we not note that children there have a choice in the matter? Why should we compel in India then? These questions and many more like them are very relevant, and they cannot be set aside as bare of more prejudice against English, unless we are blind to the cultural interests of the masses, whose good is the chief criterion in all our planning and policies.



# CONSEQUENCES OF ATOMIC RACE

(By Kenneth F. Brown)

To read and know another's point of view is almost a religion, or a moral service. The great moral nature which is shared in the regards of almost all religions is:

know thyself and know thy enemy;

Do unto others as you would them do unto you.

The present international situation seems to demonstrate the truth of the above maxim. The U. S. A. thought that she would become invulnerable if she could manufacture a atom bomb, hydrogen bomb or, like, would do it. She did it all correctly. Here is truth, if anybody knew some alchemy or had a knowledge of some master drug he would not share his knowledge with anybody but would keep it a secret. Today the same condition prevails in the sphere of technology and armaments.

The U. S. A. then came to know that even her strongest possessed atom power. In the whole question took quite a new turn. The reality and arbitrariness of being in the sole possession of unparalleled and monstrous weapons began to wane, and anxiety and considerations took their place. It is the hydrogen bomb age it is said that has made a search expedient like for instance Churchill's creation the Super Canal Zone.

From the world's point of view this is a very important change of heart. But it would be little better if such a change took place from moral considerations, viz how should we suffer if bomb is thrown on us? The sufferings of our opponents would be the same if we throw a bomb on them. Therefore bombs should not be used.

Thus the act of thinking is avoided even from the point of view of one's own safety. Because if this policy is accepted no country will throw bombs on any other country. But if anything is wanted today it is such a faith. The followers of Buddha, Christ or others as a group have no such faith as they go or attack other lands. But their opponents also do not. So both are equal. As a result both are prevented from grasping war out of mutual fear. Thus the world gets peace automatically. This is no small gain.

But, the good intention is a promise. With world is no lot of it at all war breaks out? Then to save the people from ravages of bombs? America is seriously thinking on this—this. Is it not a funny situation?—To manufacture atom bombs enthusiastically and then fear the same so well? This is something like inviting trouble by nothing. Is it not inviting a trouble out of sheer folly?

There is one thing more. Millions of dollars have been spent on the manufacture of atom bomb and now they think to spend the same amount to be saved from the devastating results

of atom bomb. Or what? And this war is no humanised atom bomb—bomb is of him a shaped power. But the human atom household affair there is more a human high politics? How can we think of world?

17.8.44

(From the original in English)

## BUSINESS, EMPLOYMENT AND FOREIGN AID

(By C. E. Narayanaiah)

In a recent press conference in Bombay, Mr B. M. Birla claimed that governments all over the world employ about 8 per cent of people directly and at least another 20 per cent indirectly via the channel of the directly employed. In other words, "next to Agriculture, it is business—trade and industry—that provides the largest employment to people in India." That is to say, Mr Birla would have us believe that trade and industry employ directly and indirectly about ten times of people.

Fortunately for the student of economics, the Census Commission has worked out the composition of various populations and the pattern of its employment. This is the working force in the country is related to be about 145 million which is about 30 per cent of the total population.

The following table is interesting:

		In millions		
		Total	Male	Female
1. Unemployed	A. Male	70.0	—	1.0
	B. Female	80.0	—	80.0
		150.0	80.0	70.0
2. Working Dependents	A. Male	80.0	10.0	0.0
	B. Female	80.0	80.0	0.0
		160.0	90.0	70.0
3. Non-working Dependents	A. Male	80.0	80.0	0.0
	B. Female	80.0	80.0	0.0
		160.0	160.0	0.0
4. Unemployment Classes, Unemployed	A. Male	80.0	10.0	0.0
	B. Female	80.0	80.0	0.0
		160.0	90.0	70.0
Working Dependents	A. Male	10	1.0	0.0
	B. Female	80.0	80.0	0.0
		90.0	81.0	9.0
Non-working Dependents	A. Male	80.0	80.0	0.0
	B. Female	80.0	80.0	0.0
		160.0	160.0	0.0
Unemployed persons other than employees	A. Male	80.0	80.0	0.0
	B. Female	80.0	80.0	0.0
		160.0	160.0	0.0

The above table shows that of all unemployed persons 10 per cent of all unemployed persons are agricultural population or 10 per cent of all unemployed persons.

It will be seen that of the 145 million who constitute the working force, only 40 million are





# HARIJAN

PRODUCED BY HARJITRA GANDHI  
BOMBAY, MUMBAI 17, INDIA



VOL. XVIII No. 21 AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 1934

TWO ANNAS

## INDIAN STRUGGLE IN GOA

(By Keshabhai P. Desai)

Two foreign Governments—the British and the Portuguese still retain some tiny bits of our land on our west coast under their rule. As was natural, the people of these foreign settlements have grown conscious of their right to freedom and for the last few years since the attainment of freedom by India have been striving to throw off the foreign yoke. The problem has now become very pressing and demands an immediate solution.

As we hoped the new French Premier having reached the Indo-China struggle, has now given his attention to the settlement of the question of French possessions in India. That is the reason why this problem, unlike that of Goa, Diu and Daman, has not drawn much attention nor caused much big time interest, because for the last years last there are definite indications that with goodwill on both sides it will now be amicably settled through peaceful negotiations.

Portugal, however, has chosen to follow a totally different course. With characteristic insouciance she announced "Goa is Portuguese territory and we will not give it up, come what may." India on her part made it clear that the territory is part of the Indian land and its people are one nation with the Indians. It is not the Portuguese who live there and the days of colonization and imperialism are long over.

In the process a strong popular movement has grown up among the Goa people to liberate their territory from the hold of the Portuguese Government and to merge it in India. It is not yet fully known—future history, when it comes to be written, will show what it is—what measures the Portuguese Government must have adopted in order to win or to intimidate them into silent submission. But it has not availed her. The struggle for liberation is now proceeding apace led by Goa's own leaders. This is an important development. These leaders have already won a part of the territory. The Portuguese authorities consequently find themselves in serious predicament over the question.

It is a characteristic of freedom struggle that once it gets started there can be no stopping it.

And now for some of the incidents related in its progress. A series of joint protestants which will develop, mark the onset of this development is that India has witnessed her moral support to this struggle. The world opinion too in greater or lesser measure inclined to come round to the side of the people though Portugal does not seem to have left anything undone to win it in her favour. But that will not be still which will not enter here.

The first in the series of the developments which have followed was the breaking-off of diplomatic relations between India and Portugal. Portugal recalled her consuls from India and India on a counter-measure, recalled hers from Goa. Thus the door was almost closed for direct negotiations.

Next, Portugal launched a campaign of disorder and misrepresentation of India using the narrow the status of India in the world. While among those which have played some part in this design are Britain, the U.S.A. and Pakistan. Britain had the audacity to ask India to settle the question peacefully as though India were preparing for war. India sent a vigorous reply that it was not India but the Goa people themselves who were carrying on a fight—that too non-violent—against their foreign rulers and if England really desired to help settle the problem the best thing they could do was to advise Portugal not to resort to the unbridled methods of the past against the Goa people. India also made it clear that she was certainly giving moral support to the people as she regarded the cause as one of pending importance on the Indian soil. The time has come, she added, when Imperatives must stand itself up with its Asia and Africa. The problem thus constituted a test for the nations of the world in 1934. It would show up what were their inner motives and on which side they were likely to be caught at a critical moment.

This outspoken reply had the desired effect of clearing the air of the matters of misrepresentation and wicked thinking.

It is also notable that the Goa people are carrying on this fight non-violently. It is a factor which is bound to affect the international opinion in its favour.

A despicable crime, it seems them-hang in the domain of some of the Indian political parties to justify the war. Some have even gone to the point of making the misguided suggestion that India should seize Goa by military force. They show in this connection to Hyderabad and Kashmir as partial examples.

The examples are inadmissible. Both Hyderabad and Kashmir, though such in its own way had subjected themselves with the Indian Union. They were not separate States like Goa. If the Indian army were to enter Goa, it would be regarded as an invasion against Portugal from the view-point of international law, as the entry of Portuguese troops into Kashmir was against India. And that would at once make it an international issue. In that event it is hardly necessary to point out the serious repercussions which it may lead to in the modern world. Besides, what has been India's own attitude in regard to such armed invasions as means of settling political differences? What would happen to the no-war policy which we have been consistently advocating ever since our entry into international politics? And what would happen to the moral strength India enjoys at present after she herself undertakes to violate her policy?

Indians have been kept back from joining the Goa struggle for freedom so that our policy in regard to such questions in the international field may be the more clearly seen by the world. There are parties in our midst which have raised a lot of outcry against the stand of the Indian Government in this respect. It is a sign of political perversity if some of our political parties see in this struggle an opportunity to raise their status. This attitude in regard to a matter concerning our foreign policy is to be greatly deplored. It will not do to forget that it is an international question and must be resolved through appropriate international means. Practical means are more effective and ultimately more potent for resolving all such disputes in the best possible manner and with minimum of suffering. Only then may be pursued with understanding and patience.

24-9-64

(From the original in Gujarati)

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#### SOCIAL WELFARE AND HUMAN LIBERTY

Every man aims at happiness or welfare and yet for the most part it is an individual problem, because one cannot take of happiness others from that of another. Of course in a limited sphere and in a limited extent, Government welfare leading to our collective or social life which aims at being provided for collectively, e.g. State's part, highways, Post and Telegraph, Public Education etc. But there remains a large area of our life in which it is best to follow the principle enshrined in the oft-quoted motto: *let the Government which governs the least be the best*.

Still it is a considerable desirability to arrange health services in the people in a collective manner. The Welfare State system requires it as its duty to do so. The manner is not unexampled as it appears. In fact, it means a whole series of considerations with an intense bearing on the question of individual liberty as will be evident from the following interesting discussion reproduced here from an American periodical, *The New Yorker* (June 44).

W. H. H.

M. P. J.

Suppose in our small group someone asks, "Are you in favour of socialism?"

"Sure, I am," says George. "Many people are too poor to pay doctor's bills. Only the hand-to-mouth would object to socialism."

"But since government-employed doctors have a guaranteed salary," I put in, "won't they get lazy, and people not get good treatment?"

"Seems to me we are considering two important problems here. Couldn't we replace our question to get them out in the open?"

"How do you mean?"

"Aren't we really dealing with both a problem of health and one of government?" asks M.

"That's what I say," repeats George. "We can't let people be sick. When they can't pay for their health, the government must do it for them."

"Start it?" you ask.

Here I suggest that poor people can join a private insurance agency, but George says they are too poor for that. We go on, while you eventually cede. "But government is legal coercion. It forces many unwilling persons (one among them) to pay the doctor's bill of others. If we took time out to examine the real nature of health or of government, we wouldn't so gladly accept the question we're arguing."

So you ask, "Do you mind if I raise another question or two?"

"No. Fire away."

"What is health? How do we maintain physical-mental wellbeing, and recover it when sick?"

"You go to the doctor, of course," says George. "And poor people have to have government help."

"Some people believe differently," you say.

"They believe that each person is responsible for his health and we have a right if he loses a normal life."

"Once again," says George.

"I may seem to have wandered from our subject, but I think we must get answers to two underlying questions before we tackle this business of socialized medicine," you continue.

"You want us to ask, how do we maintain health, and is either medicine or government necessarily related to it?" I queried.

"I'm beginning to see what you mean," says George (we hope). "But there's more to it than that. I'm concerned about the poor. What can we do about them?"

"Exactly!" you explain. "Now you've hit on another major problem of living. The one that has to do with poverty and possessions. Don't you see how our original question is a surface one, and tangled up with three major problem areas, and how we need to have some idea of what's underneath before we can make good decisions about socialized medicine?"

### DEMOCRACY AND INDUSTRIALISM

The problem of America, as Mr. Bryson sees it, is that the rise of industrialism and technology has seriously interfered with the practice of democracy. Because of the complexity of modern industrial production, the manufacturers of goods for mass markets has privileged the control of experts. With experts at the helm, industrial organization has become increasingly collectivized in character. 'Collectivist' is Mr. Bryson's vocabulary. Strong organizations in which the opportunity for individual choice has been radically reduced. Not only "agency in organization, but the qualities themselves, demand this imperative. Significant decisions, therefore in industry, become restricted to fewer and fewer persons. The great majority of workers do what they are told, they have nothing to say. They are tenders of machines. In a wider sense the economic system itself imposes this condition on American society as a whole. Men become victims of the system.

Bryson points out that democracy exists only when individuals have opportunity to make decisions and to act upon and learn from their decisions. The growth of human beings, he points out, is an individual undertaking. It cannot be accomplished for them by the corporate acts of organizations. Democracy is that form of social organization which is devoted to protecting and fostering the right and need of the individual to choose. Democratic legislation must always have this end in view; when it does not, it ceases to be democratic.

Pretended democratic legislation is legislation which claims to be democratic because it is intended to serve the good of the people. It may serve some secondary good, such as economic betterment, or greater efficiency in the carrying out of public business. But if it takes away from the people decisions from which they may learn

as individuals— it is nevertheless undemocratic legislation. Bryson's point is that while we now decide that we must have such legislation we should not deserve avarice as by calling it "democratic." As he puts it,

Democracy is not a success. Democracy is a way of regarding our experience so as to involve and expand and educate human capacities, to preserve man's ability to think for himself and to act with his friends to help the conditions that are created by the acts of a common action to the maximum in order to keep thought individual and free, always able to give man a chance to learn the value of free men free thinking by making it out in the action that will produce direct results and pass upon hypothesis the judgment of experience. For better ways may be obtained, this is not democracy.

The problems so brought into contrast are not ideological problems. They are simple, non-political consequences of modern industrialism and the pattern it has imposed upon the life of human beings wherever large-scale economic production prevails. They exist in Russia under Communism and they exist in the United States Under Communism; however, the loss of democracy is more absolute, since the ability of the individual to choose has been curtailed, if not destroyed, by political means as well as by the fundamental economic causes.

What Mr. Bryson is really saying in effect, is that we are in trouble because we have fallen long the bait of supposing that our economic ends are the most important ends in life. Let us make accurate. Let us find true ideals and seek their fulfillment by democratic means.

Bryson proposes, in short, a concentration on those activities and perceptions powers which are unique to human beings. He also proposes a revival of community democracy, as more within the reach and control of individuals. There are means by which to develop new opportunities for self-education and growth. It is surely true that a cycle of intensive reflection on the higher qualities of human beings—the master questions implied by practice of the arts, the moral and psychological questions which have play in human relationships—would tend to give human energies a more constructive focus. It is even possible that the periodic dislocations and sometimes disasters which overtake our economic life would tend to disappear from a society in which each individual came to dominate (for one thing, a human community in which economic achievement ceases to be the mark of "success" should soon be relieved of the ruthlessness of economic competition. Quite possibly, all men could be "comfortable" if nearly all men did not worry so much about their economic status. Perhaps the narrowness which affects our struggle for economic achievement is precisely what is wrong with our economic system, as such.

(Adapted from *Albion*, 1944-45.)

# HARIJAN

Sept. 4

1954

## PALM OIL AND SUGAR INDUSTRY

(By Rajendra P. Desai)

The following points are taken from Andhra deservers to be noted by all who wish well with our village people and their home-industries.

(Continued, Aug. 27)

"A pilot scheme for the direct movement of some into rural was adopted by the Andhra Government yesterday.

This scheme envisages the establishment of oil palm products development centre in each of the 13 districts where hand-driven centrifuges will distil 50 per cent of palm.

Each centre will employ about 100 tappers who will be required to supply 10 to 15 gallons of coconuts daily.

Both palm oil and sugar it is estimated will yield half a pound of jaggery and will lose of sugar, and the Government has agreed to pay three and half annas for each gallon of coconuts. (The Pioneer of India, Aug. 28, 1954)

It is estimated that the scheme will provide employment to about 1,500 tappers. Which means that, if the scheme is successful, it will be extended to cover the entire area of the State and thus it would easily provide permanent employment to about 8 lakhs of Andhra's tappers, who are unemployed at present on account of toddy being prohibited in the State. This will surely be a distinct step in the right direction.

As we saw in a previous issue ("Development of Palm Oil", p. 234 Pioneer, 28-5-54), there are masses of palm trees in our land which constitute our real and permanent wealth awaiting to be exploited in a suitable manner. These trees require neither irrigation nor manure. Not only do they give nutritious palm, but they are useful to villages in other ways also. This enormous wealth of our villages must be exploited to its full capacity. The fear that people might abuse them for illicit use as toddy should not stand in the way of an argument against adopting this policy. Though, surely, this is not to minimise such a danger nor to deny the need of care and vigilance on our part when implementing this policy. The point is that a negative attitude and approach to this policy, which might be apprehended to be born of such fear, should not stop us from exploiting this fruitful source of wealth to its full capacity.

For example, we learn that a District Congress Committee in Bombay State has suggested the closure of all opium centres in the district, on account of such fear. It is also suggested that they could be reduced to some other districts as well. The Bombay State must move as a drink. It does not seem to have adopted gun-making if license-holding tappers are required to deliver some of suitable numbers of gun-making plants

in the villages. Also of means for toddy purposes might consider due control and we might secure both wealth and employment for ourselves. It is from this point of view that the Andhra idea is worthy of attention. Science should lead us helping hand here by due research and guidance. It is a venture worth undertaking, requiring us to take a new path in industrial advancement.

During the Dandi March days, it was the law that palm trees were the source of poison, or, today, that they had no other healthy use and hence should be all cut away. Consequently hundreds of them began to be cut away in Gujarat. It was then that we learnt that coconuts cannot only be a good healthy drink, but also that oil can be manufactured from it as from sugarbeet, and that actually in our country some of palm oil was manufactured yearly in Bengal and formed a nourishing food of the village people there. Gandhiji at once declared that palm should not be cut, it will be wrong and doing violence to do so. And he started to propagate manufacture of palm oil as one of the village industries under the All India Village Industries Association. Since then, the idea has come to stay and we have a department of this industry maintained at present at the Centre which greatly needs the propagation of the idea in the country. Therefore, it would be well if we turn our palm trees wealth to giving us oil and sugar as decentralised village industries. Industrial Department must go into due research for doing this, and necessary technical and economic aids must be provided by Government, so that in a few years time we may succeed to prohibit the use of toddy in the most constructive and positive manner, by establishing a rural trade and industry of healthy and nutritious food, over and above giving full employment to a large number of village people.

28-5-54

## Help the Flood Victims

Big rivers in North-East India are in spite carrying vast masses of the countryside and making the lives of lakhs of our countrymen there miserable and causing serious danger to their life and property. It is human to keenly feel for them and the milk of human fellowship and Andhra should naturally flow to them in this nation's calamity to them. Unlike previous conditions when we had no government of our own, we are in the happy state of having our own government today which has been heavily doing its part of relieving the uncountable distress. The Centre is also wide awake to cope with the situation of unprecedented floods that are to be seen this year. However, non-official efforts and help should also come forth in equal abundance. School and college students also should contribute their mite by organising bhanda-dan.

28-5-54

R. P.

## ABOLISH OWNERSHIP OF LAND\*

(By Fancher)

A man lives in and by the land. The service of the modern is therefore his most important duty. It also bestows true devotion. People have an idea that devotion has to be practiced in a temple. What is practiced in a temple is mostly pseudo-devotion and not the real thing. Service of the society is real devotion. As you know, Lord Krishna is seated in the heart of all things—of men and women, of children and old people. We have been given this body for His service. And how can we serve Him except by serving the beings in whose heart He dwells? We must therefore use this body for the service of the society—of the suffering humanity. The body fails in its purpose if it is not so used. The scriptures say the human body is a mere gun. Why?—because it can be used for service.

Some people who came to see me today said, referring to the suffering caused by the floods in that part of Bihar, that the authorities had hit all alike and they did not know who was to help whom. I replied that some were in greater distress than others and it was our duty to help them. What happens today is that he who has a thousand rupees thinks of him who has five thousand and the latter in his turn of him who has ten thousand and so on. This makes for envy and loss of peace and satisfaction. Instead of directing their gaze upwards, if they understood to direct it towards those who were less fortunately placed, they would thank God for what they had and feel happy and contented. It will make for generosity and kindness and love.

It is true that none has totally escaped the effects of this great calamity. But it is obvious that it would not do for anyone to shirk his duty—the duty to help our less fortunately placed brethren—on this account. Suffering should bring us closer to one another. Let us be brothers among whom none will be older and none younger. Let us all be equal. That would be the right use of the calamity. It would be a gain beyond comparison. The Gita says that he who observes this capacity to regard all as equals wins the world. We may not be able to achieve it all at once, but try we must leaving the fruit of it to His hands.

The Bhodan Yajna for which we have come here, is intended to teach you the attainment of this equality and is in such the way to eradicate all such suffering for good. Just as everyone has free access to the use of water, air and sun, so should everyone have an equally free access to the use of land. The scriptures say: Land is the mother and I am her son. How can a son be prevented from serving his mother and seeking the gift of her love? Ownership of land is therefore wrong, nor was it ever in operation in our

country and *practically* *supposing* *nothing* *the* *old* *pattern* *of* *land* *ownership* *is* *based* *on* *Deity*, *that* *land* *could* *be* *transmitted* *from* *one* *age* *to* *another* *of* *the* *religion* *we* *are* *on* *the* *land* *while* *others* *work* *as* *the* *carpenters*, *smiths*, *pot* *men*, *weavers* *etc.* *shared* *an* *each* *three* *own* *units* *on* *which* *were* *complementary* *to* *agriculture*: *The* *crops* *were* *shared* *by* *all* *equally* *and* *according* *to* *needs*. *They* *had* *more* *when* *the* *crops* *were* *good* *and* *less* *if* *poor*. *So* *a* *work* *on* *and* *all* *were* *happy*.

But now they sell and buy land like any other commodity. A few days ago, someone remarked to me very sorrowfully that the price of land had gone down. He added that it was now about half of what it used to be. I told him: This means that as yet we have accomplished only half of our work. It would be fully accomplished when land had ceased to fetch any price at all. I explained to him that it was wrong to make of land a commodity for sale and purchase. Land was the source of life and it must be freely available to all who want it and have the capacity to use it. Today they value everything in terms of money. Not only are milk and curds and such other things sold, but boys and girls are also sold. The reprehensible practice of child-selling in Bihar is nothing less than the selling and purchasing of boys and girls. This habit of assessing the worth of everything in money has done incalculable harm to human society. We must know that there are things whose importance to us cannot be assessed in money. Land is one of these.

It should be recognized that everyone who wants has a right to ask for land and the society is duty-bound to give him land. Just as he who is thirsty has a right to ask for water; even so a cultivator has the right to ask for land. And just as a thirsty person must be given water, so should a cultivator be given land. It will be asked: Where is the land which the society may give him for his use? I would say that it is to be given out of what is being held by the present landowners. Poverty will first have to be shared before it can be entirely eliminated. The principal aim of the Bhodan Yajna is to abolish the individual ownership of land. Land should belong not to individuals but to the village community. It may be a matter of shame to ask for land but there is no shame in asking for land because that shows readiness to work for one's living. Land does not yield its gifts unless one is ready to put in hard labour. In asking for land, one is merely asking for work which is everybody's right to demand. The Lokmatya said, "Swaraaj is our birth-right", even so do I declare that he who is ready to work on land can ask for land as his birth-right.

You are perhaps aware that the Government is now keeping death duties. It appropriates a substantial portion of a person's property after his death. Why not then declare, what the Government is sure to appropriate after your death, while you are still alive? The kings in ancient India used to distribute all their wealth among the poor from time to time. It is on record that King Harsh did so every year at Prayag on the conference of Ganga and Yamuna. It is

\*From a presentation at Madras (Chennai) on 23.8.94



the important address given (a) by [him] I considered whether Shakespeare did not in fact in part define it. Shattered when he told:

"Pile each another close  
and lean to the other most,  
kissing the dead for sake  
And pressed with what he gets—  
'Cause father, uncle father, some father'  
There shall he see  
No change  
But winter and rough weather!"

**Reginald Mabel Harvelays, Ontario**

In his postscript address that day, Wicks suggested to the members to have some such studies in every district where not possible are harvelays in greater. In fact it says that would be so in every district, some spots may be chosen in each province for laboratory work on that. Researching of harvelays might be a living society about.

**Wicks and the Love of Love**

... The same night a lady described words from Wicks. Wicks said Wicks: "The tale has that through Wicks he wanted to express the idea of family from the heart in the whole village. If they could follow the love of love in the family why should they not do so in society where competition was most prominent today?" There should also be an such definition in ways as in regret today. Not should the chance be differentiated as in individual class before than etc.

When questioned whether there was a connection of the progress of science, Wicks replied in the negative. He said that if village problems could be solved through the Wicksian technique there was no chance of violence in the village. In the international sphere one found a strange attitude not among the masses but among those who controlled the Government. A few despots first came there. But if internal problems were solved by non-violence external war would also be solved. He stated at meeting a new psychology suggested. "The assumption that people cannot change" said Wicks. "Is wrong. All through history man has been changing. I believe human psychology is not a fixed thing and can be altered. The scientific attitude demands that we should rise above the material plane. I know things told that to express programs it will need to be contributed. But if science and violence go together, there is no hope for man. On the other hand, a marriage between science and non-violence will bring heaven on earth."

When the day visitor asked him whether he would aim at changing the State in later stages, Wicks smiled and said: "After all there is the prospect of the end of the nation. If people or a good number of them change God will change State will change." Explaining it further he concluded, "If Wicksian proceeds in a way to change and only the super form that inner spirit, we can change the State as we like."

**Wicks's Future Program**

Most of the talk was spent in private conversations with Wicks. For some time Wicks sat with Earl Gifford, the Secretary of the well known constructive worker of Oahu and other Oahu workers and heard his program for Oahu later provisionally. Wicks stays in Waikiki until December next, when the Hawaiian district of Japan on January 1, 1955 and then passing through the districts of Hawaii and Mississippi, stops this time on 15th January by the district of Michigan.

**Word for Anti-Intemperance**

After the evening guests Wicks addressed the work on giving them to know Wicks' mission to help us have such day for anti-intemperance. Without giving the statistics however and self-examination the daily program would be required to a more external source. At night, he called some hundred workers from different districts and asked them to study and observe for work in their respective places until the end of December.

(To continue)

## A KILLER ON WHEELS

The following is taken from Dr. Robert V. Seligson's article in *Magazine Digest* of July 1954, pp. 127.

The Judge John cited a drunken driver's auto and the prosecution were struck by a man who, perhaps, if he had not been drinking would not have struck them. Seligson took possession of the document. They show that alcohol diminishes the accuracy of sensory perception, delays motor performance, and weakens physical coordination. A few drinks make a man react more slowly in emergency. He is inclined to be less confident in the wheel than he would ordinarily be. He takes more alcohol and generally drives at a greater speed than normal. ...

'Don't drink if you drink, and don't drink if you drive. It is a good plan in view of the increase in the number of motor vehicles and licensed operators. In 1941 Magazine Canada of New York city observed that "the motor epidemic." In the greatest single instrument of death in our community. The alcohol was left in New York alone more in the doctor's office, personal injuries and millions of dollars of damage to property.

In a ten year study in Cleveland Dr. Seligson discovered that the use of alcohol was involved in more than half of the automobile fatalities during that period, and the greatest number of victims of the wreck were in the so-called 'modern' drinking cars.

One insurance company, calling that four people were killed in 1950 in traffic accidents where liquor was a factor in driving records, insurance at a reduced rate to non-drinking drivers. It has realized that the least alcohol is a better car on a driver.

In the field of mass public transportation the drinking driver is a killer. Automobile has become and will become a killer when it controls the traffic and has no one to control its operation to drink. The driver of a public is responsible for the safety of several hundred people at the most. He is not alone in the control he does not have to influence someone's traffic, he is called by someone's vehicle and speed driver. He is not alone when he is not alone in the responsibility of the automobile driver, who is the cause of a death may also mean the death of people."

If a driver with a loaded gun walked the streets the public would be alarmed in a hurry and every available policeman would be out trying to track him down. The car is as loaded a weapon as a loaded gun. The drinking driver has his finger on the trigger and in any small emergency he may pull it. In him we have a potential enemy loose in every city and capable of taking thousands of lives.

To help curb this mounting danger these steps are recommended:

1. Passage of stronger laws providing stiffer penalties.
2. Increased conviction of driving license upon conviction of a drunken-driving offense.
3. Compulsory tests for the detection of alcohol in every fatal traffic accident.
4. Provision for the use in court of a breathalyzer or breathalyzer and device.

T. E. B.

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and financial affairs, usually "Tribhuvan" (the sun) has been calling upon the landless labourers to have voluntary gifts without compulsion from the office of State and by demand their villages into self-reliance. All previous measures to establish the self-reliance.

In three years since the launching of the "Tribhuvan" has succeeded in securing over 1,00,000 acres from 2,00,000 despoiled landless labourers and donated animals, which are being distributed among the landless. The target is to secure 50 million acres by way of these voluntary gifts before the year 1957 is out. His principal lieutenant in the campaign is Shri J. P. Narain the great socialist leader of India who is holding out a fair promise of forming the "Part of the New Path".

The message is being delivered by the great himself walking from village to village, holding prayer meetings calling upon the "haves" to recognize the "worth brother" and to welcome him in the "joint family" with honour and status by conceding him land as his birth-right. The millions who witness these walking tours and listen to his words are in him Gandhi reawakened having come back in their mind once more to fulfil his interrupted life-mission of revivifying the "deshworied of the earth".

Thousands of social workers engaged in various constructive services of the Gandhian programme, have caught the spark of the New Path and are carrying the flame to every nook and corner of India. At a recent convention held at Bombay—the hallowed spot of Gandhi's Enlightenment—and attended by the tallest in the land in the spirit of a pilgrimage over 500 seasoned workers of both sexes responded to Shri J. P. Narain's call and solemnly pledged themselves to dedicate their lives to the great Cause of man's reconstruction by raising a distinctive state-free society on foundations of Non-violence. Their number has increased considerably since.

"These harkensmen in their bare walk the villages" carrying neither scrip nor shawl nor yet knives, cheating tyrants of property and of hope and assuring the millions of the self-reliance being at hand.

"It is a unique phenomenon—these walking tours of the New Gandhians. The village folk—both masters and men, the exploiters as well as the exploited—call them an apostle of the self-reliance. Without much persuasion and as if they were waiting simply to be approached—the haves part with their lands. They give with a joyful heart. They vie with one another. Often they give their all. The land gift is often accompanied by seed, implements even stoves and provision for the duration till the beneficiary is able to raise his 'own' crop and harvest it.

While every big Zamindar owning vast acreage have bowed willingly, directing them-

self as if possessed of a hundred thousand acres, giving thousands of acres to 1,00,000 dispossessed labourers registered are hardly working today holding a few acres or less each. Whole villages have come forward, donating every inch within their village bounds and turning into co-operating farmers. India's soil is rich and her millions have come to know of it.

The Movement with its ideology is generating an unprecedented climate of goodwill and understanding throughout the country.—a revolution in human values demanding all selfless exploration and acquisition on the part of the individual, society or state—a revolution which may in its ultimate results meet powerfully on the strained relationships among the nations of the world to their lasting benefit."

### GOD'S GOOD DEVOTEE

(By A. P. Srinivas)

Archarya Vinoba Bhave's sixtieth birthday falls on the 11th September 1954.

Madhuprat Bhatu Ropendra Prasad was once described as God's good man. Similarly, Vinoba Bhave can aptly be described as "God's good devotee". The family in which he was born bears a surname which literally means "devotion". Devotion is woven in his very nature. From his very childhood he showed signs of great piety and goodness of early childhood was more than fulfilled in his later life.

Like Ramdas, being from the mother of spiritual life Vinoba had from his birth. Arts education in search of a political and spiritual view. It is going strange but true, that the great Lakshmanan Thakur who was then the un-crowned king of India could not attract him as a follower. Says the poet:

**remains remaining a good devotee;**

**at his own as a devotee; asked devotion.**

(The bee while wandering in a forest was not attracted by the heat of the Champaka flower. How can this be explained? It can only be explained as God's wish.) It was Mahatma Gandhi who was destined to be Vinoba's political mentor; was also to be the spiritual and path God father to Vinoba.

Under Gandhi's paternal guidance Vinoba quickly grasped the doctrine of the Ekamahi, Ahimsa and in 1942 Gandhi chose him as the first individual Satyagrahi, bringing him into twilight which he had so long purposely avoided.

There are many facts in Vinoba's interesting and being prominent. One was to make a Sarvodaya a Christ, a Paradise, a Welfare and a John Baptist all rolled into one. That Vinoba is all that and something to spare.

Like Socrates he is fond of posing his knowledge by questions and counter-questions. Having mastered the science of logic he can very shrewdly point out the fallacies and become in the eyes of his questioners. And then he responds to his theme. He has written books which make a



## HARIJAN

Sept. 11

1951

THE CONGRESS DIRECTIVE  
RE. VANAPATHI

(By Nageshwar P. Das)

In an exercise of authority in the Parliament—our Father's House on the Hill to check and obstruct—the following points were made to our readers:

1. It was a matter of regret that in spite of a resolution passed by the A-I C C. in 1951, recommending a ban on the manufacture of Vanapathi Ghose which has become a very cheap and essential ingredient of pure Ghee, the Government delayed taking any step.

2. It is agreed that they had not also been able to buy the purest colour so as to make it distinguishable from pure Ghee.

As can be gathered from the press report of the debate while the Government replied to the latter it was "quarry enough, albeit on the first point. Regarding prohibition of Vanapathi the Minister in charge replied that the Government had asked us how to get a suitable colouring matter that had not succeeded till now. The Minister then said: "We did our level best, but we have not been able to find a suitable colour."

And the Minister hinted that, as far as the Parliament is concerned with the manufacture of Vanapathi but only with the adulteration of foodstuffs.

Scarcely does it is an article of our food and it is dangerous clear now that it is profusely adulterated with Vanapathi Ghose. If it is conceded that I objected is not bad for health, surely it is bad to mix it with Ghee, which should be stopped. And as such it does come under the purview of the proposed Bill.

And there are two ways known to us at present to stop this adulteration. I stop or control the manufacture of the known adulterant. I do so colour it so as to make adulteration visible, detectable, and easy to detect. If the latter method is unworkable in spite of all the money we have, till the national laboratories are well established, the obvious course to do is to take up the other alternative of control.

Of course there is the third and the best way also to achieve the object and that is to bar the colourants to manufacture only as much Vanapathi as is necessary for non-utile purposes of cosmetics, and not to produce the white stuff. On those who are in the adulterated may wish to do so as it is a sin to cheat or to hurt anybody in this manner. It is now where this law remedy fails, that the State has to come in, on behalf of the community. Otherwise it stands

in its original position of not "hand in glove with big business" but not bending to the pressure demands of the people for reasons not quite clear to the general mind.

The Minister in charge further replied in an allegation of the Government that it was misled by a speaker that much of adulteration had occurred because Government had given "a long rope" to big millowners who could manufacture anything they liked without caring for the larger interests of the country. To which the reply as reported was, his forthright refutation which helped the problem no way either. The question remains, will Government implement the decision on the directive of the A-I C C. If it is clear that science has failed till now to give us efficient colouring material? It is no use waiting for it to come as we do not know when it may come. If ever at all.

32-5-54

## RELIGIONS IN HISTORY

(By Nageshwar P. Das)

Among the few major questions that drive mankind to war and destruction, conflict and antagonism, surely, religion. Now let it not be said that it was so in the middle ages and has gradually died away, its strength having diminished with the passage of time and the growth of science and rationalism. For it would not be historically true to say so. About the nature and the influence of the religious sentiment have changed in many of the centuries, but it has surely not diminished that the sentiment has been transformed or sublimated into a larger and broader conception of our world commitment—into a part of a world religion inspiring our common humanity. Further, the middle ages continue to abide with us as a subconscious force, almost elemental in its potency, awaiting to be unleashed into some wider vision of ourselves and of the purpose of our earthly existence. I may illustrate the point.

The reader must have read the article "Christian Attitude Toward Other Faiths" (HARIJAN, Jan-54, p. 201). It is a significant statement from a student of religions. He points out why religion, which should rather unite man, divides him. This is so because it makes us "fall into an ideological rut" driving us to be "evangelical or apologetic" of certain religious passages including "deplorable slanders" over the whole groups of people. It gets intertwined with the culture of the people almost making itself the spirit of the race and the essence of its progress and culture. Thus believing it does not allow us to possess the capital and noble attitude of the lowest worker—"of a worker of the truth of our being, which is the only true and worthy while slaving on earth of each one of us, whatever religious label we may be born in or may wear or acquire."

As a result, it is a group, and very much  
like any other group, that is large, heterogeneous or  
homogeneous, it divides members into religious  
communities, and as Rome says, "the acceptance  
of Christianity as a religion does not put one more  
step further away from others." In terms of social  
organization, and here necessity, in which we  
are interested, it is a social that must be kept  
together. It is the catholicism of the race or  
the community. It is clear that history here in  
the United States is, as it would be. As Rome  
says, "this is leading us so far as the persons  
that this are subject of the necessity to im-  
mortal insights as granted in the living present."  
Now the past holds us in its embrace are used in  
understanding it. But the trouble is that very  
often almost always as a group, "we cling to  
what past" or glory in it," thus, receiving old  
catholicism social or national, and tribal tribes  
as we used to be.

And if we look at history, we find that those religious groups that might have succeeded to displace and hold power over others began to feel a vital and innate superiority for themselves, such as the church of the chosen people, the 'heaven of the Lord is high' etc. The worldly success is then unconsciously attributed to the superior status of their own creed or religion. <sup>4</sup>Therefore, as a consequence there is an end of blind inquiry or search for truth. In our arrogant ignorance, we forget that "there is no truth that does not include all truth" and

lunge too long in shadow of the way-side shrines of the past." The inachability or eternality of the human mind ends and we no longer have an open mind, arrogant notes on putting an end to progressive advancement. The Aryans or the Hindus when they began to be invaded by Islam from the N. W. frontier had each made Muhammadism had it be their days of glory. The Christian peoples of modern times did it at present. And it is to the last groups that Rome addresses "I personally do not look for the conversion of good numbers of the adherents of the other religious traditions to some form of Christian authoritarianism." And we can see that this pride of superiority has assumed the form of domination and "Mitschul" confusion in the political field. A spirit of intolerance must be refused to admit religious communities as well as only political. And a way of life in keeping with that spirit must be deemed and motivated by the modern world. We must learn that mere word and ritual belief, creating a dogmatic rule or brooding an insidious arrogance, their meaning and significance prevailing as in the spirit of humble courage, wonder and reverence, both earth and makes us whole by surrendering our inner being with the manner which only contains us.

### WORKING WITH TITLES

# 1. Introduction

It would be true that there was some discussion of the matter in the House of Commons, but the Government have not yet decided whether to take any action.

Mr. Kishore pointed out in his reply that although the world was so fond of publicizing events in one form or another, especially in the form of awarding honours, as we have been using such honours, epithets, bestowing them liberally for meritorious people shared from village to village Gandhiji continued to be addressed as Mahatma even though he disapproved of the practice more than ever. There were many who were called the Gandhiji or the Jyotiba of that or that city or province. Shri. Vaidikrishna Patel was the 'Gandhi' of Dabhoi, Dandobharsuk, Lokarnaga and near other such epithets were in vogue for particular reasons. The speaker still continues

This was the way our simple and uneducated people expressed their love and gratitude to their leaders. At times it was also used as a good-humoured barrier for making fun of the winners. Indeed the tendency has been so marked and so continuous that it may well be used to have become a habit with us. But the Government is in a different position and it will not do for them to irritate the people in this respect. It would be wrong for them to grant our men awards and create the habit as a justification for their action.

A distinction has been sought to be made between awards and titles. It was said that the Constitution debars titles but not the awards. Therefore granting of these awards did not militate against the provisions of the Constitution on this subject.<sup>2</sup> But this does not mean that awards are of a noble good and must be granted nor does it warrant a distinction between the two. Indeed the conferment of titles and the grant of an

It is true that men, no matter how well-meaning, by their will would not promote equality or eliminate the class system; but it is equally true that it does not strengthen one resolve to combat with equality and is likely to breed the seed of the divide in two nations. Therefore

It is not that we must recognize special merit in the field of social service art, literature etc. It will introduce, it is argued, a desirable innovation in the social life. Just as we recognize

\*To be interpreted in this State the following forms  
As of Jan. 1, 1954

could not take it into his head to take the un-  
interrupted history of the province of Monterey (1810-  
1846) of the present article quite directly from looking  
into the "History of the Monterey region" or "History of  
the Monterey region" of the San Joaquin of the Republic.  
The article, if inserted in any way, did not fit with  
the theme of the article, and the article, if inserted, should









## HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAMATA GANDHI)  
EDITOR: BHASKARAN P. DASAI

Vol. XVII, No. 22

AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1934

TWO ANNAS

## LINGUISTIC TOLERANCE AND HINDI

(By Bhaskaran P. Dasai)

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, speaking from the chair on the occasion of the Second Anniversary meeting of the Hindi Association of Parliament, laid his finger on one of the chief dangers to be avoided by those who wish well to the spread of Hindi particularly in non-Hindi regions. He pleaded for linguistic tolerance on the part of Hindi enthusiasts (these should hasten slowly, though surely not too slowly or not at all as some seem to unknowingly do on account of their inherent attitude to the growth and development of our national language).

There is a second danger also of which we must be constantly aware, and that is about the place of the national language and its exclusive and broad-based form and character. Hindi is meant to be our inter-regional and all-India medium of administration and intercourse. It must, therefore, grow and develop accordingly and free from the shackles of the regional Hindi. It must be free to assimilate all that is good and helpful in the vast treasure-house of Indian languages. If Hindi enthusiasts, in their over-zeal, say that it should also be the medium of the regional administration and education in non-Hindi areas they will frighten away the non-Hindi people from adopting it as the common language and drive them to look all next for its propagation. So also if the Sanskritised school of linguistic development says that Hindi should be Sanskritised even to the exclusion of words from so-called foreign sources they will harm the cause of the spread of the all-India common language. Hindi must grow by the all-India common efforts of our people and along with all our regional languages and in no manner of any exclusivity or superiority. As the news have it, the Orissa legislature has decided well in adopting Oriya as the language of administration. The Orissa University should follow suit and decide it as its medium of instruction and administration, and introduce the compulsory study of Hindi up to the first degree courses, beginning from Standard V of a boy's studies.

14-9-34

## "GOAN STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM"

(The following is the Publisher's Note to the present issue recently published by the Marathi Trust under the above title.)

Modern European History begins with the discovery of India and Africa, and in its order an era of mercantile and colonial expansion set in in the Indian and the Atlantic Ocean areas. The maritime supremacy in the Indian Ocean became a prize worth its weight in gold and European powers began to combat for it among themselves. The first that came to the Indian shores were the Dutch the Portuguese, the French and the English. Of these the first went over to the East Indies leaving the field to the rest. The Portuguese turned their eyes more towards the New World and concentrated themselves with being allowed to possess their three main-line outposts on our Western coast. The French were defeated by the English and they settled down as friends of the English in their outposts on our Eastern shore.

The powerful co-existence arrived at by the three colonial powers was shaken from its very foundations by the stirring events of this century and the two World Wars laid at rest the long-held idea of colonial occupation or imperialism. The English people realised this before and they departed from India leaving us as their friends and collaborators in the achievement of world peace and prosperity. The French have begun to realise it and they are re-examining their position and status in their erstwhile colonial territories. Not so the Portuguese. And hence they have created a problem even for themselves, in Goa, Daman, and Diu. As we are free now, our people of those compact areas must not be any more under the foreign rule and they want to merge themselves with the motherland even politically now. This natural urge has assumed a serious form and it cries for the speediest friction.

The movement to reach an end actively began in the early forties. Gandhiji was with us then and he had chosen to write about and direct the Goan movement at that time. From the small beginnings then, it has now come to declare that

—Dr. B. K. Dasai, Pub. Marathi Trust, Publishing House,  
17-18, P. W. Rd. 4, Porbandar, S. S. I. P. O. Porbandar,  
Gujarat.

Portugal should still India. However, the ideas and the philosophy that Gandhi espoused have ~~enriched~~ <sup>enriched</sup> the world's view on the problems of the South for the struggle for freedom from Portuguese rule, have dedicated themselves to be the true ones for the larger movement as well. They define not only the aim and object, but also the technique of the fight. They also lay down, stand ~~obstacles~~ <sup>obstacles</sup> for the Portuguese rulers as well. And it is gratifying to note that these have naturally embodied themselves in our present foreign policy vis-a-vis Portugal. It is necessary and is interesting therefore to remember them in the words of the Father of the Nation. This lesson is linked with this aim, and the Prime Minister's statement on the Asian situation made in the Parliament on 25 8-54 is also appended therewith. It is hoped this brochure will help the readers to understand and appreciate our foreign policy in the wider perspective of world's history and its ultimate aim of co-property and co-operation peaceful co-existence of all its peoples.

8-8-54

### THE WORLD LIFE PROBLEM

(By Rev. C. Kapler)

[The following is from *Woman*, Dec. 31, '53. The question asked is: Is it fundamental and previous wisdom taught us the parts of those who are really exploring in America? In the future people who are not to be left out of our country and policy. The writer of the article tries to pose the problem that is created by and for the American woman in 1954, as the technology advances rapidly and unrelentingly in a new dimension. The problem for the woman is to see through it and come to a new point with herself. Is there within herself the right to be questioning with others and recognizing that she could do so? The woman is the best equipped questioning with life itself.]

9-7-54

H P 1

A present characteristic of the American people, as of so many people in the so-called "free world", is a certain fairness of tone in all their political activities. Few people now have much of a taste for politics even though many take part at various levels. One of the chief reasons for participation in politics is a kind of external social pressure that requires it, and not a keen enjoyment of fullness flowing from such activity.

Outside of small localism areas, we all feel pretty ineffective anyway and have felt that way for some time. As a kind of compensation for political ineffectiveness, there has been a retreat to private life which in recent years has been more keen activity than has been in evidence for a couple of generations. The move to suburban life, putting around the house, adding a room, tilling the garden, building the house. In a world that is so big and alarming and out of control, it gives us some satisfaction to be able to grapple with man-made comprehensible situations.

We might wonder, however, that our world is out of control not only because activities have learned how to rebel, but also because activities have

learned how to rebel. However, they have developed the perfect technological weapons of the H-Bomb but because of the very aspect of our life, we have not used them.

The feeling of helplessness that is now so widespread among us is the result of several factors. Unnatural world forces which seem to work themselves out regardless of the wishes of individuals—a technology that tends to lord itself primarily to mass manipulation and hegemony, to the continuing detriment of individualism and freedom, and there is also the fact that we seem to have reached a point where fresh thinking is no longer possible or so difficult to use that, in the eyes of a member of the present college generation, it might be dangerous psychically to aspire to anything better than securing a career job with some large corporation or the government, or to suppose that life might hold richer promise than the working hours such a career provides. A job, a home to subscribe, two cars, a wife, two children, one cat, and one dog, almost takes the compass.

So it is that, in a period when the knowledge and techniques that were to set men free have blossomed to an extent that dwarfs the predictions of earlier utopians, the man themselves seem to have shrunk and shrunk. Bold words and daring thinkers give way to cautious check-parkers and practical realists. The last stronghold for imagination and hope for a better world seems to be in the minds of the young. Outside of that field of literary endeavour, there is hardly a writer or a critic who would contemplate imagining a set of conditions that go beyond the present accepted limits. We are invited by most of our contemporaries either to accept the world as we find it, or to retreat to some earlier condition which, we are told, was good because simpler and more "integrated." In such a world it is said we could have peace of mind and security.

What is needed, it seems to me, is neither the status quo nor radical integration, but a new understanding of history and imagination. The world and the universe in which we live are not simple. Life is complex. There is contradiction, tension and conflict in our lives. To long for peace of mind or of soul in this kind of world, if by peace we mean the elimination of conflict and tension, would be to accept the course of cowardice. As every conscience in our world is the witness of the dead, that integration is possible if we do not shrink from the challenge of living in a complex world. The problem is not to eliminate conflict, but to find ways of resolving specific conflicts fruitfully, and therefore peacefully. New conflicts will arise as old ones are resolved. Peace in this context, can mean neither passivity nor the adjustment of people to a set of distorted social arrangements that

destroy human dignity as they destroy human life. In the effort to resolve conflicts, we are faced with the job of reconciling men with irreconcilable philosophies. But this is a possible task. Irreconcilable philosophies will remain. But it is possible, and it has been possible historically to reconcile men and communities of men holding utterly opposed philosophies. To do this, however, new messages and symbols will have to be searched for and found. Specific human and social problems will have to be solved. One of the first steps, therefore, will have to be that of fresh thinking.

We are faced today with a variety of catastrophic possibilities—what we need is not any new catastrophic methods of avoiding the disastrous possibilities. Since, in America, so few of our institutions have been able to avoid the corroding effects of fear, conformity and prejudice there is no great likelihood that courageous searching and a liberated imagination will appear on the scene without some special nurturing. The task then falls to us as individuals to be alert to and conscious of every sign of these qualities.

Our useful effort we can all make is to consider afresh, not just the problems, but the way we state these problems to ourselves. For example, as a result of the Great Depression that preceded the second World War, it is now a generally accepted axiom that one of the tasks facing America and the world is that of providing full employment. Only a few voices have dared to suggest recently that this may not be the problem at all—that, as a matter of fact, the problem for us is rather that of full unemployment! How, in other words, can we adjust ourselves and our institutions to the conditions that the new technology has not only made possible but probably inevitable, a society in which the masses of men will not have to work, at least, neither nearly as hard as they have had to work in the past. It is strange indeed that we have not heard the demand from either the labor unions or the intellectuals for a greatly reduced work week. Yet in the next few years the problem of how to organize a society in which the chief work is done by machines may be one of our major problems.

But beyond resisting the problems, we need that creative imagination and human spirit that for fantasy which can lift us out of our present failures and limitations to aspire for a better way of life for ourselves and all men.

Berkeley, California

By E. K. Prabhu

THIS WAS RAPU

With a Foreword by Kaka Kallikar

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HARIJAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

P.O. HARIJAN, AHMEDABAD-14

## OUR HEALTH FREEDOM

By K. Lal Sharma (Sharma)

Our Constitutional Law guarantees our right to own our own bodies free from interference by others which is the essence of what is called Personal Freedom.

This includes our right to live according to the teachings of Natural Hygiene, and to reject whatever is repugnant to it.

Mahatma Gandhi was himself a follower of Natural Hygiene, and condemned the medical procedures, vaccinations and inoculations. This was in perfect harmony with his insistence on Non-Violence as the guiding principle of life. While Natural Hygiene is based on Non-Violence, medical science is an out-and-out perpetrator of that principle, and vaccinations and inoculations are acts of violence to life and health.

We thought that because Gandhi was one of us, we had hopes that when the foreign rule came to an end we would automatically regain our God-given freedom. But this hope was belied.

The Health Minister of the Central Government is about to clamp down on the public servants a medical service to which they must contribute even when they do not want it. And she is protesting as it even though many thousands have protested against it.

It is also heard that she is starting a medical service for the whole nation on somewhat similar lines, without regard to the people's right of free choice.

That there are acts of tyranny inconsistent with democracy is plain enough to all enlightened persons.

It may be difficult for us to have recourse to the legal remedy, namely to take the issue to suitable courts of justice, so that these abhorrent tyrannies may cease. But we must be prepared to do so if and when necessary.

We have challenged these health departments to give us an honest guarantee that these filthy procedures are harmless to life and health. But they remain indifferent.

Also the Madras Government is about to frame a new rule for imposing isolation as a condition for granting exemption to conscientious objectors to vaccination, though there is not the least evidence to show that the vaccinated are in any danger of infection from unvaccinated persons and also without regard to the fact that compulsory has ceased to be Constitutional.

It behooves us therefore to become strong by organizing ourselves into a Health Freedom League, along with followers of Homeopathy and others who share our objections.

(Adapted from *For My Natural Values*, Volume III, No. 11)

By Mahatma Gandhi

GOAN STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

Pages iv + 14 Price As 4 Postage etc. As 2

HARIJAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

P.O. HARIJAN, AHMEDABAD-14

## HARIJAN

Sept 18

1954

## SELF-SUFFICIENCY or FREE ENTERPRISE

(By Jagdish P. Desai)

Local self-sufficiency in production of material goods through small-scale industries, so that economic power is decentralised and equitable distribution is maximised, is an ideal pattern for our country which mostly lives in our villages with agriculture as the basic industry.

There is, — this should be, — more or less the shape in the order of things to come, something to those who stand for the philosophy of Khadi and village industries or for our old ideal of the village republic. However, in the modern world it appears to be a new doctrine contrasting itself, as it does, with the capitalist one of 'free enterprise', or private capitalism on the one hand and the Communist one of State-planned enterprise or 'State capitalism' on the other. Both the latter ones are the offspring of the Industrial Age. They aim to secure large-scale production with the aid of machine and centralised money-power, even to disorganise of men to serve whom they are used to be, if at all. They therefore have to be predatory and exploiting in nature, and thus they produce business and production — individual and corporate — leading to potential war-relations in the international world.

The ideal of local self-sufficiency through decentralised production, on the other hand, keeps man and his needs in the forefront, and aims simply to so help him that he is not overpowered by it. The production is governed and directed by the actual social, economic and cultural needs of the community, unlike merely commercial and mercenary, i.e. for profit or markets. Therefore it regulates distribution in a very natural way and does not breed inequality or social injustice, but provides an automatic equalising agent in itself.

A criticism of this state of things that is far-reaching itself in some minds at present is that such an economy will be a poor economy. Obviously, this is said in comparison to the economy of hoarding inequality and income-distribution of the haves that the machine and money together manage to bring about. This economy does not bring riches to all but only to a few, and through predatory means under the wings of centralised economic and State power, rather democratic or dictatorial. It is a class economy. On the other hand, the economy of self-sufficiency is really not a poor economy, because it aims to supply to all people the essentials of life and thus becomes a satisfying and co-operative economy. It would be wrong to dub it as poor, if it is, really

speaking, the economy of equality and contentment.

Such an economy only can lead to be for real peace also. The other two economies of 'free enterprise' are bound to arm themselves, at least in self-defence, and if so needed for attack. Disarmament cannot be their own declared policy. Competitive as they are and will always remain, unless they change their fundamental nature, they will be in constant fear, and without freedom from fear disarmament and non-war are impossible. Therefore, under their order, security will only be a temporary feeling and not an abiding source or bedrock of social happiness and real progress.

Again it must be realised that mere production is no progress, there must be automatic distribution secured by full employment which should govern production as its basic law and principle. Production should not be allowed to be merely a mechanical process or result of the power-driven machine and the growth of surplus value accumulated by a few with the running devices of Company Law working in the interest of these few. Production should be a vital human activity, satisfying and creative, and not merely remunerative in cash. Such a productive activity can be really the general real happiness and contented prosperity, such only can be co-operative.

On the other hand, the law of free enterprise, either of the individual or of the State as it is today, breeds predatory competition and the prosperity that it brings is exclusive and unsatisfying, restricted and mechanical, it can exist only in the under- or un-employment and consequent wretchedness of millions either in the same country or in other unfortunate countries which are described as underdeveloped or under a backward economy. Surely it is impossible to visualise a state where all countries would be industrialised like America. Modern industrialism is a competitive and conflicting social doctrine, it can be made a co-operative deed only if, not the machine and the money-mechanism, but man and his creative happiness are established as main and central objectives.

Such self-sufficiency is a new idea and ideal given to us by Gandhiji. It is a world ideal of human happiness and brotherhood. It requires to be studied and actualised by us now in diverse ways. It is basically different from both the American or the Russian way which are, from the point of view of man or gods in the world, equally distorted; both of them stand for war as we actually see today. Both deny God and man, one professedly, the other in actual practice. Thus viewed, both are materialistic and mechanistic, not human or spiritual and creative or vital like the man-centred economy of self-directing production for use and creative happiness.





## ECONOMICS OF THE VILLAGE GHANI

Oil is an indispensable article used in cooking in every home in India. No matter whether the cooked food is vegetarian or non-vegetarian, not the homes are of the rich or of the poor, oil must be utilised. It is an article of universal use, in cities, towns and the villages. Great care has, therefore, to be taken in the selection of edible oils and ensure its purity.

Edible oils are of various kinds. They are extracted out of oil seeds and copra. India is an important producer of these oil seeds in the world. The total world production of important oil seeds is estimated at about 20 million tons per annum. Of this our country produces about 3 million tons.

Of these 3 million tons of oil seeds, 3 million tons are pressed in the country. Engineered mills press 15 lakh tons while 3 lakh tons are pressed by small factories. Thus 3 million tons are consumed by the mills. Only 1 million tons are available for being pressed by the bullock ghans in our villages.

Have you at any time paused to ponder over the economic consequences of mill and factory processing of edible oil seeds? Here are some facts which will speak for themselves.

There are in our country 4,00,000 bullock ghans. Ghani pressing is a family occupation. Four hundred thousand families thus eke out a living through ghani oil pressing. Each ghani is capable of crushing about seven tons of seeds per annum. On this computation, the 4,00,000 ghans will require 28 lakh tons of oil seeds. But we have seen that they get only 1 lakh tons. In other words, the ghans are not even half employed.

In addition, therefore, that the 4,00,000 families, that is, two million souls, have to subsist on half their normal earnings. A point to be remembered, however, is that a large number of these half-employed ghans do not get an even quota of seeds for oil pressing. In several parts of the country members of them have been rendered virtually idle and numerous families are facing poverty and destitution.

Now let us see what life could be to a Teli, that is, a ghani is fully employed, in a year the ghani can press say, some 30,000 lbs. of oil seeds yielding 1,000 lbs. of oil. Let us assume that 1 lb. of edible oil costs on an average Rs. 1. The price of oil paid by the Teli comes to Rs. 12,000 per year. Besides, he gets oil cakes which, when sold, fetches him Rs. 500. His gross annual income, therefore, comes to Rs. 12,500.

But all this money is not his. He has to spend over Rs. 12,000 to make this gross income. These expenses are roughly as follows:

1. Oil seeds	Rs. 12,000
2. Maintenance of bullock	Rs. 750
3. Maintenance of the ghani	Rs. 100
4. Interest charges	Rs. 150
5. Depreciation	Rs. 100
<b>Total</b>	<b>Rs. 13,100</b>

Thus a Teli family has a net annual income of Rs. 1,000, or Rs. 100 per month, provided the ghani is fully engaged.

But, as we have seen, the ghani today does not press even half its capacity and a large number of them have virtually gone out of use. To restore to the village oil industry its rightful place is a task of great urgency. As a means of relieving unemployment of about 15,00,000 souls, the village oil industry has an importance of its own in our national economy.

Let us see what blocks its rehabilitation and development. It has already been pointed out that 28 lakh tons of edible oil seeds are pressed in mechanised mills and factories, which employ among them hardly 60,000 workers. These mills and factories have great resources in capital and credit facilities. They are in a position to convert the oil seeds produced in the country at prices favourable to them. Against their money-power, the village Teli is helpless. Expansion of the pressing capacity of the mills and factories will destroy the village oil industry completely. Imagine what it will mean in terms of economic distress to thousands of human beings and the social tension and strain it will create. Prudence and demands of social justice call for rehabilitation of the village oil industry.

The All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board has, after a comprehensive study of the problems of this industry, chalked out a development programme and has recommended several measures. Among these are:

1. Non-expansion of the pressing capacity of the mills and a ceiling at their present pressing quantity.
2. Reservation of edible oil pressing to the village ghans and allotment of the additional edible oil seeds production to them.
3. A cess of Rs. 1-4-0 per maund of oil pressed in the mills to offset the price difference.
4. Supply of oil seeds to Teli at fair prices.
5. Subsidy to the ghani industry.

These together with availability of cheap credit to the Teli and a marketing organisation, can go a long way to set the industry again on a sound base.

The Board has side by side, plans for research and technological improvements to increase the productive efficiency of the ghans.

Good pressed edible oils are in every respect superior to mill pressed oils. The family, which owns the ghani, takes care first to clean the oil seeds and remove all foreign matter and dirt from the seed pile. There is less chance of adulteration and it is possible to make ghani oil available to the consumer under a guarantee of purity.

Rehabilitation of the ghani oil industry, therefore, is of national importance. It benefits those engaged in the industry and those who use this oil also.

(Reprinted from A.I.V.C. Quarterly Review, 1954/55)

## NOTES

## Two Timely Publications

The *Navrasan Press* has issued these two booklets,\* which are very timely. Shri B. Kameswara has in them presented to us Gandhiji's ideas on the burning question of the medium of instruction and the reorganisation of States, generally speaking on a linguistic basis. As Shri Kameswara says in his Editor's Note, "the two are inextricably tied up with each other," though for purposes of convenience, the matter on the two topics is separately treated. It must be remembered that, according to Gandhiji, the whole question is not political but essentially educational and cultural. Unhappily, however, it is mixed up with such that should be held irrelevant and confusing the real issue, to such an extent that what could have been easily achieved has created a highly dangerous situation for our national unity and potential progress.

## As Shri Kameswara says

"Gandhiji was convinced that education did not adequately fulfil its function of developing the powers of the child and of enabling him to contribute fully to the life of the community to which he belonged unless it was imparted through the medium of his mother-tongue."

"Moreover it is obvious that cultural growth of a people cannot take place except through the medium of their own language. Hence Gandhiji's conviction that without mother-tongue proficiency should be re-emphasised on the basis of language and that education should be imparted through its medium."

The two pamphlets deal with this idea of Gandhiji. I hope they will help us to hasten to the voice which we can hear to now only through the medium of the written word.

(3-9-64)

M. P.

## A Noteworthy Order Diction

The following observation made by Justice Aggarwala of the Allahabad High Court in deciding the case of detention of Dr. R. M. Lohia, I think, strikes a new line of approach and interpretation as regards to the constitutional law vis-a-vis a citizen's freedom of speech.

"In my opinion, our Constitution safeguards to every citizen of India the freedom to preach non-violent disobedience to civil laws, not being laws mentioned in clause (2) of Art. 18."

Laws mentioned in that clause are—

"In respect of seven matters: (a) Security of State; (b) friendly relations with foreign States; (c) public order; (d) decency or morality; (e) contempt of court; (f) defamation; and (g) incitement to an offence."

6-9-64

M. P.

## \*Medium of Instruction and Linguistic Problems

By M. R. Gandhi. Edited by Bhadrachand Kameswara. Pub. Navrasan Publishing House, pp. 1+16 and 18. Price and postage etc. Rs. 4 and Rs. 2 respectively. P. B. Navrasan, Ahmedabad-16.

## STOP EVICTIONS BY CREATING LOVE BETWEEN OWNERS AND TENANTS

(By Trachal)

There are a large number of evictions taking place at present. Landlords are prompted to take this step mostly out of fear, namely, that in case there was no eviction the perpetual lease of land might pass into the possession of the tenant. I would ask them to give up this ignoble fear. They should not evict the tenants and in case eviction has already been carried out they should rectify the mistake. The way they could easily and very honourably do it would be to donate that particular piece of land to me and note down on the back of the gift-deed that it should be allotted to me and so who has been cultivating it from before. It will both set right an injustice and bring them the satisfaction of having made a donation. So much for the evictions.

To those who are being evicted my advice is: Hold on and remain peaceful even though you are beaten or otherwise intimidated and harassed. You must not take to counter-violence whatever the provocation. And in this way stick on to your place and to your work. If you have been cultivating that land for the past twenty-three years and if you have no other land to fall back upon, there is no reason why you should leave it because the owner asks you to do so. I am not advising the people for violence as has been alleged against me by some. I am only speaking the truth, and showing the way to real power. And I am sure that if the peasants act on this advice, if they refuse to give up the land and at the same time remain quite peaceful, they will succeed in converting the heart of the owners.

The workers have to play an important part in bringing about a peaceful settlement of this problem. They should inform me of the cases of evictions taking place in the area where I may be working. In other places the local workers themselves should work for the solution in the right spirit. The approach which they should adopt towards such disputes has to be based on the fact that both the evictions and the evicted are our brothers. They are to work for creating love between them. They are to act as messengers of truth and if they act about the task in the right spirit, humbly and yet firmly, they cannot fail.

(From HARIJAN)

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Subscription Rates—India—One year, Rs. 6; Six months Rs. 3; Foreign One year, Rs. 8 or 10 or 12.

Printed and Published by Joseph Dalrymple Gani, Navrasan Press, Ahmedabad-16





[illegible]

1. *Journal of Management Studies*, 1996, 33, 1, 1-15.

THESE RESULTS ARE PRELIMINARY

1. *Journal of Management Studies* 2000, 37, 1031-1046

Wheat and stores." This was the question asked by Mr. Norman F. Dodd, Director General of the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations in his last Annual Message. While following a review of the critical current situation the world is likely to find itself

...and it is not that the population of the world is rapidly rising at a rate of a million a month as the Big Game alone and probably as many others in the rest of the world.

most production. Although improving is NOT getting much better, increase in the number of farms is back.

to the poor, the rich and wealthy have been excluded; they wanted - and the poor want - the intervention. This method of saving and lending<sup>22</sup> is a barrier to the creation of a family

David Smith, 41, has recently started his half century, and is a thick-skulled and somewhat unimpressive looking fellow with a few white hairs on his temples.

the "artisans, a democratic people, will  
suffice to resist to death" the  
"oligarchical power" (On Humanity  
found no alternative way of solving this pro-

11. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 49 (1981), 1-22.

<sup>a</sup>  $\chi^2 = 1.0$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p = .32$ .  $\chi^2 = 1.0$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p = .32$ .

Year	World Population (in millions)
1980	4,500
1985	4,900
1990	5,250
1995	5,500
2000	5,800

This small, greenish-brown, thin-skinned, multi-seeded fruit is 1/2 to 1 1/2 inches in diameter and grows on the tips of 1 to 2 dm long, green, hairy, more or less erect, and sometimes branched inflorescences. The fruit is continuously being eaten away by the larvae of the weevils, *Curculio* spp. and *Curculionidae*, and the larvae of the sawflies, *Neodiprion* spp. and *Neodiprionidae*, and the larvae of the sawflies, *Neodiprion* spp. and *Neodiprionidae*, and the larvae of the sawflies, *Neodiprion* spp. and *Neodiprionidae*.

### What about the Local Residents?

1. are financed provided by the British Ministry of Agriculture and the Department of Agriculture of the U.S.A. which are accepted by the









about thirty for two hours in 1953 and drove hundreds of rapists per month. The boys did what the more powerful they could to do. And yet, my little red and our children to them. But we found them hard to be aggressive to work more hard and to respect women. The law is not... The danger of the message of bloodiness and the responsibility of work. We should prefer to our officers during normal work.

We are for a more healthy and alcohol-free part of the life of the people where we can find the healthiest as all kind of work. And we will not let it.

10-78

## A WARNING FROM U.S.A.

(By Joseph R. Bryson)

The liquor interests (in U.S.A.) have been trying to make everybody want liquor. They realize that young people are the largest potential source for new customers, and they are employing every channel, are using all means, to exploit our young people, our women, and our military forces to gain profits for their trade.

They know that young men and women love sports, and the beer manufacturers have made it a practice to sponsor in the broadcast of sports activities with all baseball, football and basketball, and have sponsored these programs on condition that beer is advertised. - a beautiful beverage which will make the youth men of athletes, promoting their success and happiness.

They not only pay for the broadcasting of these sports activities, but give the players to testify in behalf of the merits of their particular brand of beer, making them to reveal to the public. Again and again during the broadcast the listening audience is urged to drink some kind of beer. They get the players to tell how good and exhilarating the drink is.

Radio and television respect no boundaries, they enter all homes to exploit the youth in spite of the protests of parents who have the welfare of their children at heart. They enter into the dry as well as the wet sections of our country, and everyone listening irrespective of his sentiments or his occupation and profession is urged to buy alcohol. Many youngsters who otherwise would never come in contact with alcohol beverages are exposed to these advertisements constantly and are deceived and enticed by the false propaganda they hear and see over the radio and television.

Millions upon millions are spent each year to gain new converts from the ranks of abstinence. The best advertising salesman and the best artists in the land are hired to make full page advertisements in the leading magazines and newspapers exhorting the public to use the advertised products. With great skill and artfulness these advertisements emphasize that drinking is a mark of distinction.

Impressionable and immature boys and girls who see these colorful and attractive full-page advertisements are deceived by them, and lead to

immoral, even evil, paths of delinquency to the complete ruin.

The advertisement of liquor, sponsored in the summer of 1953, for the benefit of charities, expended for liquor advertisements. The 1951 drink bill received nine billion dollars. According to Dr. E. H. Jellinek who is attached to the World Health Organization as an alcohol expert, 50,000,000 Americans can be classified as alcoholics.

The public is constantly subjected to allegations in liquor advertisements which are manifestly untrue or at least highly misleading. These fallacious assertions as to the merits of liquor and its stimulating and energizing effects upon the human mind are captivating the youth of America and are leading many of them into an alcoholic trap from which there is no release.

In their advertisements the liquor advertisers never hint at or point out the dangers of becoming alcoholic addicts. They present only the glamorous side of indulgence.

(Reprinted from New Outlook December 14)

[This is a warning to us. We are a nation of sinners but our habits of sin are those of social sinners and proper, properly said by others as well. This is a very cultural thing and a problem because thanks to our civilization (the things and civilization and culture. This is a very interesting question with respect to our and social sinners. All these in fact, in fact, these that are still of provided in our culture of the past. These are sinners - all these kind in the mind and meaning contained in the above text. A and take this type something.]

10-78

E. F.]

## NOTES

### The Objective Health Approach to Prohibition

Alcohol does more harm, individually and socially, than all other narcotics combined. It constitutes a grave public health problem.

The challenge that beverage alcohol flags in the teeth of our civilization is one that education cannot continue to ignore. Sooner or later, the issue will have to be faced realistically. With the proper theoretical attack the challenge can be met. The duty of the school is clear: (1) teach the facts, unemotionally and scientifically; (2) create the proper attitude; (3) train young people to be well-informed personalities with constructive emotional patterns and a well-developed sense of social responsibility.

(Dr. G. C. Griffin, Supervisor of Public Health Education in the schools of Los Angeles, Calif.)

The problem of alcohol and of mental hygiene are closely connected in too many groups of society, drinking habits have taken such firm root that they exert a marked influence on the individual and collective mind.

(Prof. Dr. Alexander Bruckner, Belgium, at the Dutch National Congress Against Alcoholism, Park Boys 1952.)

(From New Outlook, December 1954)





# HARIJAN

FOUNDED BY AMITYAL PRASAD  
Editor: RAJENDRA P. BHAI



Vol. XVII No. 1

AMERINDRABAD, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1934

Two Annas

## BUT KHADE BUNDHS

I

(By Rajendra Prasad)

For many years we have been celebrating Mahatma Gandhi's birthday with great enthusiasm. Mahatma himself desired that this day should not be celebrated on the day of his birth, but on Gandhi Jayanti. Accordingly it is celebrated all over the country by spinning on Charkhas and by propagating Khadi. It is very unusual that the occasion should be celebrated this year too with enthusiasm.

The Government of India has also decided to give aid to Khadi. A great difficulty always present in Khadi production is its high cost and its price Khadi prices are higher. The Government has now taken steps to make it available at the people's affordable price.

Khadi gives employment to those persons who have no other means of earning a livelihood and hence Khadi becomes a great instrument for the removal of unemployment. Keeping this particular aspect in view propagation of Khadi is in fact, an urgent necessity.

At one time the most prominent Congress workers backed Khadi from door to door with a view to popularising it. Now there are no distributors of any kind in its marketing and sales. On the contrary it gets encouragement from all directions. For this reason the Khadi Board has decided a scheme for the convenience of the people which will enable them to buy Khadi at their choice at any time they like. This will enable the Board to know how to how much Khadi is sold during Gandhi Jayanti.

The Board will be selling Khadi bands which the people can buy and exchange them for Khadi of their liking either at a time or at convenient intervals. This time it has been decided that Khadi bands worth one crore rupees should be sold during Gandhi Jayanti celebration.

It is hoped that all patriotic people will co-operate in this work and will contribute to its success.

Rajendra Prasad  
New Delhi,  
1st July 1934

II

(By Jankaraj Malaviya)

For many years past some Khadi organisations in the country have issued what are called Khadi bands, usually at the time of the Gandhi Jayanti. This year a more organised and extensive effort is going to be made in this connection and Khadi bands will be issued by the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board which is associated with the Ministry of Commerce and Industries of the Government of India.

These bands will be issued on deferred demonstrations the value commencing on the 1st October 1934. The purchaser will be entitled to purchase cotton, woollen or silk Khadi at any time up to 31st March 1935. The object is to make available a part of the capital required by the Khadi producing centres for enhancing the output of Khadi for the next year.

It is proposed to issue bands of the value of one crore of rupees and by the sale of these bands it will be possible to increase the production of Khadi by at least five crores of rupees. This will give employment in several lakhs of villages.

I would recommend these bands to our people. To wear Khadi should be an honour and a distinction. It should be spoken of equally and of one living up with millions of village folk in India. In addition to this we help in giving some employment to a considerable number of persons. No one should need further argument and I hope, therefore, this venture will prove a complete success.

New Delhi 30.9.34

By Khadi Board  
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[Laid Offs' Movement]

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A VISION OF FUTURE INDIA

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[illegible]

He concluded: "I don't say that writers of fiction are wrong when they go into fantasy — not at all. But I do say that the reason you get so much of this kind of thing is that the world is not as good as it once was. It's a lot larger, more crowded. It's a lot of very different kinds of things. And make no mistake, the best of them is still the best. But it's also more dangerous."

We need to temper the risk—the last day the Earth survives is this year.

He said he did not address his aid. "When I was with them I was not on the service of the village people and did not know. I never had any longing to go and when I heard of the war, I felt I must come and with all my things I did go to fight. I have no strength of my own. What I have is from God and from Allah."

March 19, 1934. The Vienna arrived Piquette in Westland, Alaska. While on his way to this place he was informed that another ship had stopped him on the way and that the ship asked him if he was a trader with Paul and had better show him. Kaituk, Ootookook of Iglood, informed him that the mailer was not in working order. There was a person having Vienna repaired but he was not a trader. He also talked upon the conditions of business of his. They met him in the afternoon in Iglood and the mailer should give the women some time and so much food (and good land) in the morning. He is agreed and then the mailer will leave.

There were another race the next day. An old widow standing beside him, as sure of him, came to Vienna and told me "I'm going against the other" (another who happened to be present). The race had gone up to the fifth point. It took the immediate other last speed where I had my thousand steps. Which last had prevented their race according to their last satisfaction. A lady asked the first level where he was in the vision, as great has every last shown me. My spirit to give her about twice as much as due to it which was, second.

In his evening paper address, Vinograd remarked that he, as a member of Lenin's comrades at times of misfortune and in work uncertainty, has not only helped in saving the republic, but he also creates new life. Let us forget our first, first and think in terms of the village as a whole. He then went on to state that the relocation of villages into the cities had not augmented our heavy metal conditions, which is why village industrial life can be

[illegible]

11

By Richard S. Gross  
ECONOMICS OF INDIANAR  
Revised Second Edition

Page no. +212 Page No. 212 Page no. 212

By Mahatma Gandhi  
THE REMOVAL OF UNTOUCHABILITY  
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S. N.	State	Total C. 600 (in Lakhs)	Share (in Lakhs)
1	Bihar	1,682	—
2	Uttar Pradesh	18,978	—
3	Uttar Pradesh	18,281	4,000
4	Orissa	1,00,600	708
5	Karnataka	2,150	280
6	Kerala	17,000	—
7	Gujarat	96,370	942
8	Tamilnad	29,191	254
9	Delhi	9,245	42
10	Punjab	8,620	—
11	Bengal	4,634	12
12	East	21,22,580	1,492
13	Madhya Pradesh	67,584	8,804
14	Madhya Pradesh	62,472	—
15	Maharashtra	55,480	—
16	Yamun	5,454	—
17	Rajasthan	3,29,310	5,962
18	Vindhya Pradesh	5,985	284
19	Gowarhara	41,080	—
20	Himachal Pradesh	1,400	—
21	Hypothetical	1,82,780	17,524
	<b>Total</b>	<b>34,88,992</b>	<b>62,525</b>

(Total collection on 5.9.53 was 21.50.200 acres)

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Case: United

1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

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<sup>a</sup> The percentage of the total sample.

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**The Police Journal**

100

Your recent article on Venezuela is very timely. 14 days past Venezuela is pouring dangerous and deeper in our villages, killing the poor and small industries.

If I forward an article that Sachchidananda Das Gupta had suggested one or two suitable colours for Vinayaka. The Government can also declare a long prize for finding out suitable colour. It is quite likely that it will be forthcoming.

But there are also other ways of achieving the object. All edible oils like oil, ghee, mustard, etc., have different taste and smell. Why not add a pleasant but defective smell and taste to the Vanaspathi so that it cannot be used for adulterating Ghee?

If the manufacturers of Vanspad are honest in their intention that they also are against adulteration, they should have no objection in accepting the suggestion whether should the Government have any difficulty in enforcing the simple but effective measure to stop the adulteration of Glaxo by Vanspad.

1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

# HARIJAN

Oct. 1

1954

## MY FAITH AND BELIEF

(By Ghandi)

[On the occasion of Ghandi's birthday I have reproduced the following passage from his writings under the above heading. Let us think of Ghandi here as Gaur which is a beautiful gem in a glimpse of what Ghandi was and lead him on through his whole life, and what he wished us to learn from him. He was a message for merely to achieve political freedom, but was one individual (being) as well, without which true freedom will not be possible. More than ever to anything else, we need today men who led the spirit of their faith and life poured out in politics which so, to be the order of the day but in giving a noble life of disinterested service and sacrifice. Ultimately this was Ghandi's message to us. May we honestly harness us to and dedicate ourselves later to this noble ideal.]

248-51

-M. P. S.

Satyagraha as conceived by me is a science in the making. It may be that what I claim to be a science may prove to be no science at all and may well prove to be the messings and doings of a fool, if not a madman. It may be that what is true in Satyagraha is an instinct as the birds. But it has not yet been acknowledged to be of any value in the solution of world problems or rather the one supreme goal is of war. It may be that what is claimed to be true in it will prove to be really of no value in terms of that supreme problem. It may be that what was claimed to be victorious in Satyagraha is Ahimsa were in reality victorious not of truth and non-violence but of the fear of violence.

These possibilities have always been in front of me. I am helpless. All I present is the answer for adoption is an answer to prayer or which is the single thing constantly waiting on God.

Harijan, 14-15-54 p. 248

Our existence as embodied beings is purely momentary, what are a hundred years in eternity. But if we shelter the claims of egoism, and rush into the ocean of humanity, we share its dignity. To feel that we are something is to set up a barrier between God and ourselves, to cease feeling that we are something is to become one with God. A drop in the ocean partakes of the greatness of its parent. Although it is unconscious of it. But it is dried up as soon as it claims upon an existence independent of the ocean. We do not exaggerate when we say that life is a mere bubble.

A life of service must be one of humility. He who could sacrifice his life for others, has hardly time to reserve for himself a place in the sun. Birth must not be reserved for humility, as it has been in Brahmins. True humility means most openness and constant endeavour openly

directed towards the service of humanity. God is continuously at work without ceasing for a single moment. If we would with Him or become one with Him our activity must be as unceasing as His. There may be momentary rest in store for the drop which is separated from the ocean, but not for the drop in the ocean which knows no rest. The same is the case with ourselves. As soon as we become one with the ocean in the shape of God, there is no more rest for us. We indeed do we need rest any longer. Our very sleep is action. For we sleep with the thought of God in our hearts. True restlessness constitutes true rest. This never-ceasing agitation holds the key to peace itself. This supreme state of total surrender is difficult to describe, but not beyond the bounds of human experience. It has been attained by many dedicated souls, and may be attained by ourselves, as well. This is the goal which we of the Satyagraha Ashrams have set before ourselves, all our observations and activities are calculated to assist us in reaching it. We shall reach it some day all unaware if we have truth in us.

From the Bhagat, pp. 17-18

I come now to what is called the 'Gandhian' ideology and the means of propagating it. The propagation of truth and non-violence can be done less by books than by actually living those principles. Life truly lived is more than books. I do not say that we may not have books and newspapers. I only say that they are not indispensable. If we are true devotees of truth and Ahimsa, God will assist us with the requisite intellect to solve problems. That devotees presupposes the will to understand our opponent's viewpoint. We must make a sincere effort to enter into his mind and to understand his viewpoint. That is what is meant by non-violence walking straight into the mouth of violence. If we are armed with that attitude of mind, we may hope to propagate Ahimsa principles. Without that book and newspaper propaganda is of no avail. You do not know with what indifference I used to read Young India. I did not shed a single tear when Posing India had to be stopped. But Satyagraha, which it was intended to help, survived it. For Satyagraha does not depend on outside help. It derives all its strength from within.

Harijan, 24-26 p. 251

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with introducing the mother-tongue in schools immediately after it can be, according to him, no reason at all for delay in taking this first essential step. Much less reason can there be for a protest is presented if it has been already established like for instance Andhra, to debate the question of the feasibility of replacing English by the mother-tongue, for the chief reason for instating linguistic provinces is to serve the mother-tongue. The linguistic province therefore defeats the very purpose of its existence so long as it does not introduce the mother-tongue in the schools.

In the second place, those who are eager for linguistic provinces should like Gandhiji work wholeheartedly for the unity of India. Gandhiji realized, as perhaps few others, that lack of unity was what brought us under the foreign yoke, and it will do us again undoubtedly if we do not learn the lesson of history and regard ourselves as Indians first and foremost. Accordingly he sought from the very beginning of his national career to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity and gave his life for that cause; he did all he could to abolish untouchability and caste, he wanted through Khadi to remove the distinction between rich and poor; he asked us all to learn Hindi-Urdu so that we might be able to communicate with each other; he urged us to respect our different religious languages and cultures, learn of each other and look upon ourselves as members of a single family. Unfortunately very little is being done today along these lines to break the barriers that divide us and to create a feeling of oneness amongst all the caste, creeds and languages of our country. It is a tremendous task for which first a separate Department of Government may have to be established, a Department of Indianization, whose one function will be to promote a feeling that we are Indians, irrespective of language, province, caste and religion. It is a task in which all patriotic citizens of the country, especially those who are anxious to establish linguistic provinces, must regard it their duty to join.

Without such preparatory work, mere dissolving for linguistic provinces must be considered outrightly for it sows the seeds of distrust and hatred between one language group and another. When the atmosphere is vitiated by linguistic antipathies and rivalries, as Gandhiji wrote, "even solemn references would postpone controversial issues to a more hopeful time when, in the interests of the country, the virtues of 'give and take' would be fully recognized, and all sectional interests would be subordinate to the one interest of the good of India, which will include the good of all." Therefore, those who like me want constructive suggestions to come into play at this very moment, have to work to bring about a healthy atmosphere, promoting concord in the place of discord, peace in the place of strife." (Barjani, 20-31-61)

When this is done, then people of different language groups would, according to Gandhiji, without the aid of any Boundary Commission determine for themselves the boundaries on the new basis by mutual agreement and consent, and obtain the sanction of the Centre. To go to a third party in the shape of a Boundary Commission for a settlement would Gandhiji hold be a negation of their independence (Barjani, 13-46). Limiting boundaries would not then be a desirable end in itself for the greatest amount of territory and wealth, but would be motivated by a desire to serve the best interests of the inhabitants of the area.

As compared with the technique laid down thus by Gandhiji for the establishment of linguistic provinces, how completely anomalous appears to be the way that many of us are going about the task. Let us pause and consider, and move with discomposure. How we shall undo the marvellous work Gandhiji performed in making of us a nation, and what in worse, we shall be in danger of losing our freedom and of leaving the country to anarchy and disintegration.

#### Lesson of Guatemala

[The following is from Peace Year, London, of July 23, 1961. It will I hope, interest those who take in voluntary peace and non-violence as also those who rely on the armed strength of power to maintain and keep their society.]

Trans:

M. P.]

The lesson of the Guatemalan struggle is twofold. First, a small nation under threat of aggression can place no faith in UN protection. Such "protection" will only be given when the powers on both sides in the world power struggle are ready to face world war, and in that event it will be of no more advantage to the oppressed nation than to the rest of the world. Short of this, when the aggressor is a great power, UN, which is not impeded by moral considerations, will not make a pronouncement that will be of any help to the small nation. Secondly, if the small nation relies on armed power it will equally fail, for in warfare today, material counts for a great deal more than men.

Where men can make themselves effective as men is in the power of personal will expressed in non-violent resistance to any attempt to impose conditions by force.

Such a course requires discipline and a high degree of courage. It means a great sacrifice for personal suffering and sacrifice, not greater than the soldier does, but without the aid of the armour that helps the soldier on.

It has been shown that it can be developed, however, and if freedom is to live on earth, it will have to be developed again.

## ROOTS OF REVOLUTIONARY FERVOR

The thing that frustrates so many would-be reformers and planners of social improvement is the unconsciousness of the people they want to help. These people, we are told, won't even do anything for their own good and the result is often a considerable amount of resentment on the part of those who set out upon works of selfless work with high intentions.

It is of course true that some sort of basic literacy affects the great majority of mankind, even in respect to matters of immediate and practical importance to themselves. There is the further fact that there is always a factor when large groups of people are called upon to assimilate new ideas and put them into practice. But after these considerations are allowed for, it is still apparent that great waves of progress have taken place in the past and it is logical to think that there are underlying dynamics involved in these forward steps which need to be understood.

Some dynamics which have accomplished revolutionary changes may not be desirable. The dynamics of the Communist movement, for example. The point here is that regeneration of mass self-interest by a tightly organized and ruthlessly determined minority such as the Bolsheviks in Paris has consequences no intelligent man would wish to repeat for any reason this side of sanity.

Taking the instance of the cooperative movement, apparently, the goal of want has been primarily responsible for the success achieved by this movement. But there are regions of the world where want is almost omnipresent, yet co-operation difficult to obtain. Sir S. K. Dey writes, (in *The Economic Weekly*, 5-11-53 Bombay) at length to show that no real mass programme of rural rehabilitation will solve the problems of hunger and want in the villages of India. Indian agriculture, he proposes, is not backward merely because it is "primitive" but because it represents a sort of dead-end of economic decline under which there has been a tragic loss of faith and self-confidence on the part of the masses who work with the soil.

In the light of these observations, one sees the practical wisdom of Gandhi and his programme of opening for the villagers. While Western critics who quoted production statistics of textile mills to show how hand-loom and hand-woven fabrics could not provide "competitiveness" with manufactured cloth may have been technically correct, their claims were practically irrelevant. Spinning was something that the village could start to do at once. And it was a means of increasing productivity of forging a new self respect.

And here, it may be, is the key not only to the problem of the Indian village, but to the

problem of human individuality with its necessary variety of self-interest, self-interest, self-interest. It is easy to suppose that Gandhi, finding the United States as a land "overflowing with material plenty, that the American people felt no problems comparable to those of India. But it is no hindrance to say that Americans are finding their material possessions tedious and trivial, that the restlessness and restlessness of the typical American community may be noted in a similar loss of individuality. It is even possible to say that the problems of Americans are more difficult because they do not come to dramatic and self-evident forms in poverty and hunger. It is a starvation of the spirit growing conscience perhaps, and resulting fears and symptoms which exhibit human nature in its most unhappy aspects.

In India, before the formation of the Indian Republic men like Gandhi and Nehru found in the idea of national freedom a key to the hearts of Indians. The key was turned, the freedom was won, and now there are hosts of new problems. But as Dey implies the new problems — which in this case are not really new, but emerge as primary since freedom was obtained — are not capable of solution by the "group action" of a nationalist movement. Another level of human resources must be tapped to meet these new problems, and observers like Dey are pointing out that before such resources can be tapped they must be built up.

This quite evidently is a long slow process for India, for America, for the world.

India has the advantage of the rest of the world in one respect. She had her man of the hour in Gandhi. Gandhi labored for the dignity of the individual and his love of the Indian masses was felt by them. Through this touch of the heart, great things became possible for India. India cannot, even though she try, forget or erase the work of Gandhi. His inspiration has seeped into countless cracks and corners of the Indian mind and its leaves is a work as it works elsewhere in the world. Given in regard of Gandhian philosophy, Indians will be aware of his presence, if only in quiet moments of reflection. His greatest will have even the reinforced "nationalists" who suppose they know far better. And through the centuries his labors will have stored Indian history beyond calculation. But Gandhi's prime example, in, as note, was that of a frail, self-reliant individual. Unlike some other heroes of history, his was a moral power, his message that moral power can become a mighty force.

The thing to be remembered is that the moral authority of a single determined individual can sway the course of empires. It is this secret of individuality that is more important even than the world peace for which Gandhi labored, for it is indeed the condition of genuine peace.

(Adapted from *News*, March 22, 1961)







[illegible]

In this Southern state, some people are persecuted and in the past they should relief was being distributed and that's what I want people to know that they will not receive it and the people of Alabama informed us that in the past general assembly will pass a law that the and the way only in the state bordering the village this and finally that they need assistance for everything in just the country around

The decision to give Mississippians a vote, said Mr. Tamm, "means that the people are not able to elect the members of their legislatures who are in paralytic control. I am not a supporter of it. For the last twenty to thirty years it has been impossible to elect the members of the legislatures who have supported the slavery law that holds us back, making the people only, in this it goes up. This has made the legislature devoting our normal attention, even to the matter of a proposed paid hospital care for drinking. Considering the belief upon the people in America, who in line of which they should meet their needs. The principle of this act would ruin their life there. They could go on here and live all the time. There were in many public bodies, especially the United States, in Mississippi there was that man who would be there in many settings with in such light. To an official with in the land I remember that several few Mississippians because of the situation with many problems. Since it is said and it is said we the

-Continued-

Step 1: 1. Write a summary of all the English language tests at Cambridge. It would best be under construction. There should be an abstract marking of all the tests that show the same. It is a critical layer coming about. The entire 4 (or 5) tests should be added. When that you help the abstracts to be 2. There will be a good to study some more. The

[illegible]

In the same sense, members of the "pandering" group would be in a "hurry" along the road again and get there. They were "strong" people, he knew, because the Chicago people that come here appear to like us. As for the American through bus that leaves each day, I don't know. Beginning this fall it will probably be a "strong" system, too. Well, the main thing is to get on the road.

THESE DIFFERENT FORMS OF MATHS ARE USED IN THE COURSE OF THE WORK AND ARE NOT SEPARATE SUBJECTS. IN THE COURSE OF THE WORK, THE CHILDREN WILL BE REQUIRED TO USE ALL THE FORMS OF MATHS AND TO APPLY THEM TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE COURSE. THE CHILDREN WILL BE REQUIRED TO USE ALL THE FORMS OF MATHS AND TO APPLY THEM TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE COURSE. THE CHILDREN WILL BE REQUIRED TO USE ALL THE FORMS OF MATHS AND TO APPLY THEM TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE COURSE.

and failed to win the support of the relations for a second and right against such a serious but not so serious question. For that point, he is to participate and others will then give the point. The fact is that the relations will not really and judges has been improved since the relations has been taken. It is not to be said that the relations will be the same, but the relations will be the same.

These are intended to be realistic diagnoses of your and my ability to weight and find the means to shift them in the predominant and thus a good amount, when more will be brought into it. Thus they are all intended to bring you all and enlighten. I therefore want you to review using, to-past, resources and to have your best efforts, and more, as they become more useful.

And - well to finish up the night a good number of couples including some Harlequin girls grooved to the very end, singing a Brazilian song in Dutch.

the 1980s, the 1990s, and the 2000s. The book is a collection of essays by a team of economists and political scientists, and it is a very good read. The book is written in a very accessible style, and it is a very good read. The book is written in a very accessible style, and it is a very good read. The book is written in a very accessible style, and it is a very good read.

On the evening of this postscript address he contacted the people, "that Yang is coming with a fast speed. In your power that, our Missionary says that while Kaiti Yang says he is a Chinese person. From far there and the Yang said the Kaiti Yang is looking for and the Yang is in connection. Whenever you go people are ready to part with their good positions and working them, to support members. They come for a day or so as the members of some temples themselves. I do not want to say more but that of my thought. Let it be prepared intensively and let be added the new way of the giving before taking, as feeding, feeding poor. Freedom is both revolutionary and democratic. It is for a new China."

On the last day of the week Thakur was in Dabhoi. It seems while he was standing in his correspondence, there was a new death sentence. Fortunately they were very soft. The attendance in the meeting proper was very large. But the attending Misses (Married) Thakur told them that they could turn the assembly into a dancing if they brought their hands down. For then they should start their hand and feet together. Then he placed his respectful propositions for the final official action. First the ladies (women) in the village started to perform with the help of their old and voluntary income. Besides every female being in a great mood (highly) conscious in their of the fact he had no that members of the village may convert it into a dance. Thakur, those who could afford to pay some like on and gentle. Female people must demand work as (Baba) like an move as they may join their other women without themselves. It is to bring the practice and activities they should take the promotion of keeping their houses well, house and neighbourhood clean for which all the inhabitants of the village (Married) to otherwise will look as poor could work together with women paid and need families themselves being a part of religious work.

On reaching his apartment, Vlasov asked a boy about dates and sitting on the sofa, Vlasov remembered the first girl. Vlasov called her name and made him give up and (hardly) the boy gave Vlasov a girl. I thought that making love and having children, then the man called woman. The boy about Vlasov asked me for the date and while the combination of a woman (woman) I got the girl (girl) Vlasov gave her a woman and on the back and when he asked the boy whether he was a boy or a girl and woman. She gave him a woman. He gave her a woman with a girl. She

Dr. J. H. McLaughlin, known as "Nature's own plant doctor," has been working with the party throughout the week. "Old J. H." has been able to find a large amount of "Nature's Own" which will come in a day. "Nature's Own" is the most valuable part of the "Nature's Own" for about one month.

1000

Dr. Monica Shuler  
MONICA SHULER  
(Lead Case Manager)

Parties may file a Petition for Review of the Board's decision with the Board of Directors of the American Arbitration Association, Inc. (AAA) within 30 days of the date of the Board's decision. The Petition for Review must be filed with the AAA and must include a copy of the Board's decision. The Petition for Review must be filed with the AAA and must include a copy of the Board's decision. The Petition for Review must be filed with the AAA and must include a copy of the Board's decision.

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## ENCOURAGE SALT-FARMING

(By Sushil Chakrabarti)

It is unfortunate in the House of the People's desire to the work of salt dars. I hope the Government will not condemn the blunders of re-supplying salt dars.

Rather the lands on which salt is naturally grown as can be artificially cultivated may be treated as lands liable to assessment on a moderate scale. Let the general export salt and is, utilized in teaching the salt products up-to-date methods of salt making. The salt made may not be condensed. Let the salt-makers grow different varieties of salt as growers of paddy do on different varieties of land. Let salt also be like wheat, paddy and rice an article of purchase and sale in the markets. Those who are afraid will buy rock salt like Bangladeshis variety of paddy of West Godavari of Andhra Pradesh. Others will go in for cheaper varieties.

Salt is necessary not only for human consumption but is utilized for cattle, as manure for lands for fish-caring etc. Cheaper varieties will be used for less important purposes and the denser varieties for human consumption.

I request that this proposal may be considered.

12-9-51

I commend this for serious consideration by Government. Salt-farming could be widely encouraged and my suggestions should be not considered as mere and superficial, and give place to full freedom. This will help in self-sufficiency based on our choice which will be used in consuming. Further steps necessary for this should be provided for by starting appropriate institutions.

12-9-51

M. P.

## East and West

Mr Chester Bowles, former U. S. Ambassador in India, recently advised his country to speak to the East in the following terms.

"For generations, the West has been you (the East) more than it gives you. The wealth that flowed from India, Indonesia and other Asian regions to the empire of Europe helped to build universities, railroads and ships. None of that wealth even began to filter into the building of the United States.

Now flow of wealth from the East to the West runs at a time when moral standards in the world were different from those of today. Recognizing this change and recognizing also the great needs of the underdeveloped nations of the world we now propose to offer you our financial resources and support.

"We will nothing to return except your own as our efforts on behalf of your people to create a freer property and expanding opportunities. (The Free Press Journal 12-9-51)

The East must thank Mr Bowles for such a frank statement on the relationship that has existed all now between the East and the West, commonly termed as colonialism or imperialism in the East. If the West is really minded to aid the East, it must start at least and or speed it, even at the expense of the West's chance of wealth. Unfortunately, the military aid to Pakistan and the, etc. (12-9-51) conversations tell a different tale from the words Mr Bowles wishes his country to tell us. However let us hope he succeeds in convincing his constituents to begin to address the East in those terms.

22-9-51

M. P.

## A FLEA FOR INSPECTION

Why Do We Denial Communism?

Communism seems well known as though nothing further need be said, as Weirich's. This view, theoretical communism is a doctrine of materialism. It has no room for immaterial ideas. In principle it shows only regarding the idea of the "material" idea that an materialism is based on nature and to declare that a god exists, the most determined a leader of human rights—the leaders of the American Revolution, in fact—have been guided materialism. The traditional religious institutions which by claim to preserving spiritual ideas have been tragically miserable to crimes of injustice and opposed to the great forward movements of history.

A moral energy initiated their revolutionary movement which ended—and failed, we think—in modern communism. It is foolish to ignore or deny this, or to refuse to consider the possibility that the materialism of modern social movements has been a direct reaction to the acute indifference to human suffering shown by orthodox, institutional religion.

But communism, it is insisted, would take away by force the right of the individual to private property. This is also true. But is it the idea of having our property which offends, or the idea of force? We are perfectly willing to admit that totalitarian communism is a travesty of the ideas of the early socialists and admit further that the anarchists may have been extremely naive in their hopes for a classless society in which possessions no longer count for anything with anybody. But the record of our moral world must nevertheless be kept straight. The men or Gods whom we admire the most are not remembered for their attachment to property, but for quite other qualities. The idea of sharing one's possessions freely is not a subversive idea. The idea of not caring about possessions at all is a subtle temptation forwarded to every good philosophy the world has known. Let us admit it, however much we protest, that the world is not "ready" for such arrangements.

We are now able to identify with some precision what we think is wrong with communism. It destroys the right of the individual to share his possessions according to his own discretion. Communism attempts to control the practice of a moral ideal and in doing so completely changes its character. Compelled sharing is not moral, and it is not, therefore sharing. Least of all is it the realization of an ideal, for a human ideal must be freely chosen by human beings.

Unless we pursue this analysis and arrive at this conclusion—something like it—we may easily fall into the trap of imagining that capitalism and free enterprise are somehow useful systems which are endangered by the renewed system of communism. The only thing that can be said about capitalism and free enterprise, in this connection, is that they have not as yet been constituted absolute barriers to moral—that is, to behaviour by human beings. And to this



and to remain loyal and not interfered with by the Congress. I hadly imagined though it was to do so. Though a non-Member of the Government of India and even of India that it was to stand the huge interests of lakhs of investors in India and in the three or four thousand bank employees. It is surprising that he could make to himself a business on that threatened an experiment. But the Tribunal did not mind these matters and finally speaking on the minutes of the meeting some minutes later, he indicated that the Tribunal had been helped by the banks. In his judgment that the bank interests were as if not really too competent to put their case before the Tribunal. However, he submitted in the presence of the media and sent in Parliament that an official enquiry in alliance with the Reserve Bank will be made to view the whole situation created by Government interference. This was something surprising, specially because it was known that not an official but a kind of impartial judicial inquiry would be instituted before the year was out. Then was the least that Government could do to restore the democratic practice that it seemed was in danger. It is a matter of sincere congratulations for the Prime Minister and the Labour Minister that a judicial inquiry has been kindly concerned.

This is was another case of ministerial resignation, in those days a minister to be asked Shri H. K. Puri as noted his membership in view of his differences with his Chief Minister. The loss of office must not be too much for one relaxing because it is a suitable time when the shyness of democratic government in India, which was long to establish in our country now, might perhaps end.

813/24

## TWO ANNIVERSARIES

(By Mr. Virendra P. Bhat)

The second week of September is remarkable for two interesting anniversaries. One September 7 which is the date on which exactly two years ago Shri Kuberlalbhai departed from our world—the other, September 11, Shri Vinoba's 40th birthday.—We observed lakhs. The first is a death anniversary, the second a birth anniversary. When I talk of them together here, this difference between them, to me common was, might seem odd, but according to the two noble personalities of whom I propose to write here, both life and death are either ends to them both are phases or stages of an eternal existence to which we have our being.

It was in 1931 that I left the Elphinstone college and joined Gandhiji's Satyagraha Ashram at Sabarmati. The small school of the Ashram was then a symbol of National Education which we now are spreading as a sapling tree. Education being my chosen profession in life I attached myself to the school. This gave me the opportunity to know Shri Kuberlalbhai and Shri Vinoba who were teachers there. I came in a somewhat closer contact with Kuberlalbhai. With Vinoba, though I came to know him, there

were hardly any contacts he having left just then for Wardha to start there a branch of the Satyagraha Ashram at the request of late Seth Joramlal Bhai. In 1934, I went to Wardha in connection with the work of the Mahadevashram and remained there for about two years. I came in contact with Vinoba during this period. At that time Shri Kuberlalbhai was also there and together he had established his Ashram at Wardha, having left Sabarmati. Kaba Sahib Kalekar was also there. Thus the presence of all of them together at Wardha was naturally a remembrance of the old days at the Sabarmati school.

Gandhiji's varied fortune was that men devoted to welfare service and to the pursuit of a religious life had come together round him. The secret lay in his power to attract such people to himself. He succeeded in his unique mission precisely because he was able to draw to himself such devoted co-workers.

What a curious assemblage of human beings do we find among them, looking at them who joined him early and those others who came to him at different periods of his life! What different types did they represent—different in background, temperament, capacity, training and, most of all, in the attitude towards life. I am not speaking here of the thousands joined all over the country who drew inspiration from him, but of the few who constituted his Ashram. It was perhaps the late Shri Mahadevibhai who wrote,—humourously, of course, but in words which seemed true to some,—that the Ashram was a zoo of different types of men. The subject of Gandhiji's power to achieve Security lay in his ability to be a focal point to which converged an endless variety of able men and women, kind with the aim to live a religious and dedicated life. Thus did he combine the energy of a multitude of such men and women into constructive effort for the nation, awakened in them the capacity for integrating diverse elements of their personality to one coordinated end,—in short, he gave them a new institution. Thus did he harness the great inner or spiritual strength of the nation to the service of the motherland and humanity, effected a harmonization of knowledge and action in the life of many of us and began from it throughout the length and breadth of India a massive experiment of Karma-yoga, directed towards the welfare of the society.

In a way, this national Yuga—such a unique Sadhana of our people had its early beginnings in the life of our nation a long time before 1930—the year when Gandhiji came to India. Efforts were already in progress to reorganize our social and political life on the new life foundation of true religion inspiring and emerging national life and culture. The seed of Mahatma's liberation through service sown by Shri Ramakrishna Paramahansa and especially by Swami Vivekananda, various efforts made by the Arya Samaj



of the Ashram was that there is the risk of lengthening the process. I wish you here one or two interesting incidents (p. 16).

Then Vinoba came to the Ashram school in its early days right when the students should take testimony at the morning class in the river. No longer was calm on the river even in the entire season. When the cold was so severe that the water Vinoba had a dip in the water his body suffered and began to shiver down the stream almost like a log of wood. The students who had surrounded him rescued him out of the water in the nick of time.

Another example (p. 16) is a different one. It is as follows. It happened at the Wardha Ashram. A girl student was placed under the charge by her father for her education. The simple girl shared the market to the best of her capacity. She Vinoba had her hair cut off—she might say as a symbol of her resolution to renounce her pagdage—and right away started working her Gandhi's commentary on the Vedaya Sutra.

It is hardly necessary to point out what these examples tell us about him. It is obvious that Vinoba has always had the heart for rigorous discipline proper to Brahmacharya. And this is such an extent that he hardly ever seemed to have noticed that there occurred within society—the society different from the individual and possessed of its own independent status. He never gave any thought to the fact that apart from such individuality, a part of one's existence is incorporated in the society that he was quietly playing his part—which was in accord with his disposition and capacity—in the glorious manner of a Karma-yogi in the vast and extensive scheme of work which Gandhi had planned before his followers and the country. Which was the reason why most people did not have much about him until recently.

This attitude of Vinoba underwent an automatic change with Gandhi's departure from our world. He then had an opportunity to look at and know the Indian society from close quarters. In 1942 the Gandhian workers had set up an organization—The Gandhi Seva Sangh for undertaking social work on Gandhian lines. Gandhi entrusted the organization to the care of Kishorlal who continued to guide him in this as long as he lived. Vinoba was not even a member of this Seva Sangh though he did not disapprove of it. His position and that of others like him who had not formally joined the Sangh was as Sher Kishorlal has humbly described it, that of *amrit* or *non-member members*.<sup>1</sup>

But when Gandhiji's departure Vinoba was, so to say, forced to direct his gaze on society and realize his responsibility in this respect. The change is noteworthy. He then agreed to guide the Seva Sangh Sangh and the Sarvodaya Sam-

mittee. One might say that Vinoba's heart should begin beating and leading movements not only for himself but also for the country.

It was after this change that Vinoba discovered the idea of the Bhavani Yaga. And in the course of his journeyings in its behalf, he had the perception of the power of the masses, which he then resolved to serve with undivided devotion. That shows that he is a growing personality and that his Bhavani too was finding mentally one of achieving the innermost heart of life through service and not through Brahmacharya. Gandhi's work consisted in the reconstruction and renovation of the Indian life. It is naturally as clear to spot within the society. That was the reason why he was able to attach to himself only one lone beloved with spiritually Sher Kishorlal, and Vinoba was among them the most distinguished.

Starting from their different bases and proceeding ahead in the spiritual life, eventually these two Indians had come very close to each other in later years owing especially to the Bhavani work. How does it matter if one of them is now no more? Such were the close bonds eternally in their own hearts and in the large work of their lives. Kishorlal, I feel, Vinoba represents not only him off but also Kishorlal. It is his firm conviction that our Bharat cannot blossom forth as a perfect unit unless we reconstruct our society on the foundation of religion and spirituality. It was on this very basis that Gandhi had restored the people to a dream of glorious future and moved in them the urge for independence which might as freedom. The next step would have to be to infuse thoroughly the spirituality of the Gandhian age and to go forward. It is to those who are left behind to do so. Vinoba is doing it today.

In Gandhi's hand the Congress had become the instrument of a cultural and spiritual renaissance. But Vinoba had been instrumental in making us see that in the new set up it is not democracy but mainly an instrument of political power. Freedom has to be as it for Sarvodaya and Sarvodaya is not possible without the spirit of mutual help and co-operation from all. Such co-operation would be achieved only when every citizen pledges himself to pursue his work in the spirit of a Yaga for the benefit of all. The only way to fulfill the spirit behind Vinoba's Bhavani Yaga is the daily service to one's immediate neighbors. The ideas of Bhavani, Sarvodaya, Sarvodaya are all spring from this sense of duty towards the neighbor. To risk love and service for one's neighbors without in any way betraying the interests of the last day in Yaga which is the foundation of faith in the Divine law which is the basis of the life of the world. That is what the meaning of the Bhavani Yaga as pointed by Gandhiji. Vinoba's Bhavani Yaga is based on such a broad concept of Freedom, Sarvodaya, Co-operation, Service and Bhavani, which is the core of

<sup>1</sup> The word *amrit* in Sanskrit means a drink containing oil a critical person like a member of an organization.





## HARIJAN

PUBLISHED BY MUNISHA DAVOOD  
Editor: Mr. Pankaj P. Datta

Vol. XVII No. 33

MUMBAI—SATURDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1964

TWO ANNAS

## NOTES

## To the Teachers

The President Dr. Rajendra Prasad, during the new building of a college at the Delhi University made an observation which is worthy of attention from the teaching world.

Emphasizing the great need of selfless persons of knowledge in our country at present, he said 'In our country at present from we come across innumerable intellectual barons, who pursued knowledge for its own sake and who lived a life of complete dedication to it.'

He further noted that one of the problems facing college authorities was discipline from staff. He agreed that it was not unrealistic, as it would result in to improve one's prospects and be on the lookout for better options. However he corrected. Although we cannot be in universities, as to college they ignore or even depreciate the importance of discipline properly in the, I dare say there are values which transcended careers, considerations. And he added that one of the causes of the lack of respect for teachers among students these days he believed was the absence of enthusiasm or love for his noble profession in the teacher. This obviously tends to diminish in the student the sense of discipline born of respect for the teacher. It does not inspire the student with the love of learning for its own sake. Hence this will spell disaster for the spread and advancement of true learning and real education in our land.

5-10-64

H. P.

## An Undesirable Regression

If any proof was needed to show how the public mind will be affected by the revival of conforming tales or examples, it is to be had by having a second look at our daily press. Readers must have noted that in important papers like The Times of India, The Media etc. have begun to write 'Sir' Mrs. Gandhi, 'Sardar' Nehru and so on, as of old. The regression to old ways is certainly not necessary nor helpful for the advancement of the democratic order. It shows that there is a very thin line of demarcation if at all between illiteracy and civility. The difference is only technical and it is better not to dwell on it for killing the spirit of the Constitution, which discourages the use of honorific prefixes or suffixes to our names except those of a military or academic nature.

5-10-64

H. P.

## SOCIALIZE THE CLOTH INDUSTRY

(By Rajendrakumar P. Datta)

A newspaper gives the following statistics of the progress of mill cloth industry in India during the last 100 years:

Year	Number of mills	Capital in lakhs	Loans in lakhs	Workers in lakhs
1864	1	50	—	100
1884	2	57	—	105
1904	4	60	—	120
1924	27	140	6.5	2
1944	58	200	4.5	18
1964	100	3,400	75	40
1980	150	5,000	75	80
1990	200	4,000	80	100
2000	250	6,000	90	120
2010	300	7,500	100	140
2020	350	9,000	110	160
2030	400	10,000	120	180
2040	450	11,000	130	200

The progress of mill-cloth industry during the past hundred years is noteworthy in many ways. It is really very remarkable that our people were able to establish and expand this industry to its present extent during the British rule and in the face of an increased competition from foreign mills.

The writer who has collected these statistics does not say anything about the amount of money invested in it. It will certainly be very interesting to know it from someone who knows it. It should also be noted that all this money running into several crores of rupees having been drawn and poured into the service of private ownership, is benefiting the owners of the industry.

Besides, it has to be remembered that while on one hand it grew and prospered, on the other, in comparison with Lancashire it was also responsible for the deterioration of the great Khadi industry of our country. Consider the vast unemployment to be found in our midst and the complete demoralization of our village life, the phenomenon of 'progress through destruction' naturally induces one to think along new and different lines. In the new set-up after Swaz, this question has assumed even greater importance than before.

During the British rule the mill industry, in the name of Swadeshi, could appeal to our sense of patriotism and as such received a good measure of encouragement and patronage. It is no longer so and the time has come to re-examine

its drive and responsibility in the realization of the

People's Republic shows that in the second or third year, the silk industry has been able to produce work only to seven and a quarter lakh bales. And it, as the silk owners claim, they are allowed to produce their share, the number is bound to go down. However it is said that production will rise. It is clear that as far as alleviating unemployment and providing more employment is concerned, silk industry cannot help us much. And yet it will continue to eat up the accumulated capital of the country, the profit accruing only to a few individuals.

Nor can it be said that this industry can or will become self-sufficient. It is not so today. It can maintain itself and grow only if the Government provides help and support in various ways. For example, the taxation policy has to be devised in its favour. Facilities for export trade provided, help rendered in finding out foreign markets and in withstanding competition from other countries. And if it asks for cash within the country, as it does today, the country must be prepared to suffer unemployment among vast numbers of its working population—by no means an unimportant condition we need to fulfil in order to keep it going.

Another aspect of this industry which we must be reminded is that the Government earns from it annually a vast of rupees by way of taxes. In this respect the Government and the silk industry are so inextricably linked, it is necessary to see that this does not in any way affect the country's interests adversely. Viewed from this standpoint all controlled industries are linked up with the Government in that they serve as sources of revenue to the latter.

Looking at the industry from all these points of view, there arises before us a question of great importance, viz., in what direction now after hundred years are we to reform such controlled industries? It was in seeking an answer to this question that the ecologists and economists of Europe discovered socialism. It is true that socialism is an ideology of their conflict but not much choice is our country. Yet if our controlled industries too develop along the same lines as in Europe and our Government favours such development, then the question of capitalism as referred to above cannot but arise here also. In fact, as we can see, it has already started making its head and political parties in the country are acting under the shadow of its influence.

It has been said that the silk cloth industry in India would not be nationalized, that is, it will continue to function on the basis of private ownership. In that case it would be necessary to exercise such control over its working and development that it will never sit past grace in the new Sarvagya economy but not more as it does today.

Economically a nation has not merely to increase production but also to see that all are immediately provided with work, their pas-

sioning power raised, and everyone enabled to do his part in producing what has to be produced. For that we will have to build up a new economy in which, unlike in the controlled industries, there will be no room for the doctrine 'right is right'.

The following are some of the things which our new industrial policy must adopt if we now intend to take to this new line.

1. Food clothing and articles of general household use should not be produced through mechanized industries which benefit only a few. They should be entirely free from control either by outside countries or by particular classes of our own. The whole of our people will produce all these things through village industries and thus achieve real economic independence.

2. The Government should give up its claims for income from controlled industries in respect of such articles.

3. Instead it should adopt a policy calculated to promote village industries. Moreover the working of the mills should be so controlled and restricted that they may not compete with the village industries.

4. For example, in order to enable the handloom industry to develop to its full capacity, the mills should be asked to produce the necessary yarn of appropriate quality as a matter of the first priority. Production of such yarn should be made compulsory for them, that is, the handlooms should not be dependent on the mills. On the contrary, the mills should be conducted so as to serve the handlooms.

5. In addition, if in order to help the production of Khadi and hand-spun yarn it is felt necessary, the mills may be asked to produce good slivers on an adequate scale.

6. If after fulfilling all these obligations, mills still have the capacity for more work, they may use it for producing cloth for foreign markets, care being taken to see that the goods so produced are exported to those countries only where they are needed and where there is a natural scope for such exchange of goods. A blind scramble for earning foreign exchange anyhow, on the part of a price-loving country like ours, is not proper nor deserving. Today there is a great deal of competition among the nations of the world for foreign markets, which creates an atmosphere of conflict and war. This should be avoided. We have to remember that we are against imperialism in any form.

7. The evils of large-scale controlled industries can be avoided by organizing them as small-scale village industries using suitable hand-driven or power-driven machines. For example people should be encouraged to produce hand-spun yarn and suitable machines should be devised for that purpose. This way, in course of time, make it possible to provide a good bulk of yarn for handlooms through hand-spinning.

4. If the cloth industry is reorganized in this way, other auxiliary industries too will become devaluated. This will increase the volume of unemployment, with the result that the talent of the educated classes will also be directed to various crafts. This will naturally give a great impetus to our education also.

It is necessary to consider the country's economic, social, educational and industrial plans from this point of view. Let us hope that the next Five Year Plan will adopt the broader Soviet-style outlook in formulating its projects in various fields. In its absence, not only real "leaps" but also imitation of war-torn world powers and their various (especially of Soviet) achievements. It is also the only way to bring about the true rationalization or socialization of the cloth industry. Our people can never have real economic independence without it.

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## THE NANTUCKET COMMITTEE REPORT

(Earl K. Yamazaki, President of the Indian National Trade Union Congress, has turned the following statement in the House.)

The long-awaited report of the Karamba Commission has at last won the light of day. The Government of India was depending upon the findings and recommendations of this Commission in order to formulate its policy with regard to various problems facing the Yezu tribe, by its own country. I am afraid, the report has not been able to make any helpful recommendations. I am not surprised at the disappointing results as most of the members who were entrusted with the task were not adequately conversant with the problems of the Indians.

The Government was anxious to finding a proper place for the handloom industry in the country's economy. The handloom industry does not only produce cloth, but has great potentiality of providing employment in a large number of workers in the country. The Committee suggests that the handloom industry should be encouraged and protected every year for six years have to be there and of employment. What will be the fate of the workers who will be deprived of their normal and natural income? What is there in that one and provide other suitable employment to that they had and have in with the handloom, so as to keep employment? The handloom industry has been considered as adequately protected and sufficient developed despite of providing considerable employment persons. But we find many other things being made to explore possibilities in this direction. Instead we have a death sentence in certain ways the present dignity of the industry to give employment. We wonder who intended to achieve these recommendations will mean to the poor handloom we serve whom we love. It was thought will enable partial modernization on the basis of self-financing.

The Interstate Wildlife Highway also has been created by the Committee in a simplified manner and I am afraid the Committee have trusted on the grounds which were beyond their question of relevance. Even if they desired to look into the question of viability for and collection for they should have examined the Least Tern problem which are very vitally interested in made some problems. I was not aware of any such committee membership in the Committee Department is a person with an every body knows, in fact a matter that can be ignored. The very word "information" contains that the information

of the situation, both human and material, should be fully explored when the time matures; to me, support is an abstract notion, and the concrete is what counts. In the future, the economic and social system in this country must be transformed from the inside out, based on the principle of free choice and justice. There are too many factors involved in this, and I think that the time is not yet ripe for the kind of risk mentioned for internal or external financing. The only thing which has been achieved for international capital markets is that they have taken the form of a "banking" business, but as the time draws on, the business will show the same mistakes as that of international trade. But the recent mistakes in that of international trade, government and otherwise, is a very serious one. I think that market is going to be a megamarket here, the business will be expanded that 50 per cent of the existing banks should be converted into automatic banks if the banks managed of this were better than. The Commission has not any suggestion with regard to that in 1990 and 1991. I think it is necessary and of importance every year after China to study thoroughly that within the Commission make the suggestion, it makes the priority of the situation that may be created, and makes a wide attempt to collect the information of the suggestion by asking that the employment of human and displacement of workers should be done only by entering agreements with the Labour Organization, and it this is not possible, in pursuance of the principles laid down by the Commission.

The Banking Committee's recommendations regarding nationalization of industry is highly important. It is against the interest of the people of the country. The present Indian Government's Co-operation is important in finance the nationalization of the Textile Industry. The joint report says that the Government is making available to the Corporation a large fund under it. It is felt that funds made thus available should not be placed away in hoarding up monies with which even according to the Committee, have little in gift because of mismanagement and the not making provision out of the large profits of the war period. I do not understand why the majority of the country should be called upon to contribute to the war which are, either transportation or materials. Yes, the old equipment, old and outdated machines, and too many more, to be transferred to the public enterprise. I wonder why such a strategic asset is lost made by the Committee and I feel that the taxpayers of this country and the public at large will suffer an unnecessary scope such a proposition. There is nothing holding in the Report to give any idea regarding the necessity, replacing the old plant, and the Committee have to replace it. In this many firms have become bankrupt. After that time, an increase of prices, and whether it has become really inevitable a reply. Then all by nationalized firms? These are matters which the Committee should have noted and it is wondered in all these years that the people of this country are not a little bit.

The more serious problems which the country and the Government have to face today in the problems of unemployment. That country is troubled by the fact that a great deal of employment is springing here, according to our way, the capacity of an industry to provide employment in the Government had offered any possible suggestions for the further development and extension of the foundation to during which would be to develop such a post, it would have been a source of relief, instead the Committee is in and in any, has only aimed to the difficulties that are before the country and the world.

I trust the Government of India before adopting any of the suggested laws mentioned in the Commission will give careful consideration to all relevant and important matters which the Commission has called to its notice and will also regard the public whose interests are likely to be chiefly affected by them.

[illegible]













# HARIJAN

PRINTED BY MAMTAJI SARKAR  
LAKSHMI NAGAR, CALCUTTA



Vol. XVIII, No. 14

KOLKATA—SATURDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1948

TWO ANNAS

## VINHA COMPLETES MISAFFARPUR TOUR

(By Sada's)

### Vinha's Birthday Week

Though Vinha always did everything in haste, so his birthday occasion yet this has always marking a refreshingly new chapter in the life of his life. On September 21, 1948, he started from the Misaffarpur station on his birthday mission to (visit) a year later when he was at Ranchi Hospital, he returned now to return to the Ashram and there was his birthday in the country on the same day last year he began his birthday. Vinha programme when a devoted worker presented to him an article of his birthday income of his life and this year to give a new sign to his birthday dream. Instead of asking for the birthday month's from a donor, he had a birthday in this work.

I am one of your family. When you accept me as your brother? And accordingly give me my share. Had I not my share (right) if you are my brother a month if you are there and not so.

### Share with Your Brother Vinha

On the birthday of the founder of the Harijan Ashram, Vinha's birthday was being the work commencing on 1948 September. His last work in the Misaffarpur district. A regular programme in the day was the meeting of the beneficiaries of the locality specially those whom the party was advised because of their significant health. After Vinha with his programme 'but being' knowledge of the situation. Another thing name would be 'Love Exchange' I would visit the beneficiaries of describing the work meetings.

### Two Remarkable Incidents

An old man, about sixty, having only one son, came to Vinha with an offer of one hundred rupees for the day. Vinha refused the offer saying that he demanded it higher as the brother of his right is the third member of the household.

"There is such (relationship) brother which cannot be easily got rid of" said the old man.

But at this age you must come forward bravely to offer me, (suggested) Vinha.

"Then, you do wish" and after a pause he added, "Take five rupees."

"You" I would like and you give me only five rupees I feel ashamed."

"But, no child, don't worry, then."

"Perhaps you have forgotten that I am asking you as a brother."

The old man was silent. Then Vinha spoke: "Well, I will suggest a compromise. You and your son, give 10 rupees each. I shall deal with your son separately. You give me 10 rupees of my share as your brother. The rest, I will take from your son."

The old man looked at him and words in reply. He offered the higher—another—and begged him. Vinha told him that he (Vinha) had not only taken a day from him but also taught him the method how to ask for money to deal with the work. I hope you would become a brother brother."

The second story is this. A young brother, who working 10 rupees each, came early in the day and asked for a higher. When they met Vinha, they asked him the reason of increasing their day's work.

Vinha replied, "First let me know why did you quarrel and disturb your property?"

"With the growth of the family" said the elder, "Oh! your share compelled you to do so." He pointed Vinha then observed: "You know what are shared by?"

"Yes" he I demand 100 rupees from each of you. Each one of us has a big family, so I must do you share. I have no money. I had to work as a day worker I had the best of all."

"We about" Vinha. But you must take your own share. But you must know and keep track of it."

"I have seen in the past with me."

"All right, have one light" "That is a reasonable offer. But I want nothing for an Ashram, school, temple or mosque. I would have nothing anything. But in this case I want you to share the year's past, transform your life, and bring the families to rest with."

"That is true, but we simply can't" "I have, therefore, no option but to my rapidly reject your offer."

That is impossible. We cannot afford you to have without making our families in you."

Then open your heart and make a dignified donation. I want the ten highest each from you and 10 higher if you get together."

The old man, on the day and they at last agreed that after five months. 10 higher each and paid with 10.

### The Family Where Friends of Vinha

We were at Misaffarpur on the 19th September. In the morning meeting in the morning Vinha placed his day's work, the family income and he demanded his share. The meeting agreed to quickly another is required, and all remained that his demand was right and justified.

In his past prayer speech, Vinha observed that there are the days of equality when nobody can claim any special privilege. There is a new charm and someone in everybody's thing. "Our main and main" said he.

And Vinha said that we are all inspired by God, and the same divine light is in all of us. All respect, the same light is in all of us. In each man, we all know of the same or death of death of the lamp but because of the difference in the quantity of light. The share the most the greater the light. If we could provide the means of bringing proper education and good character in all people we would have peace and domestic coming out from amongst the poor."

He then continued into an attempt to bring with some one, other and women this process. My work done one hour with had satisfaction more as your work done one hour with with marriage. In fact I (Vinha) believe in both the cases. The moment you give the hand for the brother brother in his right you enter the brother in



11. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 277, 1996, 1611-1612.

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Journal of Internal Medicine 247: 105–112

Figure 1 shows the three process variables for the first 100 days and compares them with the process mean values. The process mean values are shown as horizontal lines. The process mean values are 1.0 for the first 100 days, 1.5 for the next 100 days, and 2.0 for the last 100 days. The process mean values are 1.0 for the first 100 days, 1.5 for the next 100 days, and 2.0 for the last 100 days.

<sup>10</sup> "Working in the Ties of Freedom."

According to the working of the law, and the common opinion that white folk are supposed to be the better, there was only a really black land with not a single drop of any common mother nearly. If the black women came forward with their girls, the negroes would take it as a paralytic hand in every respect. But the delay," said Tilden, "in the work is due to the change in the tribe of workers, being he called them to sleep. When I enter a district for the first time M. L. 1, and M. P. come for a day. People make it their aim and see that the workers come not to work but to maintain their state in the new regions, and as they want a photograph with them, a worker conducted by me then he knew with these people, protection, they are and protection in that the first of them had begun and before it used to for the photograph people come to tell me all this. I feel in this region from a distance. But when I find that after me, departure, from his constituency or district the leader is no more visible I begin to read in the first 100 and the second of the people. So I am afraid I will be able to a system to work a while I might like with all this and I am in my new things. There is about with the work. I have seen the same problem of the political and economic. I have no doubt in my mind that if the country had shown that there is a seriously the country with the political system there is a very serious.

For all countries, the mean age of the population was 26.9 years, with a range of 22.9–30.9 years. The mean age of the population was 26.9 years, with a range of 22.9–30.9 years.

[illegible][illegible]

1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 26

For the first year in the office, I have been in the position of a "free lance" in the sense that I have not been engaged by any one firm. I have been in the position of a "free lance" in the sense that I have not been engaged by any one firm. I have been in the position of a "free lance" in the sense that I have not been engaged by any one firm.

The first of these is the question of quality of life. It is not enough to have a high average income. It is also important to have a low level of poverty. The second is the question of income distribution. It is not enough to have a high average income. It is also important to have a low level of poverty. The third is the question of income distribution. It is not enough to have a high average income. It is also important to have a low level of poverty.

[illegible]

The study found that the quality of the relationship between the child and the parent was a significant predictor of the child's internalizing problems. The results suggest that the quality of the relationship between the child and the parent is a key factor in the development of internalizing problems.

[illegible]

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# HARIJAN

Oct 22

1954

## THE REAL CHALLENGE OF DEMOCRACY

(By Mageshwar P. Desai)

I draw the attention of the reader to the article 'Democracy and Lure of Office' that appeared in the issue of Oct. 5, 1954. I do so on reading some very relevant observations which have been made by 'Insa' in his 'Political Diary', in *The Hindustan Times* Oct. 6, 1954. The reader must have read about this Jawaharlal's expressing a personal feeling of tiredness and fatigue these days 'Insa' scanning this in his rambling way says:

"The main difficulty is that most Congressmen seem to seek in on their positions of political offices, and those in office whether as Ministers, Members or Deputy Ministers wish to be maintained as political positions for life." On the other hand, younger men, and women keep on pressing for recognition, and do not hesitate to relinquish their offices on territorial boundaries and even caste considerations.

"Then there are people who exploit the role itself of his character. He is literally hungry and can live only in constant pressure to his position or authority, to get some benefit. A woman has to bring only tears into her eyes to make him give up a firm position held on politicians. All that adds up is a pattern which does not make for a healthy democracy."

Having put his finger on the points of weakness and vulnerability both in the Congress and the leader, 'Insa' remarks:

We must realize that the people who had access to him were exploiting him too have. Having done this his duty and has for some time taken to one life loneliness and kept his counsel to himself. But that has had the effect of further isolating him and making him feel the attack of work even more than before!"

And therefore 'Insa' very pertinently asks himself:

"But how long can this one-man performance last? Perhaps Mr. Nehru feels that he cannot go on indefinitely doing how things and everywhere opening establishments, maintaining children's shows and what not. If a Special Marriage Bill is to be put through Parliament on the edge of the attack about women's right to wear the Saree, Administrative Service has to be formed, he must intervene. And as the only internal Parliament proceedings order in which the Prime Minister intervenes his colleagues have increased from the 1952. He recalls the Treasury battles were mainly empty even when Supplementary Demands for Grants of unexpended budgets (providing over Rs 600 crores) were discussed."

"But V. V. Giri speaking in Bombay (1953-54) and lately remarked: "We must learn when to resign and how to resign. In this country there are some people who feel that even he is a minister he should always be a minister. It is a waste."

And lest he might be misunderstood, he adds at the end of these few remarks:

All this is said not to lead people to some narrow school who ask, 'What after Nehru? A country where Ministers, Deputy Ministers, Parliamentary Secretaries, Ministers and the rest, what about it? thousand whose legislative number about 5000 where 100,000 constitute membership of local bodies and over a million of village panchayats has no dearth of experienced hands to fill positions of power and responsibility. What is lacking is the urge to build the nation.' (Indian note.)

Many of us know full well that the position is surely grim and grave enough for searching our own hearts, as 'Insa' has tried to do in the words quoted above. It is a challenge to our moral and spiritual worth without which no nation can be built. When I say this, I am tempted to quote a similar analysis of a foreign observer of our present position. He discusses Nehru's statement, but not like 'disfranchisement abroad' whom 'Insa' rightly sets aside.

In a long article 'Asia Between Mahatma and Marx' ('Hindustan') the foreign observer, Raymond Aron by name, talks about the Indian situation as follows:

"For some years to come, British India success to the new the English built up after the great struggle is not likely to be dominated by a Communist electoral victory. It is threatened only by the disintegration of the party in office. However, as the democratic regime loses the masses will be disturbed by the propaganda of the various parties, the economic changes and the creation of increasingly heavy social forces. With the decrease the state to build the masses? With they manage to eliminate gradually the habits and traditions incompatible with the spirit of industrial civilization? Will they manage to bring India out of her poverty, free her from the caste system and other superstitions, without appealing to religious—and finally to caste discipline?"

"In order to spread certain institutions from one society to another it is never enough to transfer rights or technical formulas, the essential is to change ways of thinking. Religion, tradition and superstitions are pillars to certain habits. Nations do not exclude or impose any religion, but if they destroy all old and without giving birth to another there is a vacuum. Economic development by democratic methods does not only presuppose the efficiency of elected rulers and self-disciplined executives, it also demands men who find the spirit of their faith and the principles of their morality suitable politics. In dealing with men with such faith and principles is the real challenge in Asia" (Indian note.)

The last sentence contains the warning and given us the message which, in another way, epitomizes for us what Gandhiji told us all through the years he was with us. Surely, we cannot afford to forget it when he is not with us in flesh and blood. If at all the Congress is found wanting in meeting this challenge of democracy in India, it will be due to lack of the faith and the principles which made it the greatest and the most potent instrument of the Indian revolution under Gandhiji's leadership.

11-10-54

## INCHES UNDER MORAL GROWTH

(By Gaddipati)

Rome suffered a moral fall when a stained robe materialised as the old Egypt and so perhaps most countries of which we have any historical record. The descendants and kinship of the moral and divine Krishna too fell when they were ruling in India. We do not deny to the fluctuations and the Carnegie possessions of an ordinary measure of morality, but we gladly judge them indulgently. I mean that we do not even expect them to satisfy the highest standard of morality. With them material gain has not necessarily meant moral gain. In South Africa, where I had the privilege of associating with thousands of our countrymen on most intimate terms, I observed almost invariably that the greater the possession of riches the greater was their moral turpitude. Our rich men, to say the least, did not advance the moral struggle of poorer resistance as did the poor. The rich man's sense of self-respect was not so much injured as that of the poorer. If I were not afraid of treading on dangerous ground I would even come nearer home and show how possession of riches has been a hindrance to real growth.

*Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi* p. 102

## A GOOD BEGINNING

(By Magistrate P. Desai)

We learn from the daily press that the Poona University will allow its students of the First Year in all the faculties to use the medium of Marathi in the examination from the year 1934.

This is surely a good beginning. It may be noted in this connection that we negotiated the displacement of the medium from English to the regional language in secondary education, by allowing both teachers as well as pupils to use the latter if they so desire. The result was that in the course of only a few years we not only succeeded to change the medium, but also we began to have necessary text-books in our languages.

Let us hope other universities also begin similarly. This is bound to have a very wholesome and salutary effect on the standard of university education which is very low indeed.

A few days after the above news appeared, we came to learn that the Karnataka University will allow English, Hindi or Kannada as the medium! Surely, this is a very queer thing to do on its part. And its Vice-Chancellor has further advised that in the degree classes it might better be Hindi. All this only shows that a serious beginning for solving the problem is still to be made by that University. We hope the University will abide by the enlightened opinion of the country that the rightful medium for a region is its own language. One may well ask, what for then are the Kannadigas agitating to have Sanskrit in Karnataka? If at all such a

demand is tenable, it is only to secure to themselves conditions wherein they can be free to advance culturally and educationally through their own language, which is the only right and proper way for a democracy.

We learn that the Mother University of Bombay also is showing signs of some movement on this matter. It is good to shake off the inert weight of age and conservatism. It is said that it has passed a resolution asking the Government that Vice-Chancellor of the State be called to order on the matter. Now surely this is according to make the courage of a decision, to say the least. The matter is being discussed for some years by now all over India and particularly in Bombay State. The daughter universities have been denying it for themselves. There need be, therefore, no such delay and hesitance on the part of the Bombay University to make its own decision.

The Baroda University is a type in itself. It has the unique position of being directly controlled and teaching university of the State. It is, comparatively speaking, in a good financial position. Being a unitary organisation it can easily decide and make a success of the change-over of the English medium to Gujarati. It was one-and-a-half to the achievement of true or democratic Swaraj, if at all a beginning has to be made by way of the next step, the responsibility for taking it rests now on the University.

23-10-34

## NOTES

### Racism in South Africa

In spite of the U. N. O., South Africa under the governance of Dr. Malan, runs on the race of racial hatred. It would not hard to the advice that the arrogant apartheid policy in it is only leading South Africa to its own doom. No matter the U. N. O. or the English Commonwealth make it do so. In such circumstances only Non-violence can give it the secret lesson, but at what cost of human misery and destruction? An Indian friend in South Africa who is in intimate touch with the terrible things happening there writes to say as follows:

The problem here is getting worse and worse.

The present reactionary Government is well understood and it will be no wonder if we see a repetition of German History in the near, near future.

We now have to the fighting. May God give us the strength to pass through the last, last, last stage.

All lovers of peace and humanity will surely join in this fervent prayer. We only add, may God grant light to those who, blinded by racial arrogance and fanaticism, seem to be repeating the Nazi story in South Africa.

15-10-34

H. P.

### Geology of World Politics

World politics like a geological formation, shows several levels. A level towards world unity and peace and freedom lies at the top. A conflict between India and Communism creates a bulge towards it, a conflict between the Western powers for securing the big trade and business with the East works below and

lower with a smaller car. The manager looked at the big car and the smaller car and said, "I don't know what to do."

This is what beholds Dr. Bhabha and recently (The Leader, 6-12-63). And something to wonder about, for is it not also said that all that goes by the name of civilization or culture is a mere gloss on a thin good-looking layer lying underneath all that is primitive in us—the biological brute demanding his cloth for survival once what may be an uncontrollable convulsion underneath may well erupt. Like a volcano, into a hair if the lower strata of world's political ecology are not becalmed and made viable. This is what India stands for when she says that she will give us 'collective security' like at the other side of that shield' is collective non-preparedness, but that she will strive to extend the zone of total peace, rather than that of war which 'collective security' as it is understood at present seems to mean and signify.

24-12-64

W. P.

### A Vicious Circle

Educated unemployment is a peculiar feature of our socio-educational sphere. To relieve its alarming intensity recently Government as is recorded in the Five Year Plan Progress Report for 1959-64, employed 28,899 rural school teachers and 1,605 social education workers up to the end of March 1964.

The said report also complains that the conversion of primary schools into basic schools and the opening of new basic schools, as envisaged in the Plan has been considerably impeded by the lack of properly trained personnel and of well-established methods and techniques and suitable guiding literature.

Which clearly shows that the new teachers are only unemployed 'educated' hands just taken in to man new schools, they are surely not trained nor do they enter the profession for the love of King of it. There is, as is admitted, no progress in changing the system of education. The new schools, therefore, will only tend to swell the ranks of the unemployed, as long as they are not liberally endowed (giving new schools by way of a living start, unemployment is obviously not an educational measure. It rather creates a vicious circle—the unemployed employing themselves to create more of them. It pays neither education nor the production of more wealth.

8-12-64

W. P.

### Khadi and Government Purchasing Power

The Finance Minister of Bombay, in reply to a question in the Assembly said that the total cost of textiles purchased by the Government from 1955-57 up to the end of last year was Rs 2,24,70,002, the rest of handloom cloth being Rs 13,13,712.

For a long while cloth need this large sum, as is said, and money. Whether it could be met largely by Government handloom cloth or not is therefore difficult to say. What would if any, was spent for handloom cloth is also not known from the press reports.

Clearly, our economic method, how of course, defines that a fairly good measure could have been used to buy handloom. In that case the purchasing power that Government holds is abundant would have been put to the test and most profitable use, which it is the duty of the Government to do. Government should surely encourage handloom and in regard to cloth Khadi is true at cost per cent Swedish.

25-12-64

W. P.

### "WHY KHADI"

(By Jyoti B. Shah)

The Swedish movement was started as far back as 1880 and till 1945 it went through various stages. The movement was meant for the purpose of attaining 'svensk' and was mainly confined to the boycott of foreign goods.

For nearly five years after attaining independence practically no attention was paid to this question. But we now find a ray of hope from our leaders, who are focusing some attention to Swedish, as can be seen in the acceptance by the Planning Commission of the indigenousity of Khadi and Village Industries in the national economy, the establishment of All India Khadi & Village Industries Board, 25 per cent price preference for Cottage Industries products given by State and Central Governments, revival of Swedish movement by different social organizations, etc.

What is Swedish? Swedish means anything which is our country's own made with the help of indigenous capital and labour. In these there will be classification on 100 per cent Swedish and less percentage on others. Goods for necessities of life, luxury goods, etc. 100 per cent Swedish means goods produced without the help of machinery and goods other than these will fall under the second category. The necessities of life will include food, clothing and a dwelling place. We are now concerned with 100 per cent Swedish goods for necessities of life as that alone can solve our main problem of mass unemployment.

The table below shows the population of our country and how many depend on (1) agriculture and (2) an industry, commerce etc. to maintain themselves.

Total population of India—25.68 lakh—divided into

Caste and Religion	Urban (Percent)	Rural (Percent)	Depending upon Agriculture	Depending upon Industry, Commerce & Misc. occupation
			Male 1957 1961	Male 1957 1961
24 lakh	18 lakh	2700 2400	1957 1961	1957 1961

It will be good thing, however, to note that 20 per cent of the population in the villages, 16.5 per cent in the towns and cities, having less than 1 khaddi garment and 1/2 per cent in the cities, having no garments at all, more than 1 lakh out of the 90 per cent of Khaddi about 70 per cent more than 1 khaddi from agriculture which villages have sold for 3 months in a row and the demand of 1 khaddi for 20 per cent of the population is likely to be provided with occupation, it may be said there fully occupied to earn their livelihood for the whole year. About 20 per cent out of these 70 per cent is about 5 crores of people, 1 crore is occupied at all the rest 20 per cent of people have got occupations of agriculture only for five months in a year.

How is the problem of unemployment amongst this 100 per cent population to be solved? Can we feed them by any means, more or less? Will Government give them food? Or are they to beg for food, will they do?

In many instances, there are schemes of social security which provide (1) insurance against unemployment, (2) health, (3) schemes of social security, or, desired as such, mostly in terms of industrial schemes operated in large scale in districts or other large scale enterprises. But the schemes of such industrial schemes is extremely small and the mass of our manual workers have been employed in the industrial industry for years and for years. Greater under-employment and partial employment are not a residual problem, but, are a constant feature. To do or schemes of social security for one section of workers and not for others, would be appreciable discrimination and would obviously be against the interests of national solidarity. To provide artificial unemployment in rural areas or, however, a tremendous transfer of resources, practically beyond the capacity of the Central or State Governments, to undertake.

The position therefore is that there is mass of people work, available their produce, materials, goods and creating profits of capital expenditure on are considerable work.

Production of Khaddi and village industries can provide such employment in rural setting to people, or partly, the employed labour in villages. Taking as the 1/2 worth of Khaddi as 2.5 forms cost of making which goes to the agriculturist, 1/2 for transport cost of spinning, 1/4 for weaving and the balance of 1/4 is transport and sales expenses. Thus it will be seen that at 18-4 as a wage i.e. nearly 10 per cent goes to villagers, 1/4 for manual labour, 1/4 for other occupation with a percentage will go to their wages. Hence if Khaddi manufacturing is done with only village industries, as is possible, Khaddi is available for 7 months a year and also agricultural production also made possible, which is 20 per cent of the population to provide themselves with the bare necessities of life can be solved.

The 100 per cent of the people, who are in villages, towns and cities, can be satisfied with only khaddi in garments, occupation, health, and food. Khaddi is not an ideal cloth, it is not so to say, a substitute for that foreign cloth does not find a market in India. The Government can buy Khaddi and use it in uniforms. But some preference is now being given, but whether Government may do that does not solve the problem. It can only be solved by our people in urban areas taking to Khaddi and village industries.

But the question remains up, Khaddi is cheaper than will cloth. This question should be discussed from different points. Is it true Khaddi is cheaper but it can become cheaper if more demand for Khaddi is established. Organisation, improvement in technique and extension are hardly possible if Khaddi and other products had to find a market. Hence till such time, some price preference and some quality preference are inevitable. Those who cannot afford to have the whole of their requirements in Khaddi let them take some percentage of their requirements in Khaddi.

Taking Government through Khaddi Board is taking as a whole of Rs. 3 for cloth, and more. That is to say of one yard of Khaddi costs Rs. 1/2, it will cost as Rs. 17 or against as 12 per yard of wool cloth. Even then it is as 2 more per yard. But then it has to be remembered that out of the Rs. 15 spent on Khaddi as 10-4 will go to villages as wages to two families in whom it will earn a net 4 for one day. While out of Rs. 12 paid for wool cloth only as 2 will go as wages. The extra as 2 paid in purchase of one yard of Khaddi is our Sugar Tax.

The following table will make an interesting study as to how many persons were employed by all the 20 industries in our country in the year 1946.

Total Industries	Total Persons	Workers	Employees (Private and Govt. Inds.)	Total Employees
20	5945	1237064	137205	1374069

It will be seen from the above table that about 14 lakhs of people are employed by industries.

Khaddi can be made cheap if one takes to spinning for an hour a day. This will give him about nearly 25 yards of cloth a year.

If 4 crores of urban population decide to devote one hour of their time for the sake of nation and spin for one hour as "National Hour", one man will produce one area worth of yarn per hour, 1/4 crores of areas a day or Rs. 25 lakh per day or Rs. 7500 lakh per year. Let us devote this to our National Government.

If the buyer also manages to reduce his yearly demand of cloth Khaddi, in the ultimate analysis, will not be cheaper than wool cloth and will help to build the India of tomorrow.

## TRANSLATING AND EVALUATING

1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 26

The next I reflect over the idea of "Strength" the more I realize the true extent of the work which has hidden in this programme and the huge effort which would be needed to actually be carried out and see results.

Continuing, it appears to be the most original thing to offer — just one book of poems to the country in a year. And it must be of the chosen one: perhaps the *Vern* and the *Vern* may be.

Two main things to be adopted first of all were the methods where it was decided that as a first step in saving we should collect two small but high bank banks in each area of the country. It has taken a while to get to the point that needed decrease. In the first year only one bank bank was collected in the second one and a full bank. And this year only one bank bank. It is a matter of satisfaction that these three years we could find our money. We have now to go ahead. I feel that all the banks of years of the rule of one bank per household person could well be taken to be the same. I feel good.

1. I was told one that it was doubtful if there were such a large number of sparrows in that country. To which another replied that there must be because in the 1930 movement birds had entered every village. The first one replied that was long ago. Now we must take it that we would be required to teach sparrows to the people in order to obtain no more birds.

It is clear that spinning will have to be taught to our people under all circumstances. Without spinning the Indian Kshatri shall not survive. To take an instance I am at present weaving the food-strecher parts of Bata. The question which Kshatri must on one's occasion is what work can help them to cover their suffering? Charkha is the only, and the most viable answer to this question. Again, the Kshatri has no work for the whole year—he remains absolutely unemployed for some months. What are we going to do about it? I had therefore said to the Government, (I do not ordinarily ask anything of the Government; I place my demand before the society which includes the Government, the peasant)—he is a village or a constituency—must be taught spinning as a seasonal occupation.

To resume, besides teaching spending we will also have to plan for approaching all Approaching all so as to educate them in our views and work is a task which is as important for the success of Bhodan as in this case. It is

so big that no organization can accomplish it. It can be accomplished only through faith and dedication. For that we will need to work co-operating from all.

All people working in the various cooperative work institutions in which I include also the workers in Gramapanchayats and the teachers in schools, must acquire proficiency in speaking and use daily. I expect all of them to work for the spread of Sanskrit.

The offering of Surtanapoli is a first step towards Surtanapoli.

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[illegible]

## References

S. No.	Slaves	Total Cotton Seed (LAKHS)	Total Seed Quantity (LAKHS)
1	Assam	1.893	—
2	Assam	19.812	—
3	East Pradesh	511.819	13,552
4	Chota	1,00,000	708
5	Karnatak	2,880	279
6	Kerala	23,830	—
7	Gujarat	96,078	912
8	Madras	25,301	285
9	Delhi	9,248	41
10	Punjab	8,322	—
11	Bombay	1,739	33
12	Bihar	22,15,558	1,880
13	Madhya Pradesh	6,504	8,600
14	Madhya Bharat	62,413	—
15	Uttar Pradesh	15,480	—
16	Myore	7,793	—
17	Kapuran	2,23,028	5,781
18	Yashwanth Pradesh	5,419	331
19	Saurashtra	42,808	—
20	Hemachal Pradesh	1,808	—
21	Himachal	1,02,709	17,888
	Total	15,06,179	98,497

(Total collection on 8-12-84 was 24,600,000 seeds)

1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

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CONTRACT	DATE
WISCONSIN COMMISSION	
NATIONAL DEFENSE TOUR	DATE
OFFICIAL CHAIRMAN	
OF DEMOCRACY	Representative David J. Bonior
FOCUS BETWEEN MORAL GROWTH	Chairman
1. CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE	Representative Bonior
WITH LEADS	October 11, 1964
LAW OFFENSES AND DEFENDANTS	1-4-65
PROGRAM: 1. CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE	Representative Bonior
NOTES	
SACRAMENTO IN SOUTH AFRICA	1-7-65
SCHOOL OF WORLD POLITICS	1-7-65
A VIOLENCE CRISIS	1-7-65
SHADE AND GOVERNMENT	
SACRAMENTO POWER	1-7-65



# HARIJAN

 PUBLISHED BY BHIMLATA GANDHI  
 10-11, BANGALORE, P. O. BOMBAY


Vol. VIII, No. 12

THURSDAY, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1935

PART THREE

## SCAVENGING

(By Gandhi)

Every one must be his own scavenger. Scavenging is as necessary as eating, and the best thing would be for every one to dispose of his own waste. If this is impossible, each family should use its own scavenger. I have felt for years that there must be something radically wrong where scavenging has been made the concern of a separate class in society. We have no historical record of the man who first assigned the lowest status to this essential sanitary service. Who ever he was, he by no means did us a good. We should then say very distinctly, have the idea impressed upon our minds that we are all scavengers, and the easiest way of doing so is for every one who has noticed this to commence house-cleaning as a scavenger. Scavenging, thus intelligently taken up, will help us in the attainment of the equality of man.

(From *Yoga* to *Manu*, Ch. 12)

## REMOVAL OF UNTOUCHABILITY

(By N. K. Mahalan)

The belief and hence the practice of untouchability can be effectively uprooted mainly by untouching ourselves. The social disabilities from which Harijans suffer have been imposed by them and can be removed by them. The unhuman and inhuman conditions under which Harijans live have been created by them and can be changed by them.

It is urgent and almost cruel to advise Harijans to do or not to do certain things to escape the taint of untouchability. To ask them to be clean in body or clothes but to deny them clean drinking water is to add insult to injury. If there is one urgent word of Harijans it is the striking of new wells and digging of tanks both for drinking water and personal cleanliness. So also if they are living in insanitary conditions it is our duty to see to it that they are allotted clean sites and helped to put up their cottages.

It has become a little fashionable to ask Harijans to give up unclean occupations, like skinning of animals or scavenging. But let us remember that scavenging is a career which originates almost entirely in the British. There are scavengers but no scavengers in villages. There is scavenging, sanitary or insanitary, abroad, but

there is no untouchability. The giving up of scavenging is tantamount to saying that it is a low occupation, however necessary. This would be understandable if those who asked Harijans to give up scavenging took it up as an occupation themselves. And all the time we know it very well that scavenging is a degrading occupation and scavengers cannot give it up. Give up insanitary. The real remedy is to make up for the sanitary facilities in all towns and villages by doing a little scavenging at home. Instead of penance for our past arrogance and past indifference, it should become fashionable to keep a broom in our houses and use it as often as our consciences and hearts the Bhims. That occupation is far more important to society than any, the legal is even the mercantile professions and it is up to us to consider it at least as equally honourable.

But what is even more distressing is the attitude among leaders given to Harijans by many of their own leaders. I do not intend any criticism of Caste Hindus for all their sins of arrogance and commensurate actual or merely imagined. The Hindu community has nobly earned the bitterest attacks of the most malicious Harijans. In fact, it stands thoroughly degraded before world opinion for this moral evil as for nothing else. But for Harijan friends to help on the 'weakness' of Harijans to do anything to help themselves or to meet the injustice of Hindus appears to me as an utterly absurd. No one helps those who do not help themselves and even that is considered to be partial in this.

It is difficult to believe that present day Harijans cannot help themselves — if they so desire. If tomorrow the scavengers of Delhi or Uttaranchal or Bihar refuse to do scavenging unless the municipality decides to introduce sanitary methods they would bring the whole public to their knees and induce some to take up the broom. A week's strike on this issue would change the nature of scavenging as if by magic. If our doctors, our chamber-laidies in sanitary arrangements under whose austerities they would soon develop great strength and also help Caste Hindus to be in a chastened mood. It is even true that Harijan leaders in select places organized campaigns for throwing open wells and forced social boycotts or even violence.

The Negro community is going to find as not to a legal status in the courts appeal. In fact, the Negro community is going to find unavailability of the law, regarding the fact that one new Negro community is to be made and imposed on society. As depressed or suppressed class in the history of the world has left too helpless to rise above the gentleness of its suppression. In fact, the Negro community is going to find evil under all conditions and thus help establish good. Harjuna of the most backward caste are now enough to rise and fight for the defense of their march and if properly led

It will not be long before the Unreachability (Unreachability) is passed giving certain rights to Harjuna and imposing penalties for their breach. Harjuna are certainly united in the Government to defend their rights for them through one more bureaucracy of lawyers and in impose higher penalties. But the law would become effective only when Harjuna Associations are formed in all States and Harjuna lawyers are engaged for some time to watch the rights of Harjuna. Others are bound to give them moral and even financial support. Unless Harjuna leaders themselves create a fighting front, it will take long to organize public opinion and abolish unreachability.

In this connection one would beg of Harjuna leaders not to make a distinction of their 'rights' in the name of caste. Whenever there is a public discussion about the abolition of 'unreachability' it is usual for Harjuna representatives to complain that there are not enough Harjuna in the Police, the Army and, of course, the civil administration. If they have a fair proportion of jobs in lower grades, it is asserted that there are, the best in the higher executive ranks. If they have adequate representation in high jobs, they are sorry they have not enough in municipalities and local boards. If there are several Harjuna Ministers they think they have won a - against Harjuna Ministers to safeguard their interests. And so on.

This can lead to the growth of a large caste-discrimination on the grounds of unreachability. In fact, it was supposed that Harjuna want to have the best of both worlds. They plead for more and more 'rights' before the Government and always asserting its enjoying them. At the same time they adopt a threatening and bullying attitude towards Caste-Hindus for all the disabilities they suffer from some people suffer from one or the other caste but Harjuna adopt an inferiority complex towards the Government and its officials but in charge in a superiority complex towards Caste-Hindus. They believe that caste has led to the corruption of the citizens and as such caste. But all the while they observe caste among castes as far more jealously than others observe

among an effort to abolish it amongst themselves.

The Harjuna community has always been - the Harjuna caste in the past and the present. It is Harjuna can only burden it more as they have not yet earned the right to do so. This is simply as that even the new term 'Harjuna' is considered a label that binds them. You must that they say and a lot that they do or demand and but perpetuate the caste called 'Harjuna'. That label can be abolished by abolishing the caste that it stands for.

Unreachability is not essentially based on exploitation (political or economic), and cannot be abolished by the acquisition of political or economic rights. It is based on a belief that some are born high and others low. As a remedy, it is also believed that some are born to occupations that are high and others to those that are low. Unreachability will be spread only when these beliefs are accepted. Harjuna also can help in believing that all Harjuna are equal and that some of their occupations are far more important than those followed by so-called Savarnas and that all occupations that serve society are honorable. Above all let Harjuna be sick of their sickness in order to cure it and not be the impossible trick of abolishing 'unreachability' while retaining the 'rights' of unreachability.

(From The Hindustan Times, October 2, 1946)

## THE PALMYRA TOPE

(By Shanti Mahatma)

I have read with interest (the extract from News-Around printed on page 218 of your valuable journal) Harjuna 28-5-46

Our Ashwameem is started in a palmyra tope covering one 24 acres in extent. When the Ashwameem was opened by Pooja Mahatma in 1939, there were about 3,700 palmyra trees on the Ashwameem grounds and since then we have been adding to their number by planting new ones.

At that time this palmyra tope was in the rear block and I approached Mr. Gopalwami Purohit to convert the same into sweet block as to convert the sweet juice into paghary etc. and a little the income of the Ashwameem and avoid helping the uneducated people for the support of the Ashwameem.

But the professional toppers who were deriding us were from the reaction of our society who 1) the Foreign Government then in existence would not come and tip the tree for sweet juice. It is only in 1946 and 1947 when the Congress Government came into power for a second time in the Madras Presidency that Pooja Mahatma was entrusted to this duty.

In the article on page 218 no reference was made to the tope. Part of the palmyra or the present tope was of the tree. The tree had to

very good food both for cattle and men. Poor people eat the juice of the ripe fruit and poor boys without taking any credits and the juice from the fruit is preserved as food for use in the wet fruit seasons. The juice from the tender legs and/or taken is a cooling drink. I prohibited the use of the same on the Ashramam grounds as such use of the tender fruit will prevent the development of this ripe fruit. I sent the ripe fruit to the Food Research Department at Coimbatore and the results supplied by them show that the ripe fruit contained more carbohydrates than rice itself.

The government used to restrict and the middle class called the "dial" in those parts, is a dandy to children and adults and sold in large numbers in the markets in cities, towns and villages. There is a good source of income to the Ashramam fetching Rs 150/- to Rs 200/- every year.

The foreign Government of the day deputed their Super Expert Mr K. S. Choudhary of Madras School of Arts to demonstrate hand-manipulating of sugar and jaggery direct from the sweet juice of the palmyra palm. But it did not catch the imagination of the professionals.

It is a strange thing but true—the campaign carried on by the ex Andhra Minister Mr Lakshmana and his associates. Mr Lakshmana was named a Congress volunteer who received a good beating during the times of the picketing of liquor shops. The present campaign carried on by him and his friends is aptly described as *Dasagraha* by Bharathi Venkatesh, an Secretary of the Congress. I can understand the tapper's tapping his own trees on his own land or his complaining about the loss of livelihood, but I cannot for the life of me, understand his tempting others to drink the "Bery liquid." There cannot be *Dasagraha* against the abolition of thuggam houses of Bhamas, thieving pilfering etc. It is strange that while the Planning Commission is thinking of extending Prohibition country wide. There should be any disinterested movement against the same in Andhra.

It may be mentioned in this connection that the professional tapper does not himself drink or permit his wife, his daughters and sons-in-law, and his sons and daughters-in-law getting drunk. His family should not become the custom of drunkenness while others should be. This is extraordinary logic which cannot be accepted by any Government with the least pretensions to reform and civilization.

There cannot be any distinction made between ordinary liquor and imported liquor. The Government should not count upon this as a source of revenue. The Central Government as well as the State Governments should exclude this desirable source of revenue if they are really to be "Welfare States" or "Sovereign States." It is

unconscionable how Welfare and Sovereign States should permit the drinking and drugging of any of its citizens. The prohibition granted on small and grounds should gradually be decreased. I know of political pressure in Orissa going as high as 1932 after they gave up opium.

Coke can be prepared by the poor people from the new flour and ripe fruit juice. Drinks can be made for the middle class and rich people with wheat flour and butter added to the ripe fruit juice. In either case gum or sugar need not be added to give taste to the preparations, for the ripe fruit juice itself contains enough gum and sugar.

About 700 prisoners of the tappers' "Satyagraha" have apologized to the Government. The movement would have closed long ago but for the support given to it by the elements for their own reasons.

Vijayachand, 26-9-54

#### A-1 Nat Talim Conference

The dates of the Conference to be held at Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh have been changed to suit the programme of the President who will inaugurate it. It has been finally decided that the Conference will be held from the 10th to the 15th.

The first three days will be devoted to the Nat Talim Workers' Conference and will be presided over by Shri Chandra Prasad Prasad, Varanasi, Singh.

The General Conference will commence on the 12th and will be inaugurated by the President Dr. Bhabha. Prasad and presided over by Acharya Kaka Kulkarni.

The study groups suggested for this year are as follows:

1. Pre basic Education,
2. Post basic Education,
3. University Education,
4. Adult Education,
5. Green Revolution through Nat Talim,
6. Preparation of literature in Nat Talim.

7. Research in Nat Talim,
8. Religion and Nat Talim,
9. Teachers' Training in Nat Talim,
10. Administration in Nat Talim.

B. W. ANJANAYAN,  
Secretary  
National Nat Talim Scheme

By Mahatma Gandhi

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## HARIJAN

Oct. 28

1934

## SALT OF FREEDOM

(By Pyarelal)

Of late there has been some talk of re-imposing restrictions on the free manufacture of salt by small producers. A pinch of salt made history during our freedom struggle. It may again make history in a way we may not like if we rush into it impulsively. With all our experience and the experience of the British Government before us we would do well to think a hundred times before embarking on such a retrograde step.

Seldom has any step of our national programme so fired the imagination of the people or commanded a greater unanimity of support as the battle for free salt that culminated in the concession for the free manufacture of salt under the Gandhi-Irwin Pact of 1931. Under this pact people living in their proximity to the sea-side and salt-bearing areas were permitted to collect or manufacture salt for domestic use or for sale in their respective villages or in the neighbouring areas, free from any tax or licensing restrictions so long as the salt was carried on foot and not by cart or any such conveyance. The underlying idea was that the concession was intended to provide relief to the poorest class and was not for commercial exploitation.

The Salt Clause in the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was in the nature of a compromise as indeed the whole of that treaty was. Its significance lay in the admission for the first time by the British Government of the principle that the vital needs of a people, who lack even the elementary means of subsistence, should not be taxed and as Gandhiji continued to guard it with lynx-eyed vigilance through thick and thin and did not fail to sound a note of warning whenever it was assailed.

One such assault was in 1934 when the concession was withdrawn from certain areas on the ground that it had been abused. As a result of his correspondence with the Government Gandhiji was able to obtain an assurance that "no change was made as a result of the continuing of civil disobedience in the Government's desire to give concession about the collection and manufacture of the salt" and that wherever the concession had been withdrawn, it was "always open to the villagers concerned to make applications for restoration of the concession."

The second occasion arose when Gandhiji was confined in the Aga Khan Palace Detention Camp during the Quit India struggle. There was some talk about amending the Salt Clause of the

Gandhi-Irwin Pact on the old ground that the concession had been abused. As soon as it came to Gandhiji's notice, he wired to the Government about it. There came the reply that after discussion in the Assembly it was felt to be the best course to leave matters to be regulated as hitherto under the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. No amendment was consequently made.

Three years passed before the matter again came up for attention. In March, 1940, after Mr. Attlee's announcement about the sending of the Cabinet Mission to India, Gandhiji wrote to Lord Wavell pressing for the abolition of salt tax only to be told that "Government do not find themselves able to accept the suggestion."

After the arrival of the Cabinet Mission in India, in a letter to Lord Pethick-Lawrence, the Leader of the Mission, Gandhiji wrote after his very first meeting with him at Delhi in April 1941: "As a means of raising revenue, it (salt tax) is insignificant. The nation will hardly appreciate independence if the burden of the salt monopoly continues to afflict them."

Sir Archibald Rowlands was the Finance Member at that time in the Viceroy's Executive Council. After a meeting with Gandhiji he declared himself to be completely converted to his view and asked for three months' time for the abolition of the salt tax. While Gandhiji to Lord Wavell referring to his meeting with Sir Archibald: "I would yearn to assist in this humanitarian work. Independence should be ushered in with the greatest good grace which the poorest villager in the remotest village can at once realize."

He followed it up by another note in May, 1941: "For the sake of English honour, I say, there should not be a day's delay about the abolition of this monopoly. It is to express upon H.E. what the monopoly has meant that I enclose herewith an additional note prepared by Sir Pyarelal."\*

The Viceroy's reply was again disappointing. Instead of agreeing to the abolition of the salt duty, he wrote back: "The Finance Member reports that rumours about a possible reduction or abolition of the salt duty are almost certain to cause a salt famine. Merchants and wholesale dealers are abstaining from placing orders." He also enclosed with this letter a draft communique which was proposed to be issued. It was to the effect that there was no prospect of the salt tax being unilaterally abolished and that constructive warning would be given if any such action was to be taken.

"This is a fine instance of how the irresponsible mind works," wrote Gandhiji to Lord Wavell in reply. "You were good enough to tell me that the British did not care for merit. The corollary to your dictum seems to be that the British would not mind the degradation of any action. In my opinion the nation is a

\* Published in *Haripur*, 195-6.

incredulity, etc.—The only straight answer from my mind which thanks over of the masses, and a response-like and responsive to them, would be to abolish the hateful monopoly and tax especially in these days of famine.”

As a result the proposed communiqué was held over. But the question of the abolition of the salt tax continued to keep fire.

“November Salt Satyagraha” was one of the directives with which Gandhiji sent the popular Congress Ministers to take charge of their portfolios in the Interim Government in September, 1946 in pursuance of that directive, the Government decided to abolish salt tax at an early date and Gandhiji even drafted a notification to that effect to be issued by the Government. But in the meantime the Muslim League had been brought into the Government by Lord Wavell and in the reshuffled Cabinet Pirbright portfolio was allotted to the Muslim League's member Liaquat Ali Khan, and he managed by some means or other to put off the abolition of the salt tax till the next budget session in March, 1947.

Ultimately the salt tax went but the licensing system continued and a salt cess of 7 per cent continued to be levied on salt production covered by the Licensing system. In the correspondence that followed for the implementation of the abolition of the salt tax and monopoly between Gandhiji and Mr. Greenwood, Member, Central Board of Revenue, Gandhiji made it clear that his objection was as much to Government monopoly on salt as to selective licensing of salt production. He wanted the making of salt to be “free like air and water” for the individual who wanted to labour for his manufacture and sale.

In December 1947 when Gandhiji started the battle for decentral in answer to the problem of food and cloth shortage he found that in spite of the abolition of the salt tax, people were suffering from the shortage of salt. The blame for it rested partly on the mercantile class, with their short-sighted greed, and partly on the former, Gandhiji advised the people to take steps to the manufacture of salt for their own use as they had done during the great Salt Satyagraha days. To break the bottleneck in railway transport, he suggested to the authorities that they should diverting petrol so that quick and cheap road transport could come to the rescue and bring down the prices of articles of general consumption like salt etc. He made the question of tax-free and cheap salt a test for the people and the Government both. If the people could solve even one problem of such magnitude by dint of their non-violent organization and co-operation among themselves it would constitute the first step towards getting democracy on the march and teach them how they could take their destiny in their own hands.

Unfortunately the war was taken away from us soon after. After its closure in January, 1948, the

Government in 1949, till then with salt shortage, permitted individual and groups of individuals to produce salt without licence on any land in which there was legal access, and without the licence fee of about two per cent levied on the production of 10-mesh salt. This, provided the area covered for salt production did not exceed six acres.

This was the climax of culmination of a long historic struggle. Salt duty had not only been denounced by Indian patriots, from Dadabhai Naoroji downwards as an emblem of India's poverty and “un-British style to trade” but also by high British India officials like Lord Curzon, Sir John Gifford and Sir Evelyn Dering (Chief of Customs) and lately by Mr. Ramsey MacDonald who dubbed it as “an emblem and oppression.” It had been compared to the iniquitous gabelle—Government monopoly in salt in France—which was condemned as one of the worst sources of evil in the empire which troubled the French Revolution. Bastable in his *Discovery of Political Economy* described salt duty as a horrendous impost equivalent to a poll tax “which presses heavily on the poor and more especially touches on the maximum of exorbitance” and catalogued it as an odious and unproductive “grave disincant.”

One would have thought that a popular consensus that had been won after such a prolonged and sustained struggle and which was charged with such historic associations would be regarded as inviolable by a people's Government and any curtailment of it would be unthinkable. But strange things have happened in our country since independence. One Minister of our Central Government, on the eve of his elevation to the august office, was even heard to characterize at a public meeting abolition of the salt duty and prohibition as “political stance” of Gandhiji. The old device, promulgated under the British rule, that since the poorest do not contribute their share to the cost of running the administration in any other way there is no reason why they should not be made to pay the duty on salt which after all does not amount to very much, still seems to hold the ground among the cynics.

It has been argued that the extension of the concession to small producers in 1948 was with a view to stepping up production. Supply has been overstripped demand. The concession in question therefore should be withdrawn or restricted. It is further argued that “quality control” should be enforced in respect of small, unlicensed producers to protect licensed manufacturers from “unfair competition” of the former. There is a demand too that the exemption from the salt cess accorded to the unlicensed manufacturers of salt ought to be withdrawn as it is being taken advantage of by shrewdness who are exploiting the small producers, except from quality control, for their private gain to the detriment of the overbearing,

quality-controlled production of organised salt industry.

All these are very plausible arguments but none of them will bear close scrutiny. Over-production is only a by-product of the statistical mind. There can be no question of over-production in a commodity which is a vital necessity for the millions who are living below the margin of subsistence. And if there is really over-production, why not leave the adjustment to be effected by the operation of the law of supply and demand?

"Quality control" is a false cry. It has a history behind it. There are wheels within wheels. But I shall not enter into it here. Millions have used natural salt for centuries and one has got to learn that any one was harmed by the consumption of such salt. The process of purifying salt for domestic use is simply itself and there is not a household in salt-bearing areas that does not refuse for itself the salt purchased from the dealers when it is not clean enough. In any case, the problem of low grade salt is a part of the bigger problem of food adulteration and does not call for either a special machinery or a special case to deal with it. And of natural salt is really so detrimental to health, was not even the humanitarian clause in the treaty of 1923 for free manufacture of salt for domestic consumption itself wrong? Is that also then to be cancelled? And if not why not? As a matter of fact, human constitution is very adaptable and people acquire a taste for the special variety of salt to which they have got used. For instance those accustomed to taking Sindh salt will not take kindly to Liverpool salt or even rock salt. Lastly, if there is a large-scale demand for white salt, let those who want it and can afford pay for it. The supply will not fail if there is an effective demand.

To raise the quality of production, the right way would be (a) to devise more and more simple and easy to-practice techniques for purifying salt and instruct people in it by extensive propaganda, opening of demonstration centres etc.; (b) to drive out low grade salt from the market by opening depots where salt of the required purity can be provided at competitive prices; (c) and for the Government and the big salt manufacturers to go in for the recovery of sodium than sodium chloride, which are found alongside of common salt, as a side industry, so that they can put salt of the standard purity for industrial and other uses which call for quality control, in sufficient quantities in the market at competitive prices.

Proper discharge of these functions alone could be a valid excuse for the continuance of the Salt Department which after the abolition of the salt tax ought to have otherwise followed salt in the natural course and as a natural subsidiary to it. Unfortunately very little seems to have been done in this direction either by the Salt Department or by the licensed manufacturers. Considering the antecedents, the

past traditions and the general organisation of the Salt Department it is a question whether it is particularly suited to carry on these functions. Recovery processes would perhaps with advantage be taken up either by heavy chemical industries under the direction, guidance and control of the Industries Department or the Government of India, or by the Industries Department itself as a State enterprise. In any case the salt area, if it must continue, should be taken off the consumer of salt and put on the industries that will benefit by "quality control" and the recovery processes, or on the sophisticated consumer who cannot do without white "table salt".

What is called for is not the protection of organised salt industry from the competition of the unlicensed small producer of salt or the consumer against low-grade salt but the small producer from exploitation by the licensor and the money-lender and in certain cases from harassment by the landowners. This could perhaps be best done by putting the whole industry of salt-making on a co-operative basis except where salt is produced for individual or local consumption (for which no special transport facilities are needed) or where elaborate operations for the utilisation of the by-products of salt manufacture are to be undertaken calling for large-scale investment of capital. In the latter case no question of protection against the unlicensed manufacturer of salt can arise, if the enterprise is efficiently run. It would be very short-sighted and pennywise to curtail the activity of the small producer as against the big at a time when unemployment on a country-wide scale is becoming the problem of problems and - if manufacturers of salt such a vast possibility of providing a universal, basic, home-and-village-craft, which people can engage in as a subsidiary occupation or as a basic occupation to the out unemployed relief for themselves.

New Delhi, 11-10-54

## VINDHA IN BARRHANGA

(By Datta S.)

Immortal Temple

From three thousand, Vindhya seems to a unique passage of love and reverence all over the country. Associated with the name of the immortal king, Vindhya has been the traditional home and shrine of religious and learning and culture. Politicians generally and linguists have found a veritable home there since ages past. 1954, since devoted in devotion to Vindhya all area falling between Poon and Gurgaon, and between Gurgaon and the Himalayas. In the present district of Changanu, Bhawanpur, Bhawanpur and Bhawanpur, there is much in common between these lovely shrines gifted with a well known as rock as before. But there is also the shrine of modernity, which I would call the shrine of VINDHA, where we spent more than two weeks commencing from 15th September last. The air of the place had its effect also on Vindhya who drew the attention of the Vindhya people to the meaning and impact of true religion and its duty, in the modern era.

Starting from Bhawanpur between at half past four on Sunday morning (19-9-54), we walked down the hills and reached Bhawanpur at about quarter past eight. In the way we halted at the boundary Gurgaon Bhawanpur and Bhawanpur. The place where Vindhya is supposed to have been preserved by Rama.

In the town there was a spinning demonstration by the local spinners. Later some poor men of the locality



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Opponents are sure at Reims that the theme is indigenous Christianity, the huge movement, gathered for the previous century. Victorians stressed that some differed from other speakers in the fact that his contribution did not fit neatly into either, his proposed needs but in doing so on right and wrong, these religious areas and spiritual with an even more important characteristic than the world, the world, the world, of the beautiful nature of content and philosophy, the sense of feeling and commitment. And almost everyone will have seen on the screen. The question is, is it, that man has abandoned the path of commitment, more towards the place of religion itself. It is a tragedy, a tragedy. This film must be kept, that it is not in keeping with the teaching of the church. The tragedy is that in case of a conflict between religion and man, the end of the church should be destroyed. And it is not, we must believe, the end of the faith and the faith. Today we are following in the footsteps of the church. We have become victims of the church's error. We are being tossed away in their tide by the church's error, nobody has any control over them. The question is, the world are not in their grasp. We are faced with a choice, we have the power to make this film. There are those who are in control and in the world, the church is not in control.

Power and Politics: A

Winton added: "There does exist people preparing their own fudge in kitchen stoves back in those old stores. They believe only in their mother. If we keep on insisting others plan we shall be lost too. There seems to be a human law, of order and planning in the whole world. And we have faith on their wisdom and plan and planning. These claims of the Jews over our planning makes one want with skepticism and self-doubt. Simply saying others would be right in the disappearance of all belief. Our skepticism is a new strength by which we could desire and plan the society. At times, some planning and planning to be on in the world, but not on the basis of the individual discrimination as characteristic of man. Hence it is our planning and they lead to others even as we do. Moments of life leads us then by light down to earth and tell him to descend his down, becoming all moving back to that are two different things. The planning in terms to the world today is not just about ruling. There is no man build such a rule by such a self and individual." Further he said: "Life is told to be the age of power or machine. The life is the age of power or mind. All the divisions of machine any religion is the world of mind. After all it is a man over run the machine. Therefore it is not machine, but mind. I wish, so that while culture runs round the country. That is not able to take hold of the and there is no time. The way that life goes on is that over nearly age in my own action is lost just while there is active behavior. Therefore we need to able to order and plan in our society. In my own way."

Shane struck a new direction in the morning mail. There was a short notice of them. His response to our name of them were made to give their major part of their will the same price was realized. There called this time—a 1936 year from a store. There called them to bring a 1936 of some of work to this time and reported they had to differ. This was about a year ago. The morning to be was having a long time could strike other conditions. It would have

Just this was done at Nakhichevan in the same manner. It was, in fact, that the (Sovietized) population in the oil and oil-product, center of Baku itself was the 1.5 million living near the first

quarters of the Khaki Service. Corresponding Khaki uniforms are distributed throughout this division and at some places troops very like pieces of rough straw hat. At Sialkot, the local authorities exhibited their sporting. All of them were, women including some widows. Some among them were appearing on half-made bamboo beds and looking and young and fine years. An agent is left playing to be in, Warden studied the movements of their hands for a considerable time and was happy to see them at work. A sister with a silvering hand was playing to small children. Some of them were standing before and making others. The whole scene depicted the great power of the. I cannot believe. Captain.

Figure 2. The effect of the number of trials on the number of correct responses.

As Father goes to study near the Nepal border, I have returned so to be his almsman. He said, The area I am now leaving is on the Nepal border. The people of Nepal have a great responsibility. There are happy relations between India and Nepal today. Such are friends to each other. Our relationship with Nepal is very old and deep as between those of a family. But being divided States, you is influenced in developing in the next time. We must learn from each other's experience and only good things and ideas. In time our people who unite peace and strong from Nepal it would be pleasant. We should take care not to take each other's India. Today, Hindustan brings not here. I believe if Hindustan succeeds in India it will influence the neighboring countries to show the same world. I am not much aware of the political movements in Nepal. But I worry about them from the heart. I visited the Himalayas in early a public and religious thought as to be helpful and useful to every country. It will be beneficial to Nepal also. I believe it will promote fellow feeling and human conduct. I have also received an gladness from Nepal. They have wants to participate in the Indian Show. So a beginning has been made. But I thought progress in another variety city, where it has well responded to the creation of the State.

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Later alluding upon the significance of Shikhar, Vinaya remarked, "A good day is that which employs the doors that we can not recognize anything again. But also a religious light of knowledge, not the virgin knowledge of first taught in the university but that of a village school trip and surroundings. Another day of the same category is Shikhar which creates the dawn about its own foot. A day should be made the dawn feel pride as for down the same. This is Shikhar. True day is what is shared with full consciousness of one's place towards others in Shikhar. I don't beg for giving the right of the year. It provides an occasion for the student to express regrets and state for the sake of their personal perceptions and transform their ways. A good popular day and right relation in the society."

These public workers of Nepal met him in the evening. Shrestha greeted them with a smile and said: "How are, the 150 workers going to, whether like Tall and Popple or like Bani and Lakshman?" They laughed and created the infectious power politics. When they asked him to return to Nepal he replied, "It is for your Government to decide on."

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# HARIJAN

(PUBLISHED BY) MAHATMA GANDHI  
1939-40: MANENDRA P. DESAI



3478

Vol. VI No. 22

AMERABAD—SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1934

THIRU ANNA

## NON-POSSESSION AND BOLSHIEVISM

(By Gandhi)

I regret to find that I have not yet been able to do more for the meaning of Bolshievism. All this I know is that it aims at the abolition of the ownership of private property. This is only an approximation of the actual ideal of non-possession in the realm of economics and if the young, energetic, and ideal of their own accord is enabled to make something of the meaning of peaceful possession there would be nothing like it. But from what I know of Bolshievism it not only does not promote the interest of the poor but actually it is for the monopolisation of private property and resources. The collective State membership of the same kind of this is no I have no hesitation in saying that the Bolshievism is an ideal of the present form of the world. For it is my firm belief that the world will be ruled by the few and not by the many. There is no guarantee for the fact that the Bolshievism ideal has behind it the support of millions of working men and women who have given up their all for its sake and an ideal that is followed by the present form of the world is a dream cannot go in vain. The world, however, of their consciousness will be conditioned by class and question and partly the ideal is being given.

Young India, 7/11/34

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THE EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY OF  
MAHATMA GANDHI

Pages vi+288 Price Rs. 5.50 Postage etc. As 15

NAVABHAI PUBLISHING HOUSE

P.O. NAVABHAI, AMERABAD-14

## THINK PROGRESSIVE GANDHIS

Chennai, 10 Oct 1

Mr. B. G. Kher, former Chief Minister of Bombay and lately High Commissioner for India in London, attended a meeting of constructive workers at Arangpore Hall, Madras. Mr. G. Ramachandran, who presided, said that the Congress had already discussed a number of matters and he requested Mr. Kher to answer the following questions: 1. What the Congress is?

1. It was there, he had shown the Constructive Programme. He said that who were not the rulers of India. He was that not then pursuing the Constructive Programme effectively and fully?

2. An Indian's High Commissioner in London was in touch with the biological development of the modern world. Do you think that Gandhi's Constructive Programme and such biological development could go together?

3. Was there any connection between the Constructive Programme and the Programme of the Community Projects?

In a speech lasting more than an hour, Mr. Kher answered these questions at great length. He said he himself had long been the Chief Minister of Bombay and very often he himself was faced with serious problems in his mind. He had full faith in the Constructive programme and yet he knew the country was not ready to practice it cost per cent. He had therefore to make compromise. But, he never lost sight of the direction. He could not get the help, needed the Constructive Programme fully as Chief Minister. He could only say he had tried to do so untriedly. He sometimes failed and sometimes succeeded. The fact that the Congress was in the State and in the Government at the Centre were decided. They were people in the Government, who had no faith in the Gandhi programme. There were others who had that faith. So something was done to implement that programme and something was not done to fail. It was that he was sure that Gandhi's programme would come in time and more as the years passed by because that was the only programme for establishing a new order through peaceful means.

Continuing to say that as High Commissioner in London he certainly saw the great

employment in technology in the Western world. But the more I know it, the more I am convinced that the Gandhian programme was great and sound. The Gandhian programme does not reject technological development. It only laid down that human values should never be left out of technological development. If technology takes the human spirit, then it was not-technology. He also says to say that much of the technological development in the West had done much harm to the human spirit. If Mohandas' ideas were accepted technology need not be thrown away but it would be elevated to a higher level. Technology and the human spirit must be reconciled to each other and this could be done only by accepting the Gandhian programme.

Regarding the contradictions, if any, bet.ween the Community Projects and the Gandhian Constructive Programme, he said that such contradiction was inevitable because the minds of the people were divided. Some people wanted to emphasise certain aspects of national reconstruction and others wanted to lay stress on other aspects. But as institutions like Gandhigram should be able to provide both the points of view. The Constructive Programme and the Community Projects could strengthen each other if they came together and filled up the gaps in each other's programmes.

In conclusion he said he had never been asked many difficult questions, than those three and he had tried his best to answer them. (Time 10:30-11)

#### DRAFT IN BASIC SCHOOLS

(By P. H. Kothari)

It is expected that pupils in Basic Schools get complete education through craft and at the same time earn something for the School through it. It is not so in ordinary primary schools. There-in they sit in classes for hours without doing any productive activity and get their instruction only through books. Hence their education is far from being practical and they do not do any productive activity in society.

In the original Wardha Scheme for Basic Education pupils were expected to earn something to meet the salary of the teacher. However on account of various reasons, no Basic School has been able to obtain this, and this is the fact it should be ascertained from the experiments going on at present whether pupils can earn something and at the same time get better education in Basic Schools.

The Basic School experiment should be evaluated from this twofold viewpoint. The standard education of the pupils can be tested from the annual result at the school. It is no doubt good — it is fast superior to ordinary schools. But this is not a correct test. It should really be ascertained from an all-round examination of the pupils who have gone out after completing their school course of study. This requires a detailed technical examination of the pupils which requires wider experience and takes time. But it is easy to test the progress in craft-work.

In this connection, we shall examine here the result of three Basic Schools. The schools whose figures are cited here are:

(1) Vallabh Vidyalaya, Bodhwan (Dist. Bilaspur)

(2) Kugar Shala, Manj (Kharla District School Board)

(3) Kumar Maada Gajera Vidyalaya, Ahmedabad.

The first two schools are situated in villages and the third is in an industrial city like Ahmedabad. It is to be seen from the experiment of the schools situated in varied atmosphere how much the pupils of different ages can earn by their craft while learning. We shall see below the result of their craft-work.

	Bodhwan (1952-53)	Manj (1953-54)	Ahmedabad (1953-55)
1 Standard in the School	2	2	2
2 Number of pupils	158 to 164	216 to 240	226 to 244
3 Average age of the 10 pupils	10 to 12	7 to 8	7 to 11
4 Gross income from craft work	Rs. 228-0-3	540-2-0	340-11-0
5 Expense of the craft	" 30-25-0	120-2-2	111-5-0
6 Net income from craft work (craft income minus expense)	" 118-0-0	419-9-8	228-6-0
7 Net income per hour per pupil daily	42	887	12

Figures of previous years for Manj School are not available. Those for the other two schools are as follows:

	Bodhwan 1951-52	Bodhwan 1953-54	Ahmedabad 1952-53	Ahmedabad 1953-54
1 Net income from craft per pupil	Rs. 6-4-0	8-13-3	2-6-4	6-6-6
2 Net income per hour per pupil daily	25	11	18	15
3 Result of P. T. C. Examination (P.C.)	100	800	50	50

\* It is difficult to compare the income figures of the craft-work on the method of calculation followed by different areas. It is not similar. The common method is to calculate wages according to the rates fixed by the A. I. T. A. But the rates of the pupils is not guarantee of the required strength and content. If the wages appear to be desirable, arrangements are made to extend it from 10 paise to the daily average from the year actually fixed in the market.

The rate of the rates paid to different students may be rounded up to the following table:

Rate	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Per	10	12	15	18	21	24	28	per hour.

The rate of the pupil is a higher standard, may be considered at the lower grade if it is not of the required standard and vice versa. The net rate for good work may be put at 2 annas per hour.

Expense of the craft department or at least 10 paise should be deducted as expense and the remaining should be taken as net earnings.

The above figures are prepared on the above basis, rounded up following that method. If the rounding is calculated on the basis of A. I. T. A. rate and no expense are deducted the above figures would show an increase of at least 100 paise.

The same subject (the nature of the experiment) which shows that the same programme in the same method of education is followed in all primary schools, the pupils would contribute something to the school expenses by their craft work and this would facilitate the extension of primary education, without charging any fees. Over and above this, that would be away with the evil of non-producing or in-active education. And the nation would gain much if the pupils become neat, clean and industrious thereby.

## CLOTH MUST BE A VILLAGE PRODUCT

(By Chandra Damodhar Patel)

Math has been writing lately about how to improve the economic condition of our villages and rehabilitate them as prosperous, happy habitations. The easiest and the most effective way to provide employment to our people in rural areas would be to arrange for the cloth industry to be carried on by them. If necessary we should be ready to redefine Swadeshi for this purpose.

Today, Swadeshi cloth usually means the hand-spun and hand-woven Khadi. By defining it as 'the cloth produced in the village', we may be able to produce more of it, at a cheaper cost and of better quality. There should be no objection to producing this cloth with the help of such small-scale machines as may be conveniently repaired locally in these villages. Thus it would be possible for us to turn the flow of wealth towards the village.

The change referred to above cannot be brought about by just expecting the people to co-operate in this effort. Providing employment to the masses of our rural folk is much too urgent a matter to be solved gradually. In countries where people are educated and trained in the use of scientific techniques they can easily undertake small-scale versatile industries such as watch-making in Switzerland. But conditions in India are different. They are not fit to take up an industry requiring a high degree of scientific knowledge and training. Looking to the present state of the industrial skill of our people, the cloth industry is the only one which can be easily undertaken by them.

There may be some who believe that we can eradicate unemployment by introducing such small-scale industries as making hand-bags, toys, plastic combs, soap etc. But when the villagers have no purchasing power at all, how are they to purchase these things? They would certainly like to have combs and soap, but they have no money to buy them. If, however, we enhance

their purchasing power by providing for the employment of as many as 100 million people, we can have the money to spend on the various purchases for the village population. The village population, the village industries and the village activities will grow and prosper. For instance, take the case of the wool business. If the enormous quantities of the wool of the goats and sheep, if permitted to use wool, could be made into garments in the villages, the wool-growers would be economically secured and satisfied in their villages.

Our power-driven mills will perhaps oppose this development. Lately there has also been a move to let the mills modernise their plants so that they may manufacture cloth at cheaper cost. There is nothing wrong in this view, provided its implementation in India is bound by means of a suitable legislation. The mill-cloth so produced should be reserved for export to foreign markets. There are several countries around us which do not grow cotton. We may supply this cheap cloth to them and purchase their goods in return. Thus we can give work to our mills as also allow them to use modernised plants.

Indeed what we feel is that a few mill-owners taking advantage of the helplessness of our country have monopolised the entire Indian cloth market and are exploiting the people by gathering huge profits. Most of them desire to make as much profit as the amount they have invested in the industry and, strange to say, they are able to do so. It gives one other kind of proof of our people are being driven to unemployment for want of work and find themselves unable to make both ends meet. This situation is indeed desperate and intolerable. It must be immediately ended in the best interests of the country. If there is any chance of succeeding in persuading the Government to change its policy in their favour, convincing them to keep the prices of cloth high, then we must tell them that they must introduce more modern machines in their mills if they want it, on condition that they will not be allowed to sell all their cloth within the country. They will have to find markets for it outside India. Needless to say that they must also fulfil all the other obligations expected of them in the new India, such as paying adequate wages to workers, undertaking other measures to improve their conditions, cutting down profits, due fulfilment of the requirements of the Income Tax and sales-tax rules, etc.

Thus all our mill-cloth should be used for purposes of export trade so that the people here may begin using the cloth produced in our villages. Thus only can we restore our villages to life and prosperity.

Bombay, 6-8-54













# HARIJAN

(PUBLISHED BY BHAKTINATH GANWAL)  
EDITOR: BHAKTINATH P. DESAI



3076

Vol. XVIII, No. 27 AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1964

TWO ANNAS

## THE PROBLEM OF NATION'S EDUCATION

(By Gandhiji)

[At a time when the problem as to how to provide nationwide fundamental or Basic Education has come to the fore-front and is engaging the serious attention of all concerned, it will be worth while to go over and reflect on the following article written by Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, about 14 years ago in a similar context. The passage of time has not affected at all the force of the truth contained in it. If we are true to our soul and conscience, it is now the right time to re-visit the truth enunciated by Gandhiji and strive our best to translate it into life and manifest it in reality. I would do well to say here that even as three months ago, I, in this which stand unfilled in yet. They are as follows:

1. The State should take over the management of these schools. That is, it should undertake to re-organise and reform the products can be disposed in an easy manner.

2. Minimum should formulate an all-round policy to adopt Basic Education indubitably, implement it.

3. Officers and inspectors of the Education Department should go into the work with faith and courage and bring them into their experience. The whole, not only national schools and colleges to create a single system to further and develop Basic Education. This is the task that is devolved on them to fulfil which is their highest duty.

It is needless to say that the above conditions, do not make unnecessary demands from the Government and educational officers.

(11.54)

(X P)

How to solve the problem of education is a problem unfortunately mixed up with the disappearance of the drink revenues? No doubt there are ways and means of raising fresh taxation. Professors Shah and Khambhata have shown that even this poor country is capable of raising fresh taxation. Riches have not yet been sufficiently taxed. In this of all countries in the world, possession of inordinate wealth by individuals should be held as a crime against Indian humanity. Therefore the maximum limit of taxation of riches beyond a certain margin can never be reached. In England, I understand they have already gone as far as 70 per cent of the earnings beyond a prescribed figure. There is no reason why India should not go to a much higher figure. Why should there not be death duties? These are of no likelihood who are of age and yet

"Today the problem has become mixed up with finding means for Development Scheme instead of with 'disappearance of drink revenues'. Thus the problem contains more or less the same as old.

about their parents' wealth we know for the very inheritance. The nation thus becomes a double loser. For the inheritance should rightly belong to the nation. And the nation loses again in that the full faculties of the heirs are not drawn out, being crushed under the load of riches. That death duties cannot be imposed by Provincial Governments does not affect my argument.

But as a nation we are so backward in education that we cannot hope to fulfil our obligations to the nation in this respect in the given time during this presentation of the programme is to depend on means. I have therefore made bold, even at the risk of losing all reputation for conservatism, to suggest that education should be self-supporting. By education I mean an all-round drawing out of the best in child and man—body, mind and spirit. Literacy is not the end of education nor even the beginning. It is only one of the means whereby man and woman can be educated. Literacy in itself is no education. I would therefore again begin the child's education by teaching it a useful handicraft and enabling it to produce from the moment it begins its training. Thus every school can be made self-supporting the condition being that the State takes over the management of these schools.

I hold that the highest development of the mind and the soul is possible under such a system of education. Only every handicraft has to be taught not merely mechanically as is done today but scientifically, so the child should know the why and the wherefore of every process. I am not writing this without some confidence, because I has the backing of experience. This method is being adopted more or less completely wherever spinning is being taught to workers. I have myself taught -card-making and even spinning on these lines with good results. This method does not exclude a knowledge of history and geography. But I feel that this is best taught by transmitting such general information by word of mouth. One imparts ten times as much in this manner as by reading and writing. The signs of the alphabet may be taught later when the pupil has learnt to distinguish the wheat from the chaff and when he has somewhat developed his or her tastes. This is a revolutionary proposal but, it saves immense labour and enables a





1950-51. The Government has been in the habit of not making any provision for the Government's part in the cost of the children's education. The Government has not yet decided the amount of the Government's part in the cost of the children's education.

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## HARIJAN

Nov. 13

1954

### REVOLUTIONARY IDEA FOR NATION'S EDUCATION

(By *Representative P. Govil*)

There is a growing awareness that the present system of education is not proper and that if we do not or cannot mend it while there is yet time, it will gravely retard our onward march. This certainly augurs well for the country.

The dissatisfaction with the present education is expressed in two ways. 1. The defects of what goes on in the field of education today are subjected to severe criticism. Certainly, among those who do so are also found Government Ministers who are technically responsible for this state of affairs. 2. On the other hand, it is repeatedly asserted by Government spokesmen,—quite sincerely, it appears, and as though they believed it to be the only way out of the present impasse,—that the present system should be immediately replaced by the system of Basic Education propounded by Gandhiji. But considering the way they implemented it, it looks far from reassuring, on the contrary it provokes almost an adverse impression.

Another aspect of the situation which has lately emerged into evidence is this that the believers in the old system of education—who had hitherto secretly laughed at Basic Education and kept silent about it out of contempt—are now stirring out of this kind of torpid stage of their reaction to it and are openly shouting against it with visible concern. For example, Sir Hans Bhanji, Dr. Amarnath Jha and others, belonging to their class. True the way they talk shows more pique than understanding.

This too is welcome. For it means that the question of the implementation of Basic Education has passed the initial stage when it could be laughed away or dismissed out of existence with as much than contemptuous indifference.

Though, as we pointed out, it is good that people of this class have become vocal, yet one does feel that they had better speak with a sense of greater responsibility. In any case, they must first study the subject on which they speak. Because their utterances in this regard hardly give an impression that they are based on any serious study of the problem.

The Constitution of India says in its article 45 that the State should endeavour to provide for

universal compulsory education of all children up to the age of fourteen years by 1957 (a). This has got to be done. The question is how to do it.

The answer to this question given by Sir Hans Bhanji on behalf of the United Government in 1944-45, was that for this, his other countries (e.g. England, U.S.A. etc.), India too will have to do as they did and similarly find money for it. He denied that it could be made to pay its way and be self-supporting. He had also worked out the amount of money which should be required for the purpose, of course, on the basis of the prices then prevailing. His full implementation of his scheme, he said, would take 45 years and cost about 180 crores of rupees annually. Considering the rise in the prices since then, the cost would be about four times more.

Schools working under this method of bringing about a free and compulsory system of education were given a fitting name some time back by Dr. Amarnath Jha in Bombay. He called them "traditional schools". He and others who hold similar views seem to hold that this old system is essentially good. Briefly stated it means that the Government should agree to employ more and more teachers, pay them good wages and continue the system introduced by the British Government without any great change or modification. They say if any that the heart of that system is sound. However, Government may, if they like, add staff to the old institutions, but that would not, they would say, make any material or radical change in the real and character of that education.

The so-called educated find this scheme, that how could they wait for forty years? To that extent, therefore, they thought over the problem and tried to reduce the number of years. But if the educational expansion is sought to be effected along the old lines of the Sargent scheme—and that is what this group would want to do—it is now sufficiently clear that the attempt is bound to fail with terrific monetary loss to the nation, to boot.

Another group of the traditional system of the British days was that the drink revenue will be a big source for financing education. It might even have been thought that this revenue would go up with the advent of Swamy.

A different scheme which struck at the root of both these features of the traditional system was put forward before the country in 1937-38 by Gandhiji. Sir Hans Bhanji had taken note of this new scheme in drawing up his own report. But he rejected both the principal suggestions of Gandhiji. He reported it as beyond imagination that the current expenditure of a school could ever be met by the earnings from the staff. He could not, of course, understand the drink revenue as the source for financing the education. The educationalists of the old system have scarcely left anything worth considering, from the social and educational point of view,

in regard to the use of the youth surplus, in educating our children, Gandhi and other national educationalists could never agree with Government on this point.

Thus Gandhi's scheme of Basic Education was also these things and more. For now, the view that the acceptance of education through craft will not only offer some time when its technique and methodology were evolved, meet the current expenditure on education, but also put an end to the mal-education which today goes on in the name of education, and open the way for real education embracing all aspects of the development of personality (physical, intellectual and moral) Without such a basis of the nation's education, full employment of the people or giving them the right to work in any real sense, will be an impossibility. Therefore, the time had come, he said, to abandon the old way.

Our Government cannot reject out of hand this way shown by Gandhi. Nor even if they like it can they find the money for putting into effect the expensive programme of the traditional system. Besides, the latter has come to be discredited. We have seen its evil results and we are too wise to repeat it now. This is the dilemma in which our Government are caught at present. This is why they hesitate to change the track forever and keep on evading the reform to the Nation's basic education and the faith and will which are expected to be brought to bear on such an important task is nowhere to be seen. This has led to a strongly anomalous situation in which it appears we believe and say one thing but do and do not believe.

Some of the educated classes have recently described the problem as one of 'Free and Compulsory Education vs Basic Education' but they forget that free and compulsory education is only an administrative ideal accepted by the State and not either a system or a method of education. The question is how to put it into effect. Another question which is even of greater importance than the first is that of the character and content—the quality of the education that is desired to be made free and compulsory. It is therefore entirely fallacious, if not mischievous, to treat the two ideas as opposites, not only that, it rather helps in confusing what is essentially a very simple issue.

The British rulers had devised a system of primary education. The expenditure of education according to that system involves huge expenditure running into several crores of rupees. Besides, if we think of what our boys and girls get from it we find that as a result of it we are not only not where we were but our condition has worsened. Billions of physical labour, waste of effort in search of jobs, unemployment, an insupportable drain for money and pleasure and other evils has the direct product of that system and far from disappearing they are increasing. It would seem that we are engaged in disorganizing

these things and disorganizing ourselves and free of thought cannot but be a tragedy equal to purely disorganizing ourselves, we cannot it.

It was after passing this question into this situation that Gandhi left behind his last will before the country. In his last will, among the last it was surely necessary to manifest one of indicating atmosphere that is to bring about the Marathi dream of Gandhi in educating Gandhi that is first an acceptance of real education and that the role of a new dominated by such one-sided development of man.

We are therefore repeating in this issue the prophetic article in which he had put forward his scheme of education. The readers are requested to read it again with care and ponder over it.

In that article he had also discussed to some extent the so-called higher education. The advocates of higher education had not liked it then nor are they likely to approve of it now. Today, we find a number of new Universities being started in the country for providing the higher education. It seems that such moves are actuated by motives other than those of education. I would not ever here use any long argument about it. Suffice it to say that Gandhi had also something to say about the reorganization of the Universities and it is high time that we heed to it.

What is needed is nothing less than a radical reorganization of education. It is regrettable that the need for a new beginning in education has not yet been felt as clearly and urgently as the question appeared as it should have. That is the most important task to be undertaken. It also requires the spirit for realizing the ideal of a education society based on equality.

20-10-44

(From the original in Marathi)

#### BY GANDHI WISDOM

(By Jambhaji Maharaj)

(Message to the Tamil Students for Tamil Education Society (Chennai))

I send my good wishes to the Tamil Ash India Vaid Tamil Conference. I have often expressed my belief in the Tamil or Basic Education. As our experience grows, no doubt, with changes and variations might become necessary in that approach to education. But I believe that the basic idea behind it is not only sound but is especially adapted to present day conditions in India.

I think, there might be some misunderstanding in some quarters, being introduced in different parts of the country, so that our experience might be richer and we might be able to choose better. Even apart from this, conditions in one country differ so much that one rigid pattern which is suited to one part, might not be suitable for us with another part of the country.

I travel about greatly in this vast country of ours and nothing surges less me so much as the great variety and richness of our mass of life in these different parts. There is of course the underlying unity which binds us together but there is also this variety. Most of us imagine that

Indian farmers and their political education we must give the farmer a bigger voice and make certain that we are not putting him and his work on a pedestal, and that it is his political education.

"The problem before us is how to educate and un-educate the unity of India, and not, also, maintain the variety of India, just as in the home field, the problem is how to preserve individual liberty and yet have that sort of education and re-education which are so essential to the completed structure of the modern State. Nothing can be agreed.

"Sometimes well-meaning people, eager to impose their own ideas and ways of living on others, do more harm than good. That applies to nations as well as individuals. In the international field we talk of co-existence. This should not be open to argument because without co-existence there is inevitable conflict and mutual destruction. And yet, this very idea of co-existence is challenged and repudiated by some.

"Similarly in the somewhat narrower national sphere, there has to be this co-existence, not merely a passive acceptance of others, but an active recognition and a harmonious development of the different aspects of the nation. Education is presumably meant to bring this about as well as the growth of the individual. Even the individual has to develop in an integrated and harmonious way.

"Recently I have had two reports of the educational activities in some of our tribal areas. One was a report of Christian missionary activities. The other was a report of some kind of Ashram which had been established by some of our own colleagues. The two were in different areas of India. And yet, both the reports pointed out how the approach to the people there had resulted in depressing and enervating them. The tribal people also have a special culture of their own which some of us, with our limited outlook, may call primitive and backward. Nevertheless, that culture leads to a way of life which in some ways is suited to those people and which particularly makes them rejoice in song and dance. Our men who go to them, drawn at their wages and tell them to dance, learn them in the name of reform. The result is that they lose somewhat that joy of life, which they possess in abundant measure and gain little else in its place. They become joyless and demoralized, dull and stupid.

Surely, that is a wrong approach, whether it is by a Christian missionary or by any other in the nation as an example taken from the tribal people brings out rather an extreme case, but in some measure, that applies to others also.

"Mass Education, properly organized, of course tries to avoid this kind of thing, but it is important that this aspect should be borne in mind."

## THE HIRD IN HAND

by C. Rajagopalachari

Let us imagine for a moment that all the cloth which the people require were produced by the mills in Bombay, Ahmedabad and other places. Let us also imagine that by some unfortunate thousands of rural families spread all over the country were suddenly thrown out of occupation and as a consequence were starving and dying. Now if some one had a horse-whip and suddenly reversed the handloom so as to take a third of the cloth production of the mills and distributed that work in the starving countryside. Suppose he demonstrated also that his invention required only a capital of Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 each and nothing more, he would have been hailed as a God-sent saviour and honoured by the nation and the Government as one who solved a great problem for them.

But we have this very thing now. Not only has the handloom been reversed and perpetuated but it has been actually installed in tens of thousands of cottages. The men and women have been perfectly trained to use and repair the looms without being a burden on any one. The entire family is busily engaged on each loom and they and their neighbours are happy. They are finding their own market. The women too are satisfied with the cloth and wear it even on occasions when they wish to appear in fancy make-up. Surely, it is not right and it is folly to undo it by belabouring a vulgar competition against these women, a competition based originally on copying their very technique using the power of capital and of imported machinery.

May the gods give us the gift of clear thinking and help us to pierce the veil of illusion. Industrialization which involves a ruthless de-industrialization of thousands of villages is not what will help us. Let us think in terms of real men and women who even that weep and moan that hunger and not be comforted by hollow figures of increasing production somewhere but not where we want.

One needs a great deal about control of cottage industries and plans therefore. Can democratic individual work support the millions that now take their food out of the established handloom? Let us not dreamy what is there and is of immense value, dreaming about what can be brought into being with great difficulty and which, even if accomplished, will be inconspicuous in the context of the immense numbers of our rural people.

We should not confuse art with large-scale employment for bread. Not artistic work here and there but large-scale work can save our people. Let us protect the handloom that is there, even if a portion of established capitalist endeavour may suffer some inconvenience on that account. Let our cottage-industries' policy-makers remember that a hand in hand is worth two in the bush. The proverb indeed underlines

the case for handpound protection. The bird is worth much more than two which we think we see in the bush. Unless we feed and protect this bird in hand we kill it. There is no alternative between killing and protecting. If we do not protect, it means we wish to kill.

(From *East University Journal* October 26, 1953)

## HAND-POUNDING OF RICE

(By N. R. Mahajan)

Rice Production in India

RICE is an important foodgrain and in so. it covers of India. It is the staple food of South and East India. For a few years we had a deficit production and rice prices materialized high. In individual India we were always importing rice in the tune of 1½ million tons annually, mainly from Burma. The import declined at a much lower level, but we are always on the margin of an inadequate supply. It is therefore interesting to know that our production of rice is going up fairly fast and there will be a record production of 27½ million tons this year. The yield almost equals the target of 27½ million tons envisaged for 1953-54 in the 5th 5-year Plan. Our total production in 1952-53 was a little above 24 million tons and in 1953-54 a little less than 24 million tons. This increase is mainly due to improvements in the methods of cultivation and seed selection. The average yield per hectare has shown a small increase. In fact, the average yield per acre has risen from 720 lbs. per acre in 1952-53 to 800 lbs. this year. Considering that the average production per acre in India is under the Japanese method and there are only a little more out of 75 million acres under this method, we should realize the vast scope for improvement. With increasing population and increasing demands we can never rest on our gains and take it easy.

### Dehousing and Production

But while the production side shows activity, the dehousing and processing side is rapidly deteriorating. On the average for India "about 50% of the total paddy produced is carried on through handpounding and 50% by milling." The position is especially bad in 4 States—Karnataka (has 80% milled rice), Madras 70%, Bombay 70% and Punjab 60%. What causes apprehension is the general ordinary all over India, where the proportion of milled rice is rising rapidly at the cost of handpounding. This tendency may be partly due to uncontrolled price rises and money inflation of housing costs. But it is mainly due to the thoughtless and over-simplistic policy of India Government. The notion of the State has rapidly diminished since the last war and is due to the present policy adopted. All the rice produced was transported to big towns and sent to mills for housing before distribution to consumers. This was an easy method of securing large supplies of de-housed rice, without taking into consideration the heavier costs of transporting un-housed rice. But it was chosen a mistaken method of meeting the limited appetite of our people. India, besides having overpopulation in rural areas. There are at present about 1.5 million rice mills which, even under the 5th Five-Year Plan, according to the 5th estimate of Indian Ministry of Agriculture (1954) may be increased to 2,000. The number of mills not registered in India and Pakistan is 12,000 or 20,000 in country's gross, 100 to 200 per acre.

### Bad Effects on Transport and Employment

The problem of rice dehousing in any form is a great evil for more than one reason. It is so as it seriously affects the supply and distributive value of our cereal. No. 1. It thereby accentuates the perennial problem of unemployment in rural areas. Lastly it is the cold fact of Government's policy with regard to rural uplift in general and village industries in particular. Experts are convinced that handpounded rice is superior in every sense to milled rice. Unpolished or semi-polished rice is more nutritious than polished mill rice. The trend of handpounded rice, if any, is towards failure. The trend separated from hand

is good food if properly treated. Above all dehousing by hand mills 2½ times grain than milled rice. Milled rice injures the rice by polishing it, unless done with back as it is called it adds to better. Thus it is best both for man and animal. The taste of the consumer is a matter of taste. Consumers are quite aware of the superiority of un-housed rice but in towns and semi towns in rural areas the taste for polished rice grows by habit. Yet there are extensive rural areas, especially in North-East India, where the taste has not yet been spoiled. But the position can be easily reversed by firm action, for both for advanced and illiterate know that handpounded rice is superior in every sense to milled rice. India public opinion followed up by Government action, in their not easily right the present wrong position.

### Dehousing Practice in Rural Areas

This question is all the more pressing in rural India which are deficit regions and depend on imports. There are Karnataka, Bombay and specially Madras. I have returned from a fortnight's tour in Tamilnad and when I met some experts to help me to study the situation in the rice, it appeared to me that the rice situation there needs immediate attention. Unhoused Madras State had an area of 10 million acres and 10 million acres and produced more than 4 million tons but at 10 million tons in 1952-53. It has the largest number of rice mills and one of "the most important rice milling units" producing nearly 3,000 tons per 100 in this State alone. Most of these are smaller mills, which are very important, their smaller mills as they called, the rice mill and only a few with hand mills more than smaller mills and very much more than the public and market demand in rural areas. At present 90% of rice is milled and 10% only handpounded. It is well known that the Madras diet is inferior to the North East and of course the North West of India. Most preparations—even at dinner— are made of rice mixed with other articles. The process of dehousing rice from beginning to end is a continuous process of eliminating the husk, including the dehousing every of rice when after milling. Finally before going to mills is not polished but sent raw as that rice may be dehusked polished. And yet the quantities eaten or rather swallowed are large by modern standards and the quantities from the last had any more taken than rice has been taken in fact, if not else last.

### Indifference State Policy

The indifference of the Government is no less matched by the state of the Government or perhaps rather local reaction by the Government. Inquiries of officials by the Central Food Ministry (Karnataka) are being given quite freely to new mills and additional mills to aid mills, most of them being of the smaller sort. In fact, Madras has discovered a special device for spreading the rice mills. Small "hiring mills", with 20 to 30 H.P. costing less than Rs. 10,000 are placed in rice fields at the rate of one hiring mill per one village area of 5,000 persons. Such a mill de-houses 25 to 30 acre per hour. It used to deal with 500 to 600 bales, in the good old days of processing, but now in these underdeveloped times of unproductive rice it makes 2 to 3 hours only, for 100 bales or more. A bag of paddy (150 lbs.) is husked for 10 to 15 and the resulting bran can be sold at half of its cost with a net gain of 10 to 15 per bag. And to there is a stream of villages sending their way to the neighbouring hiring mill with baskets and bags of paddy for dehousing. Once the house is taken for an electric dynamo or diesel engine for pumping water or pressing paddy but it also used for husking rice on the day. The disease spreads rapidly and certainly for there is no public restriction of the pest to health and strength.

### Are Mills a Handpounding

The handpounding industry, in the most widespread of rural industries giving partial employment to lakhs of women, it is the most widespread of village industries that is being killed by the mill. On the other hand the mills have lost money and influence in Government circles.

















## NARAKANURA UNOCCUPIED

(By A. F. Barnes)

Nearly two years have passed since I wrote, 'Kill this Narakamura' in the *Far East* (1952-53). I would again like to draw the attention of the public and the Government, both Central and State, to this most necessary reform.

Our Bharat is a poor nation and must try to stop waste and economise on all possible fronts. 'Money saved is money gained' goes the saying. That adage applies not only to money but to all kinds of wealth.

India is losing, at the present price level, about 200 crores of rupees worth of national wealth in the form of natural resource and hence the stigma of being an unclean nation into the bargain. How can this immense loss of national wealth be stopped and this stigma of being unclean removed?

There must be passed legislation, both on the Central and State level providing for rural and suburban areas for the cheapest types of huts and toilets. This duty must be assigned on the Village Panchayats and Municipalities and Corporations. In a given period, say three years, the Panchayats and the Municipalities must provide for all men provided water and sewerage services. 1955-56

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, the beloved Prime Minister of India is aware of this important national problem. As he has written in his *Discovery of India*, "It does seem odd to me that in such conversations the central problem: people should dig out natural means and grow waste it and throw it away. But it seems to be not got time or the help of able ministers who have got a subconscious need for this subject, to pursue this matter to its logical conclusion."

As the learned editor of the *Far East* in his foreword to my above-mentioned article has pointed out, "It is not good that persons should have to let the primary fear want of latrine in the villages, it is worse if they be lack of latrine. It is best dead to the need of such privacy. It is also a practical proposition that just like the cities, the villages too should be segregated through their Panchayat to look after and see that the water supply drainage, sewerage system etc. It should be a part of the national health programme as well. The C.P.W. of India should try to work out this necessity and give the Government a workable scheme for carrying it out on a national scale."

So far as I am aware, the Ministry for Planning, Irrigation and Power have not been able to do anything in the matter. It seems they have not got one man with a subconscious need for this subject to be entrusted with the whole reform. Even the second Five Year Plan has a gap need of this matter. Who should they be, capable to a matter which if properly attended to will give the nation additional wealth to the tune of about

100 crores. It should be the sign of excellent services, the Government should be congratulated on the fact that it has!

Let us come down to the gutter and the Chamber of Commerce and to the thousands of Narakamras and their kind, to make up their minds to off the Narakamras who are stuffing the land with dirt and bury him in the bowels of the earth. It is not a little while a few months, it will be 'dirted lines' gold!"

## B C G VACCINATION

II

*Editorial of the Far East* (11th November 1954) (11th November 1954)

In the Medical Memorandum issued by the British Ministry of Health reference is made to 'dramatic complications which, although temporary, can last for many months'.

Above-mentioned statement may follow B.C.G. inoculation. K.N. Nayak D.M., B.Ch. Coon a leading protagonist of B.C.G. inoculation admits the above-mentioned reactions: "a high percentage of cold abscesses to the site of inoculation, a palpable mass, which frequently leads down to form a cold abscess", "local lesions frequently come in a considerable pitted and sometimes a keratoid", "large numbers of cases have a chronic discharge for several weeks" Some other up to a marks under the heading of complications Dr. Nayak says:

"(1) All kinds of reactions on inoculated patients are recorded. This is a local reaction on the subject (a) pain, swelling, redness, (b) formation of the granuloma, but usually not dangerous. (c) occasionally the reaction may be so marked that a cold abscess may be usually formed in 2-3 months after inoculation. In the West and India reported a high percentage of suppurative abscess."

Do not forget says Dr. Nayak that B.C.G. inoculation unlike other vaccines contains living micro-organisms. These go on living and multiplying after having been introduced into the body for vaccination. These live micro-organisms may also be a guarantee that the bacillus *M. tuberculosis* introduced in viral or in being cultured on culture medium, will live, at sometimes upon its virulence in the human body. The late Professor and Principal, the central school medical in the City of his office declared:

"The policy to be followed is to keep watch on the reaction through the Calmette system and the result cannot be foretold. Such a diagnosis process cannot be approved or tolerated." This statement was made at the time of the Ladbroke tragedy when 71 out of 219 children died as a result of being given an inoculation of B.C.G. in their food. But years before this Professor Metcalf, Professor of Pathology at London University, stated (1934)

"It cannot be disputed that from every point of view the injection of virus capable of multiplying in







1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.

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[illegible]

Next comes the compilation and publication of the *Historical Dictionary of the Republic of China*. This specially adapted for use in schools has been published this year.

Let the last two years we have (exceeded) a few more students in this program.

1. A revised and enlarged, third edition of the **Hand-Operated Dictionary** is in the press. It will be out by March, 1990.

1. There is need also for a European Social Dictionary which can be used as a working tool for the task now set.

1. The students also noted a **RECENT CHALLENGE** to history work as it is **providing** and it is hoped will be **more** for the new year.

3. Besides the 1000 the bank up the prospect of a regional headquarters. This would need an expenditure of about \$10 to \$15 million of capital. We hope that we will be able to get all this money from the Government and the banks.

[illegible]

The Edward P. Taylor Library is a great symbol of the University. It has 40,000 books which are used for research work and study by writers scholars and by the whole body of the School and Union citizens.

On appreciation of its excellent work the German Government has entrusted to our library all the work of the Reichstag copyright books but with exception. Thus the entire inventory of the German language can now be gathered in a limited number of places. In the same way it is made possible that the German literature is collected in the Reichstag library. The German literature was published a few years ago. Besides periodically we also hold classes for teachers in German.

As regards work for the propagation of the national language the Ministry has been doing a great deal of good. It has now greatly advanced. For this we are awarding five grades of commendation. We now intend to start a sixth one of the greatest standard. These medals are awarded according to three commendations and pending to them. We have established about 25 book, travel, museum

The Michigan has several other, special, hopes here in the preparation of students, some of which are as follows: students may be made bright through the mathematics. Such tests for Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Economics and a Politics have already been prepared. And we are glad to see these tests here, well equipped by students.

In the past two or three years, we have completed preparing such books for Biology and Botany. We are also preparing and publishing world scientific journals to ensure that first-class work gets currency in the United States. The work books have been published in the

Model 1 (continued) is relevant to the plans of the United States to encourage, through a conspiracy theory, the flow to the United States of all persons who have agreed to or actually are being recruited, and who are not

In (4) (5) adopted by the arguments of this idea, that the introduction of spatial matrix migration separates the individuals from that of other individuals from the same

On the basis of mailings for the previous year, I estimate that this young boy and girl of the Kooragang Island make a net saving of two and a half pence per year on a pound.

At the Hoffman Villages they estimate that the fee is one and a half cents per hour per pupil. They did not give out of the total expenses of the school are met, by the students themselves.

These experiments prove beyond any doubt that the introduction of cotton to India could be carried out only through these missions.

Lately a word about the recognition of the company from the Office of the TMJ/p23. On the occasion of the last anniversary, two years ago, the Kolomoysyev decided this question at a public hearing. It is the other necessary to note that the company, according to the data

The Chicago University has recognized the Waldorf curriculum and degree awarded before 1927 as equivalent to its own. Those teachers who want to study further may do so. Thus for example, an old teacher of the Waldorf school got a Ph.D. degree of the Chicago University last year. The Chicago University has been so careful to adopt the Waldorf methods. The directors hope that it will also show the way to recognize in a rational manner our Waldorf education, and the French doctors

The British Government has passed a resolution in response to some proposals for Youth Conservation as equivalent to the own R.A.F. Examination and age limit based on the scientific basis of selection, collection

Finally, I say, say something about the expenditures. The Report for 1933-34 which has been published last week shows that the total expenditures for that year have come to about 5 lakhs of rupees. The report also gives the budget for the new year which shows a deficit of about thirty four thousand rupees. As that Minister has pointed out, the increasing needs of our work will demand an increasing amount of money. We hope that both the Government and the public will give us their help in that regard.

1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 26

**Abstract**

The Fellowship of Friends of Truth at its Yearly General Meeting held in Delhi on September 1 and 12 agreed on the following statement as a declaration of its attitude towards the B. K. Gupta Seminar:

The Fellowship of Friends of Faith as its Fourth Annual General Meeting held in Delhi, gave considerable thought to the subject of conversion, as it is a problem perplexing the minds of many in the country at the present time. India has the privilege of being a country in which almost all are being religious at the same time. The working out of right relations between the people of these faiths and also with those who do not profess any faith is of the utmost importance for the development of the nation.

The Indian *Centropomus* is one of the most common members of the family, and of commercial fish all over the Indian archipelago. In the country where there is a growth of mangroves, *Centropomus* lives in the mangroves and in the bay within and between mangrove groves, which are only frequented when great numbers are raised. Indian mangroves are the world's largest. In the peninsula of India it is now (1991) in 1952 it is found in the mangroves of the Indian Archipelago. Some species are found in the sea and in the



## HARIJAN

Nov. 27

1934

## REHABILITATING THE PEASANTRY

(By Megadhin P. Datta)

How much land should be considered as requisite holding sufficient to maintain a peasant family is a question that is fast becoming very pertinent in our country. In answering this vital question, there are one or two important considerations which cannot be missed by us, without committing a grievous error which will be fatal for our people's progress.

Marxism holds that agriculture also should be organised like other big industries. That is because it believes in the doctrine of maximum production in the shortest time and with the least of labour. The way to do it is to nationalise land and resort to collective farming for a large-scale production and with the use of machines.

So far as this method of economic reconstruction is concerned, Marxists, Industrial Capitalists and other Democratic Societies also hold identical views. I came across a curious reference to this view and belief in large-scale agriculture and collective farming in a pamphlet, *Ante-war Russia*\* wherein the author rightly remarks as follows:

"The economic interest, quite strong, that agriculture possesses must have the same advantages in our case as in other industries. Actually, as a result of the present, the most serious obstacle on the way to this is the existing agrarian structure of small land in three-and four—had extensive cultivation of land with this type of dislocation consisting of three farms."

The question faced us today. We are now, more than ever, called the "sinking paper" of Western civilization. How shall we believe here? It is highly imperative now to answer the question. The Russian experiment has spotlighted it, bringing out the answer for its solution.

If land is the only basis for our village economy then surely it will have to be exploited, like other large-scale industries, in a similar and mechanised manner. It will then be an industry which obviously, all must ply. What the peasant needs today is to mechanise agriculture. If that is not given to him and large-scale culture thus becomes the law of the new order, many who go present day on land will be rendered unemployed or shall have to be agricultural labourers like their counterparts—the industrial labour. Neither is desirable. What then should be

done? The answer lies in no more intensive farming, and mechanising and driving and utilising the human element as its integral part. The very mechanisation of agriculture goes with the abolition of capitalism and the Industrial Age's fundamental death—slavery and economic order which breeds misery and its overburden the basic idea. It is really the peasant who is threatened if not his piece of land, is the giver of food and plants to society. It is interesting to read about such a tragic change in Europe described by David Blatney in his book, *Man Against the Peasant*.

"The peasant was taking the much-needed staple money wages which he had derived from his work in the industry, the commerce and the commerce of common land were depriving him of his second stand by—cheap means of buying animals. As he lost with his small capital the possibility of land he had to become for subsistence in that life. He as an individual peasant producer was being squeezed out between the footings of the bourgeoisie and the forces of the market. In the market he could not meet the competition of the mechanised or large-scale producer, above all, there was the national superiority of capitalist production—capitalism, against the cause of events, and the increase of society all combined in capitalism, could side private farming to general cultivation, without capital and without work."

With peasant could not hold his land when the capitalist class is so powerful and the peasant is so weak. He was never and capital and work in it and he was not capital and work in it. The peasant could not hold his land with only wages, as he needed the land to survive. The peasant needed to be in a state of land and not in a state of land. (pp. 10-11)

At the present time when we are now called upon to rehabilitate our peasantry on a sound and self-respectful basis, we cannot shut our eyes to this dismal picture. We have limited acreage of land in our country. The economic holding that we decide for us may be on the basis, condition that heavy industries and cattle-breeding go inseparably with agriculture, to make it an economic whole.

There contains a deep meaning for our new education also. It is therefore that Gandhi's idea of Basic Education holds the field in the educational reconstruction of our country. The fact must be noted by our educational authorities also, along with the ministries of industries. The latter are therefore now required to see that mechanised large-scale industries do not compete with the village industries in producing such of our basic needs of life as cloth, food and so on.

We know that the Bhambhani movement has accepted this principle. It is a matter of rehabilitating and reconstructing the life of our masses. Therefore, it is necessary that Government probes deep into the question of deciding the extent of an economic holding.

18-11-34

Given for original to the press.

\* By Hugh B. Kipling, Cambridge, Boston, No. 17, Dutton.

## WHY BASIC EDUCATION

(By Dr. Seymour French)

From his speech at the Africa Study Institute, University of Toronto, March 24-25, 1954

I shall try, agreed that the system of education right now in the primary to the highest university stage, represents an inflexible policy in the sense as mentioned in the famous statement in the constitution. We have not changed it in order that we should not change it. That is the only reason for its retention of its present form. It is a system of education that is based on the general principle that a transfer of power from state to state is a thing which the governmental machinery will not do. The system of education should also not be changed because of the old system.

It is a system that is given thought to each one of the members of the state, in the light of the present-day situation, and it is necessary to modify them and not to change them as we have decided.

There is a fact that in introducing this system of education, the present system of the British Commonwealth is a system of education as possible for the state. It is a system of education that is based on the principle that a transfer of power from state to state is a thing which the governmental machinery will not do. The system of education should also not be changed because of the old system. It is a system that is given thought to each one of the members of the state, in the light of the present-day situation, and it is necessary to modify them and not to change them as we have decided.

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that Education is "not made by keeping the old system of educated Indian Ministers the few which has nothing of their own-making. My own view is that there fundamental changes are made in the current system, the old state of affairs that we are today will become smaller. The feeling of discontent among the educated and other discrimination with the will continue to grow. I would therefore urge that all those connected with the education of children — our universities, the universities and the governing bodies of colleges and schools, education ministers, etc. give me only theoretical consideration in this problem but the something practical to change the present system of education. Unless this is done the problem will become more and more complicated.

Visalakshi could not put all his beliefs at one place in his heart, but undoubtedly there was a sort of universality which characterized them. Education had a high place in his thought; place it is through education that ignorance and backwardness in India and the world can be removed. My appeal to you, therefore, is that you should continue your efforts towards all the handicaps and discriminations and work for the day when the practical equality of this system will be accepted and it will be accepted and established throughout the country.

## VINDHA IN ROSE AREA—II

(By "Jadu")

### The End Project

"What are your suggestions for the effective execution of the End Project? This question was put to Vindha by Shri Lala Harish Chandra, the Congress MP from the End area on Sunday, October 28th when we started from Rose after covering our miles from Ghatap (200).

Vindha had very definite proposals to reply. All the daily work of the End project working in the Project should be by 1948 not less. All the work must start in the winter than the new calendar (i.e. January 1st 1948). All the work should be done in a company spirit and attempts be made to secure the cooperation of all the parties. All right suggestions should be given to the population to be prepared so that the pace may not be slow against the Project of 1948. All the work accomplished should be, peace and correct relation should be prepared to respect Vindha told him that the supervisors must have nothing to do with the work but must stay in connection in their homes but he also told that the locally labour (Hindustani) should be, the sick people if there no chance should be welcome to all means. But the money given ought to be stopped in any way, further to charged that small landholders must be given land for food.

"But how can they afford land? There can only give money," said Shri Wajra.

"It means a high increase in the population of the landless in the locality in which money can be given to create new problems.

"That cannot be helped.

"You need not be in despair. I am prepared to give land to the new landless of the End as also to the old. But for that you and your friends would have to work. Please tell the Hindustani people of those three districts (Hindustani and the half tribe of some Indians one and a quarter tribe) Purus (three tribes) and give money here. I assure you to provide land to every landless in small landholder of the End area. That said together with the money has given in compensation will help them to solve poverty and tragedy.

Our friend walked in silence. After a pause Vindha added: "I am very much interested in this Project. I want the people to do it. It would mean success."

Referring to the small tribe in his post-prayer address Vindha continued: "I would like to offer one land with a large and open heart. The End Project would then have been a blessing. Narrow heart and big things don't go

together. Please give me liberally so that all the trouble may be ended on land matters."

"Simply staggering."

The weekend meeting was held at night. There, all local Congress dignitaries, who Shri Lala's gift and the story they had not exhibited one-third of their land. It could not have been otherwise. But the local people took the meeting as a sign to stand up and say one to one the total land of their family as also the final they made in the and the reason of was a nightingale one-third it was a very pleasant surprise. The one who got 100 feet had thirty acres out of which he had spent 1 acre since he agreed to offer the remaining two. Another the day was spent the night another day and a second day till the night. They were of them and it was to be a meeting then, by one more. Then rose up a warm-hearted friend saying, "I am willing to offer an additional acre to complete my tribute." Truly such meetings are rare. It was a good company, as Vindha said then, the English Indian fair visitor who was present throughout told me of the time. And I had been a witness in the I would have never believed it. It is simply staggering!"

Next day we went to Morla. An exchange of views between the two. Some of the local Congress workers had come to the end of the P. P. workers in 11 days and came it was agreed after that Jaganmohini Narayan. The view was certainly respectable. A few Congress men were very surprised that report for a "large number of the local people in the afternoon time of their visit to him." "In case you give you completely new a lot you can make friends in the future."

Vindha smiled and said: "This is a great good thing to me, because I am always showing them of better connections with me." They all smiled with laughter. Then he added: "I would like to see the end of all the trouble in the country, since I have called this is a religion and a new path for me." (200)

"A Political Problem."

In his evening speech, Vindha referred to the morning meeting, the expected to them all the others discussed and a complete attitude. "When we want to work," said he, "for the construction of a country as big as India there is no way, but the variety of differences, form of nature, creed, colour, language or caste. A political problem arises in no matter. If the various differences created this meeting was not held after that day and it was then. Congressmen did not like it. Why then they received in one and another which was very much wanted by the people. It is a very unhappy event. The fact is that I do not want to do anything else in the world but land gifts. If I really what stopped Congressmen from having a good gift, then we know better. To be sure, I am a very simple person. It is a very simple. Our hearts are not in it much as have sufficient for the end to our body politic. Hence I must emphasize that you all have to work actively with an unselfish spirit and in a friendly fashion.

### The value of Hindustani Religion

We met again at Ghatap on Tuesday. Local businessmen and Vindha in the week. He told them that not long ago and was asked a businessman was called "Hindustani" in India is a great man. It was said that "Hindustani" always follow of the path of religion and were the leaders of the world. And if there were to be a meeting and shouting others would follow. I would say and the whole country would go down from their responsibility was great. They must do business and do it honestly. There was therefore no need for them to keep their hands clean. There could not be a meeting at the end of the day. They agreed.

Vindha referred to it in his post-prayer address the end. "There were businessmen came to see me. I told them the best way to achieve success in business. You know that no man can ride on two horses at the same time. In case he wants to do well, he must ride on one

time. So also the businessmen should do only one thing — some business or industrial one. They must stop, all hand over work. Either they can be businessmen or industrialists. I want to know whether they agree with this policy. When they replied in the affirmative I was delighted with some exceptions that I saw that not businessmen should accept the responsibility of hand in the interest of their country. I said: They must give up selling a life — the dis-liking to be tolerated in business. The Quota says that there are more wonderful things invented by God, while mathematics is simple. It seems to be to be just and balanced, right. It is mathematics that give us steel and aluminium, which is power and power.

As we walked in Karipalay on the 17th we crossed a bridge over the river, built by Tamil and we met.

#### The Revolution We Need

In a past paper address was very thought-provoking. Little pointed out. However does not intend in offering a few more of hand but in bringing about fundamental changes in the behaviour of man in the society. It will mean all in out of the feeling of 'my mine' and 'my thing'. The quota also agreed upon the idea. But what happened was that those who promised it were not all from the society. There still a lot of persons and institutions. But few as they were those who had given up all attachment to the 'personality' became a class by themselves. Then there came into being two classes in the society viz. *manushya* and *manushya*. In those who had cut off attachment and those who had not. The former constituted social reform but they were rejected and understood by the latter. Whereas no change could be effected in the life of our country as such. Fundamental reform was also left unchanged. It is clear. However that when I heard on the statement of the feeling of 'my mine' and 'my thing'. It is not a new idea of the past. When a system is thus unable to to quit the society. They have to cut off the attachment and yet remain in the society. *Manushya* believe in the idea that reform in light with a substance. One day out of all attachment the first change is to those who work with attachment and those who detachment. One provides a uniform life with balance and unattachment. The time has now come to stop the attachment in such a pattern. We have to build up *manushya* with 'parivarta' (detached and peaceful society). We have to work for a life better and more comfortable than the one at present.

We need an. The need for society and reform is as great today as ever. But they have to take their stand in the society itself. Suppose there is an owner of land. In case it is left unworked, it will get useless. But it is asked to make the better also means land used. So also when some people find a reform like outside the limits of the society they include some opposition like the owner that the outside transformation. Hence the improvement of our true life is to be conducted within the society. Also government would be the guiding star. Government provided in law would be the pillar of the day. From here would be a basis and everybody would take in giving rather than in taking. All this is to be built up on the basis of *Vasudha, Vaganya* (universal children).

In the capitalised society human values like capital seem to be primarily owned. Whereas who created it with the labour made with the blood and sweat of man with the Vag. Unfortunately they maintained ownership in the hands of a few men. Now this ownership has also to be cut off and these questions are to be made the property of the whole society. What does the *Manushya* do? It will bring the man and up with reform. But it will make this not never close. It is has served the vision of *Manushya*, but reform is reform. What about the 4 *Manushya*? The 4th part of it and equity within in the society. Thus we find the end spiritual of exploitation of human values in the capitalist order. Some wishes to build up the whole society on these values. This is, however, the last to be done now.

Vinaya concluded. For this task most come forward people who share their life. These every village must have two or three or more people impregnated with this spirit and ready to plunge themselves to build up the new society. The whole society is to be turned into this of *Manushya*. Therefore everybody, would live and work for the sake of all for the first of the society. Today is to put the reform. The real reform is to be made through while those who draw huge salaries like a thousand of more are regarded as *Manushya* and as members of *Manushya*. We have Government service, military service etc. as also businessmen. Those who depend on others are called as *Manushya* while not as those who stand on their own feet. All this has to be changed now and hence. One would share in the work of the people while at present the *Manushya* occupies the position. Today we are *Manushya* or *Manushya* people while the rest large in number are greedy and worthless. This is a capitalistic structure which must needs be discarded. Could you grasp this truth and live it in practice you will be able to enter in a revolution in the shortest possible time. Most of the work from without is to be rejected.

Changam was the next talk. Very little work was done in this area. Whereas most him at most. Vinaya reported their behaviour. He said: While the policy is fundamental, you are fundamental. And when one of them asked him the question. How that the Government is doing a coming in its error. How can land be obtained? Vinaya was joined in his ignorance and remarked: "That means that *Manushya* is incapable here." All of them however agreed to work together.

In his past paper address Vinaya also said: "Man differ from animal in that he is an animal made with feeling. The demands of the body. There is also urge in him to get out of world bonds and liberate himself with the whole world. This is the spirit of the man. Thus there are two urges in the man, of the body and of the soul. In man the two are regulated together. There would be peace and unity in the society. Fundamental policy is to be discarded, that the will of both the body and the soul must be, not against each other. So far man has been working this to cut out of focus the other. The latter tells him and should be business, but others give continuously. This will not contribute to world tranquillity. For the restoration the same work should show the urges of both the body and the soul. That is to be steady before to such a course, so may be in living with the demands of the soul."

He went on: "It is my attempt to explain the position of man (or girl) and make it a universal model and *Manushya* has defined this as you observe. If a girl is true which creates equal distribution. There are industries, an debt, and questions like in other words we must treat the neighbours in the same manner as we treat our own kind and life. We stand with the whole.

Manushya or *Manushya* to work before in our country. But you *Manushya* would flourish only when every one of you creates the good up both of his body and his soul. Then will real peace and tranquillity reign in the world.

#### By the Workshop

The *Manushya* declared this as was, a *Manushya* group met and held in business district. It was Thursday, that day in the End area. Workshop meeting was held at eleven o'clock. They pointed out that they could not find much time for *Manushya* for this had to attend to school and household activities. Realising their difficulty Vinaya consented.

I know the need of you coming without work. There are groups in the city who are the right of the day. This is not to provide an additional engagement for you. But I am not appreciating the significance of what you do. You must establish this with *Manushya* explains the call of the times. It gives the *Manushya* of the age. That you regard it as important work. But the *Manushya* are, many of you regard it as the most important, it is difficult,





# HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY RAJATMA SARKAR)  
EDITED BY RAJATMA SARKAR



Vol. XVIII No. 40

AMMADABAD—SATURDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1934

TWO PAGES

## INDUSTRIALISM = FULL EMPLOYMENT

By Dr. Rajendra Prasad

(Being the President's inaugural speech at the Conference organized by the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board at Poona on November 22, 1934.)

I am glad to have got this opportunity of saying a few words about khadi and village industries. I have always welcomed such occasions because I think cottage industries have an important role to play in the economic set-up of our country today. Perhaps it would be unnecessary to lay emphasis on this point if there were not an impression prevailing among the people that cottage industries have no place in the present-day world where industrialization is looked upon as the hall-mark of material progress. I am afraid this impression is as groundless as it is misleading.

It is evident that in a country like India where 80 per cent of the people live upon agriculture and allied villages, the only result of extensive industrialization will be more production by fewer men which, instead of solving the problem of unemployment, will render it more complicated. In proof of this is the fact that although our country has advanced sufficiently on the road to industrialization, the incidence of unemployment instead of coming down appears to have gone up.

In our country special significance attaches to handicrafts and such small scale industries as can be easily managed at home during spare time. If we lose sight of this fact and imagine that we can solve the problem of unemployment through industrialization, I am sure we shall only have disappointment in store for us. Unless the problem of unemployment is tackled successfully, we cannot remove poverty because whatever the quantity of wealth available in the country it can be shared only among those who have some kind of work to do. The great victims of poverty are after all those who are jobless or who may be partially employed. Therefore it is in the interest of the people of the rural areas and of our country's prospects as a whole that the wrong impression referred to above is corrected and all efforts made to popularize and improve our cottage industries.

The most important step adopted in this direction in recent years is, as pointed out by

Shri Yekandikhan Mahon, the establishment of the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board by the Government of India. By doing so, Government has not only recognized the importance of village industries but also taken upon itself the responsibility of improving them. It has been accepted as a matter of policy that in our planning for social and economic betterment, small-scale industries ought to be given a place. Government has also undertaken to provide the necessary means to achieve this end.

I do not think it is necessary for me to say much about the first Five-Year Plan. All of you know that Government has laid down its policy with regard to village industries in its Plan in most unambiguous words. As for the second Five-Year Plan, it has been decided that before finalizing the draft of the section dealing with industries, representatives of the various small-scale industries should be consulted. The real problem is that of adjustment between the small-scale and the bigger industries. The aim of all industrial undertakings is to increase production and national wealth. We must see what place should be given to village industries and bigger industrial undertakings in order to secure India's maximum prosperity.

I think that handicrafts and cottage industries can flourish only if certain concessions and facilities are offered to them. So far as facilities are concerned, Government of India has accepted in principle to provide such concessions to these industries as are likely to help them without at the same time affecting adversely the bigger industries. I should, therefore, think that the real problem is that of suggesting the right type of facilities needed by village industries.

Khadi has received some impetus by whatever direct help has been given to it by Government. Consideration has also been given to the question of reserving a field for khadi and handicraft industries so that the element of competition between handloom and mill made cloth is eliminated. I think we have to extend this concession by reserving the fields for other cottage industries as well, so that in these fields bigger industries are not allowed to operate.

Till such concessions are given to cottage industries and as long as bigger industries are permitted to compete with them it is difficult,

is not impossible for cottage industries to attain profitable status as the bigger industrial units which are being afforded facilities like concessional railway freight, etc. Their development is having a deleterious effect on the growth of village industries. I am afraid this process has not only to be stopped but has, at least in some cases, to be reversed. Let us understand it clearly that financial subsidies alone will not mean much for small-scale industries.

I know that Government has been helping the bigger industries to the tune of acres of sugar, and to be able to do so it had to impose the burden of heavy taxation on the people. Take sugar, for example. To save sugar factories from the competition of foreign producers Government has been subsidizing Indian sugar industry for a number of years at the cost of many acres. Similarly steel industry in India has had to be subsidized heavily.

I see no reason why Government should not extend similar help on the same scale, to village industries, where millions of people benefit from them and get employment because of them. It is no guarantee to suggest that it is useless to manufacture an article on small scale when the same article can be manufactured and offered at a cheaper price by bigger industries. Our hesitation to offer certain articles at a slightly higher price would virtually mean growing unemployment for millions and consequently leading them to starve. We have, therefore, to choose between unemployment and starvation on the one hand and a slightly higher cost of certain manufactured articles, on the other. No wise man I am sure, would prefer large-scale unemployment to paying higher cost.

I would, therefore suggest that we must act courageously and draw a list of those fields which have to be reserved for village industries and in which these industries have not to contend against other indigenous mid-scale goods of foreign imports. This is the economics of village industries. This alone will suit our country whatever may be the requirements of other countries. Let me hope that keeping in view the fact that village industries are the biggest source of employment, Government will do all that is possible to encourage them.

I am at one with Shri Yashwantrao that increase in production cannot be accepted as our sole ideal. Our real aim should be to make the people prosperous and to keep the maximum number of them employed. It is widely known that millions of our countrymen derive their sustenance from handicrafts and small-scale industries. To encourage these industries and to develop them is, therefore, one of our foremost duties. I admit that production can be increased more easily by installing heavy machinery but if such increase in production is achieved at the cost of cottage industries, it will mean more harm than good to our people. This is now generally accept-

ed as true and the Government of India also appreciates the fact. We have therefore no reason to feel concerned on this score.

Now that we know that Government is pursuing a policy of encouraging village industries, let us address ourselves to the task of developing them from the economic and artistic point of view. I would, in this connection, advise you to study the growth of small-scale industries in other countries. In some of these countries, cottage industries have been improved and developed to such an extent that they are able to stand on their own feet in their own right. There may be certain industries in our country which can benefit from the supply of electricity. The day is not far off when our countryside will be electrified. As the various river valley projects, which are under execution at present, are completed, there will be no dearth of power in India. With the help of electricity we can certainly save time and labour and also perhaps improve the quality of the manufactured goods. We have only to be careful that the use of electricity does not reduce the level of employment and in the sphere of production quantity does not take the place of quality. Art is one of the features of our handicrafts. Electricity should not be allowed to spoil it. With these precautions, we can certainly employ electricity for the improvement of cottage industries. Our aim is to develop these industries to such an extent and to create such a wide demand for their products that they can flourish, in course of time independently so that they are able to dispense with the special concessions and facilities offered to them by Government. I hope you will agree with me that this should be the aim of the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board.

I am very happy that all of you connected with the Khadi and Village Industries Board are working enthusiastically. Your annual report shows that the Board has made some headway in popularizing the products of village industries. You should draw inspiration from the fact that the work in which you are devoting your selves has no foundations in social justice, economic equality, and self-sufficiency. The more you progress in this direction the greater will be the employment you provide to the people, particularly in the countryside.

Today when the problem of unemployment threatens to assume alarming proportions, nothing can be of greater advantage to the nation than an avenue which promotes employment. This belief should be your own and you should be able to draw inspiration from Bapa's sacred memory. Although village industries have been a feature of Indian life since ages, the credit of raising them in the eyes of the people and getting for them a place in our national economy, goes to Mahatma Gandhi.

Nothing is farther from my mind than to suggest that Government can provide the basis for village industries to stand upon, but even so we

need not be wary of accepting that many a good cause often benefits from sentiment and the millions of provisions in actual fact, however, we may be sure that the real basis of the development of village industries can be only economic.

I fervently hope that your efforts will bear fruit and that village industries will continue to progress in India.

### EMPLOYMENT PATTERN IN INDIA

(By Dr J. D. Sandhu)

The available statistical employment data we call in India today shows that independent workers or self-employed workers constitute the majority of the labour force of the country. Close study of the figures shows that self-employment is the dominant form of employment, accounting for 74.3 per cent of agricultural employment and over 85 per cent in non-agricultural employment.

TABLE 2  
Self-Employed Population\*

Category	Agricultural	Non-agricultural	Total
1. Self-employed	54.0	38.0	71.0
2. Total productive employment (rest of total workforce)	88.4	73.4	100.0
3. Total productive employment (rest of Govt. employees)	88.4	88.0	95.0
4. 11.5 per cent of 11	78.1	85.9	89.7
5. 11.5 per cent of 12	78.3	84.8	71.3

Source: 1 Census of India Paper No. 3 1950 from May Tables IV and V

The overall picture including agricultural and non-agricultural employment but excluding Government workers shows that self-employment accounts for 74.3 per cent of all employment in the country.

#### Self-employment and National Income

FIGURE 3, self-employment in the productive form of employment in the country has also in the past been put on a single factor of India's national income as shown in Table 3 according to 74.3 per cent of India's national income for 1949-50.

TABLE 3

Contribution of self-employment to National Income

	No. of persons (lakh)	per cent of the country's population	Total income in Rs. crores
1. Agricultural Income	54.0	55.0	259.0
2. Non-agricultural Income	38.0	13.0	200.0
3. Total	71.0	74.3	459.0
4. National Income	142.0	100.0	619.0
5. 74.3 per cent of 4	105.0		460.0

NOTE: This table has been worked out on the assumption that the income per self-employed person is a factor of 1.4425 to the average income per worker in the sector.

The analysis of the employment pattern in India proves that self-employment prevails and is the dominant form of employment in India's economy and therefore, its transformation in the country involves no more than conversion of the system under which it exists at present.

\*The figure of employment in this Table includes earning dependents and self-supporting persons whose principal income is not derived from actual work.

By Devda Shree  
MOODAN JAINA  
[Lead Editor Mimeo]

Pages viii+134 Price Rs. 1-3-0 Postage and As 2  
RAVATYAN PUBLISHING HOUSE  
P. O. RAVATYAN, AMERIND-44

### AT-ONE-MENT WITH THE DIVINE

(By Edward Jones)

Whatever religious expression we may choose to follow, whatever cause ordinarily we may choose to observe, whatever creeds and philosophy we may accept, and however different we may be from the rest, there is only one Cosmic Spirit of Good that impels men to seek for the Beautiful and the True in all manifestations. With all religious groups we share the Divine urge towards the Ideal, the Perfect. This is a common heritage and the final point of contact, one with each, and each with all. Our philosophies may be poles apart, but the one Principle operates through every life.

This is the guiding idea behind the steps of today — to strengthen and develop the tie that is common to us and a common heritage has established, and to break down the barriers that divide souls who, in so many varied ways, are seeking At-one-ment with the Divine.

The outer paraphernalia of our religious expression will pass away, though oftentimes Divine Truths are expressed through that medium, but the Inner Reality will abide.

(From the Steps One Step One)

### B. C. G. VACCINATION IV

It is admitted that vaccinated persons have

lower contracted tuberculosis.

Dr J. A. Mynn M.D. stated in 1950: 'All admit that disease and death occur among the vaccinated.'

The Council on Pharmacy and Chemistry of the American Medical Association holds that: 'the protection afforded is not complete nor its duration predictable. B.C.G. must not be regarded as a substitute for public health measures.'

Please bear in mind, readers Dr Rayle, that vaccination with B.C.G., so far from helping to eliminate the tubercle bacillus, actually channels rates of Dr Hugh Paul wrote in the *Lancet* (1953),

'As regards B.C.G. vaccination as one would seriously contend that it is a method of introducing the tubercle bacillus. The persons to whom B.C.G. vaccination is given do not harbour any tubercle bacilli. On the contrary B.C.G. vaccination actually injects these organisms into the body in a living condition, and therefore increases the incidence of the bacilli in the Community.'

Dr Jones suggested that the solution to the tuberculosis problem depended on 'a final assault' on an extremely 'resilient organism', the tubercle bacillus. Criticizing this suggestion Dr Paul said this was surely headed 'during a period when so many people are vigorously engaged in supporting live tubercle bacilli into the largest number of non-infectious subjects. Forty million persons have been vaccinated during the past few years and each year there are in the world more persons infected with tuberculosis and fewer with tuberculous disease.

the Government has the obligation, and it is a continuous responsibility. The doctor can be responsible for the medical examination of the organism itself. However, it is not given any indication of the manifestation of any such epidemic disease in this way."

(To be continued)

T O D

## HARIJAN

Dec. 4

1954

### THE ALL-INDIA CONFERENCE OF CONSTRUCTIVE WORKERS

(By Jagadish P. Das)

The A-I Conference of State Khadi and Village Industries Boards and Constructive Workers convened by the A-I Khadi and Village Industries Board at Poona, was a success in various ways. The President, Dr. Jagadish Prasad, gave a bold and unequivocal lead both to the Government and the people in his inaugural address (reproduced elsewhere in this issue). It reminded what he and the Prime Minister had said when inaugurating the A. I. K. & V. I. Board about two years ago. Lord R. G. Khan, president of the Conference also emphasised the great importance of Khadi and the village industries in the economic reconstruction now before us and their special position as the prime instrument of removing colossal unemployment in our land.

That was what the Prime Minister had said two years ago when inaugurating A. I. K. & V. I. Board.

In my own mind as time is passing daily, that the principle by which one can measure the economic progress of a country is the status of employment. Khadi and Village Industries have a great role to play in this sphere of solving unemployment. The more, therefore, is not merely the consciousness of the value of Khadi and village industries. It is involved the advancement of the value of the nation and the well-being of the people. This should therefore be incorporated into the general planning for the people as a whole."

We know, to our sorrow, that the First Five Year Plan did not live itself on this principle, and naturally a law therefore has been found to be a failure, as measured with the yardstick given by the Prime Minister. It is the duty of our Planners and the Government now to see that the Second F. Y. Plan that is at present in the making improves itself in the light of the experience gained during these years.

The Poona Conference took a bold step at advising the Planning Commission and the Government of India regarding what shape the Second F. Y. Plan should take. If it is going to be something worthwhile and really helpful, it declared that:

The Second F. Y. Plan should have its programme for the solution of India's economic and

social problems on the fundamental need to provide immediately for the full employment of our entire people as the topmost priority. To this end, it must integrate and co-ordinate its entire plan of the programme of the nation's economy.

The First F. Y. Plan viewed the general structure of our industrial progress in two sections—the private and the public. The same terminology holds good till now. That it is fallacious and misleading is apparent from the simple consideration that in a planned economy for a nation, what may be termed private is not too private to be checked and controlled by Government in the nation's larger interests and broader welfare. The Poona Conference in its deliberations accepted this terminology and adopted another which is surely more helpful for clear thinking and for devising an integrated and well-co-ordinated plan.

The Conference said that the pattern of employment as revealed by the Census Report figures\* is threefold: 1. Employers, 2. Employees and 3. Independent workers. Of these the third group is by far the largest and the most important from the point of view of people's welfare and happiness. However, as we find, it is the most neglected, unorganised and backward. Therefore, it must be the nation's immediate aim to attend to this self-employed sector of independent workers as the central or focal point of the Second F. Y. Plan. It should concentrate on the need to protect, strengthen and develop this vast sector of our employment picture.

And hence the Conference decided to recommend to the Government to accept economic development through self-employment as an integral part of their policy and to make it the basis of their Second F. Y. Plan.

Having decided this main principle as the true basis of the Plan, it said that Khadi and Village Industries are meant to be and are pre-eminently suited to give to self-employment; their capacity to help remove unemployment here and now is obvious and is now generally admitted. This capacity must be effectively and fully exploited by the nation through a thorough-going socio-economic plan so that they may form an integral part of the life of the people and our objective of maximum production, full employment and social justice is achieved in the near future. It, therefore, recommended that Khadi and Village Industries be given due place in the industrial and educational programmes of the Second F. Y. Plan.

When recommending as above the Conference had in mind the common criticism that might be levelled against it. To meet it as also to clear its own position regarding some of the main issues that have constructive workers at present, the Conference delivered its opinion that:

\* These are given elsewhere in this issue in "Employment Pattern in India."

In order to set our manufacturing sector on a new and continuing development path, only if the planning is comprehensive, broad, far-seeing, in the interests of people, maximum production policy cannot be used as a measure for all. The Government should contribute to the progress of Khadi and Village Industries, not on its independent initiative, but in co-operation with some schools of thought, thinking in a positive fashion, the Government cannot do it any possible and desirable to raise production and the standard of living of the people consistently through the Five-Year Plan, the Conference declared this.

Operational devices in the economic field like co-operation, labour laws, easy credit and water and means for savings etc. and adoption of proper State policy in regard to protection and subsidy by the judicious use of Government's tariff and export import policies, transport rates etc. if they be helpful and are consistent with social justice and full employment, will be adopted.

Practical implementation of tools tried in the Khadi and Village Industries must be made with due help of scientific and research to step and should be industrialised.

Central power and wind-power should be exploited and cheap electric-power may also be made use of for lighting, irrigation, as well as for other uses, and when these can make the best of things, consistently with social justice and full employment, and no detriment to the interest of the population, others.

The Conference, however, felt that the best time for the nation's development was to see that the large-scale and small-sized industries that compete with each other and tend to destroy the people's small-scale industries in the self-employment sector should be judiciously controlled and diversified into an integral pattern of a plan for full employment which will also provide food to and will enter minimum production. Therefore the chief consideration that should govern the formulation of the Second P. Y. Plan should be to take an integrated view of the nation's economy, which may be directed to achieve the goal of a new republic's development, ensuring for our country and to frame programmes with the immediate objective of providing full employment to our people. The State policy in this regard should, therefore, aim not only at providing operative conditions for the self-employed sector in general and Khadi and village industries in particular, by adopting protective measures, such as those, enumerated in the First P. Y. Plan, viz.

1. Diversification of spheres of operation
2. Expansion of the capacity of the large-scale industries,
3. Close on large-scale industries,

## 1. Supply of raw materials

### a. Ensuring a cheap and

assured competitive of the industrial production, but also at controlling the cost of raw materials in the interests of the small producers. In other words, State policy should be an attempt to avoid conflicts between different sectors of economy, the controlled ones of which should be oriented into the sphere of the self-employment sector, in the pursuit of achieving the objective of full-employment and non-exploitation.

The Conference also went into the question of the basis for additions to be made to the list of industries to be included in the programme of the Khadi and Village Industries Board. It said that the industry to be added should be related to the basic needs of food, cloth, shelter, health, education etc. of the family and the community, and it should be capable of being organised on a self-employment basis. In, it should not be of such a nature as may adversely require for its execution, the creation of employer-employee relationship.

We hope, the Planning Commission and the Government will lend to these deliberations of the Poona Conference when framing the Second P. Y. Plan.

22-11-54

## CLASS OF TWO IDEOLOGIES

(By Dr. Rajendra Prasad)

[The following is the English rendering of the speech delivered in Hindi by Dr. Rajendra Prasad on the occasion of the 17th Convocation of the Gujarat Vaidya at 14-11-54. The President pointed out the clash that is going on at present in our country between two ideologies. Not only our progress, but peace and happiness of our country as also of the world depend on the class we make from these conflicting ideologies. It is but proper at this juncture that the educational thinkers take this consideration into point and decide the all important question of education.]

24-11-54

M P]

I am sorry that for several reasons I could not come here earlier. I very much wished that there should not be any delay caused in your work on my account. But this could not be and I have been able to come here only one day after ten and a half years.

I have felt fully satisfied with what Shri Kalamandal and Shri Mahabaleswari have said regarding the work you are doing here, your future programme and the area and fields which you have set in perspective under Mahatma Gandhi's noble inspiration.

There is a great deal of action relating being done at present in regard to education in our country. At a time when we are planning for a thorough reorganisation of our national life this is not only essential but also desirable. Even after the attainment of freedom we are carrying on the old system of education inherited here by the British rulers. We have not yet fully accepted the system of education proposed and propagated by









# HARIJAN

EDITED BY MAHATMA GANDHI  
108-1, NALYABAI B. ROAD



Vol. XXVII, No. 41 AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1954 TWO ANNAS

## GANDHI'S LETTER TO GOKHALE

(First Class Railway Travel 1954, Three Annas)

(This is an extract from a letter from Gandhiji, written in Gujarati, to justify such action as and when they are resorted to by friends who are working at them. I hope this will interest the readers. I may have left some things out, but they will read along with the previous chapters. It is in Bombay Press 15 pp. 100 in 1954, August 1954 edition) in Gandhiji's Autobiography. Ed.]

Rajkot,  
4th March, 1952

Dear Professor Gokhale,

I trust you will pardon my writing to you in pencil hand and on such paper. I am not without the typewriter on my machine, paper is the best. As I am anxious to send a copy of my letter to you to the Editor, I was obliged to make use of the only carbon sheet I have been able to procure in Rajkot in order to get a duplicate copy. I am anxious first, to let you know my experiences of 2nd class travelling.

Having ruled five minutes on the train I reached here on Wednesday last eve. Only a day later than I would have had I not stopped at the intermediate stations.

It was with very great difficulty that I found a seat in one of the intermediate carriages and that after I offered to stand the whole night if necessary. As it was it was merely a trick on the part of the friends of some of the passengers. The train had occupied all the spare room with a view to prevent any more passengers from getting in. They got into even such the good class the whole for the time being. There was absolutely no room in the 1st class carriages. You cannot sleep comfortably, time and travel. I left from Bombay knowing I travelled 2nd class. It was made it was only the last place that was difficult. The other effect was all pleasant. The other passengers and I talked with the greatest freedom and in such freedom. This charming because is probably the worst station for the poor passengers. Disruption is rampant. Unless you are prepared to bribe the police it is very difficult to get your ticket. They approached me as they approached the others several times and offered to buy me my tickets if you would pay them a gratuity (or bribe). They would threaten of the other. They of me who would not, had to wait nearly one hour after the window was opened before we could get our tickets and we would be fortunate if that if we did so with out being presented with a back or two from the

guards of law. At Mughalpur on the other hand the ticket master was a very nice man. He said he knew no distinction between a prince and a peasant.

In the carriages we were packed anyhow. There was no restriction as to numbers though there were notices in the compartments. Night travelling under such circumstances does become rather inconvenient even for the poor class passengers.

There was plague inspection as I did not please but I cannot say it was carried on with any efficiency. My laboratory colleague is a 'cage rat'.—Ed.] It is not very late but the police that the passengers had driven off the track. A lot of these passengers had become somewhat worse than. Two days had hardly afforded sufficient data for drawing a fair conclusion. I find all the richer and stronger in spirit for the experiences which I would continue in the very last journey.

I stopped at Benares, Agra, Jaipur and Patna. The Central Hindi College is not a bad institution though it is difficult to speak with confidence on a hurried visit. The Dacca in Madras is certainly worth a visit. Jaipur is a wonderful place. The Albert Museum is a far better looking than the Calcutta one and the U. Section II by itself a study. The Jaipur School of Arts appeared to be flourishing under a British Superintendent.

I now come to the most important part of my letter. To Patna I went to see nearly the State Minister who is a personal friend of mine. I casually mentioned to him that I might join in collecting subscriptions for the Banarasi Memorial Fund in April next. The State Minister, Mr. Patna who is a warm man said that it would be a great mistake to start it in April. He said that we must wait till October. He thinks that we would lose at least Rs. 50,000 thereby. All the States are moving on and pressing under the effects of famine and he is strongly of opinion that the collection should be undertaken in December or January next. I place his views before you for what they may be worth.

Famine is raging in several parts of Kathi-

war. Please remember me to Prof. Ray.

I remain,  
Yours truly,  
M. K. Gandhi

## TINORA IN PURNIA—II

(By "Dada")

Every morning I go out on the Bhodan gate's little village in Purnia. But I get out there in vain—"Is there work in season Bhodan worker placed his difficulty before Tinora. The latter asked him: "Why not?"

I am never free

You must be having some competitors in your work?"

No, I go alone."

Then there should be no difficulty at all. How many miles do you cover daily?"

About eight miles in two hours."

It is so simple. Instead of eight miles suppose you have, in each hour. And the time required to enter the area, the miles should be spent in working. You can choose any method and later on in your work and the concentrated study during that one hour."

The formula went straight to the worker's heart. Then Tinora has been repeatedly showing the best of study and meditation. In fact this is his old habit. When I was reminded of another instance of his in this connection. They were the morning days of 1944. One day a worker appeared regularly in his Purnia. One day a worker asked Tinora his opinion on a certain question. Tinora replied: "Rupa has already spoken on this point last week."

"But I did not read that."

Tinora grew sympathetic and said: "Do you ever read Purnia Janta or Nivartan?"

"No, I don't say any time. But why should I read? For I do nothing but Bhodan work all the day long?"

Tinora blantly remarked: "Strange indeed. When Rupa said that he is writing something like read you that time to read the same? Don't you realize that he writes for us and not for himself?"

The need of study and meditation cannot be too much emphasized in life in life. It is not, however, to be taken into the public workers do not as yet give it the attention it deserves. Of workers were always done and made a full man. But public workers are the first persons to study. As Ashwari P. C. Ray used to say, even had an hour's regular study is very much deserving. It may be noted that when at first he read and think was the reason that led Pandit Mohan to think locally in terms of the famous letter he addressed to Raja Congress Office. Tinora is particularly fond of this point and wants of every opportunity to draw workers' attention to it.

He entered the Kishanganj subdivision of Purnia district on October 24, 1944 when he occupied at Bhagpur. He told his audience in the evening: "Rich, richness and poverty are one. I want both of them to disappear. All of us should live together like brothers and sisters and behave as if a single family." He asked that those who give help to the old and the young, rather than they obliged themselves.

On his way to Purnia next day he talked the few minutes at Bhagpur, with an area of 1,000 villages. They wanted to present him about 250000 of food distributed from 100 donors. Tinora refused to accept the money saying: "I value only such offer as foodstuffs distributed at the donor's hand. There is no sense in accepting any thing as food is indispensable of a right from those having money left or so. The workers who have taken these gifts have released the Bhodan spirit. In these days when people die in places, my going on food is regarded as luxury. Should I accept such unbecoming gifts, that would be another stupidity? I cannot accept such donations. I would request each headmaster of this village to double examine and make up their mind as to the foodstuffs left here."

In the post-prayer meeting he dealt on the importance of accomplishing Bhodan work by distributed on the self-sufficiency power of the people. He pointed out: "It is

not that the one Bhodan day. The question of food is always more long after. The Bhodan go to the temples and the Bhodan on the people. Why not? Are they afraid of any law? They fear more the workings of people and wealth than the law of the State. This was about thirty years ago. Why? Why they afraid of any thing? Several of them had their life this time. What the people go there again? Those who founded it served the legal authority with them. No one has to do the work by your own will and initiative. You are the content of your fortune. If you want to serving to the Bhodan you would have to die yourself. It is foolish to imagine that somebody else's death would carry you to the Bhodan."

At Kishanganj on this the audience included a large number of Bhodans. Tinora visited the Bhodan before beginning his speech. Tinora observed that Bhodan did not merely seek to help the poor but to root out poverty itself. With their more thinking to him in planning, Tinora began to talk in calm and quiet manner. Tinora stood on the side. The people followed with the words of their mind to hold out their confidence. Tinora asked them to close their doors and be one in the same. Then they all stood in formal rows. Tinora remarked: "Those who do not love their neighbor like a brother and yet take God's name, commit a crime and are always lost in their life. His blessing. He has bestowed upon us all sorts of blessings. All these when he has blessed with wealth are on trial. If they love and exploit the poor they will be degraded as fallen. On the other hand if they work truth and love, and love people in a selfless way, then they will get a gain."

Kashin was the next last. Workers' meeting was very interesting. Tinora visited many of persons willing to accept his law with the idea of the poor. Still however, many one of them said: "What is the situation?" Tinora smiled and said: "It depends upon you." And he related a story. The Nagnag Nagnag was still was joined by hundreds of volunteers to the beginning they were sentenced for two months imprisonment. That the jail was only for two months brought in many volunteers. Later the Government grew wise and considered them for longer periods. They would not, however, after apology and go back to their homes. They have the job without difficulty. But some of them came to him (Tinora) and complained: "Purnia Bhodan problem is that that was hardly two months' sentence. But now we have to stay here for six months more for a year. We were not prepared for it." Tinora used to teach them the Bhodan motto and the idea. One day he asked Tinora and taking him into his confidence informed him that others had been involved in releasing all prisoners on the next day. The next day was Krishna, Janmashtami. When Tinora returned to his room from the jail office they all surrounded him as usual and wanted to know what had happened between him and the police and whether there was any hope for them. Tinora kept calm. They called something and would not leave him. Then he said: "We are free, keep you in jail as Janmashtami day. Even the mighty Bhodan of Bhodan could not." They all came up next day without saying any full two months. After Tinora had finished his story he said them: "It was full and their eyes you were to release them." They all had a hearty laugh and Bhodan of Gurn joined the jail.

On the 25th Tinora was at Bahadur a small village on the Bhodan border. In his post-prayer meeting he dealt on the necessity of proper distribution to the land production in the country has gone up. But that was not the problem of the poor. The land distribution is very badly. Where land which is at the back of all life is wrongly distributed how much would the people suffer?"



## HARIJAN

Dec. 11

1954

## THE SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN

(By Mahatma P. Desai)

The first F Y Plan is nearing its close and preparations for framing a second one are afoot. State Governments and the Planning Commission are at present engaged in this task.

It is a very important thing to see what will be the central aim with which it will be framed. Looking from that point of view, the first F Y Plan was a medley of heterogeneous items that lay in the secretariats of the country during the swiftness rule. It might be said that the Plan was almost about one of the foremost problems of national reconstruction, e.g. unemployment. Part 4 of the Constitution lays down the Directive Principles of State policy—the Plan could have woven its programme round them, saying what would be done to achieve each of them. It seemed as if because of a project in itself had a merit of its own to recommend itself as worthy of our great people. For each province, scores of reports were sent and the manner of doing it was an unbroken line of Western technocratism, thus requiring us to spend the money to foreign consultants and without exploiting to any best our massive labour potential and thus involving the rare opportunity of mobilising it to a conscious national effort and thus elevating it in a new way. This would have made the Plan an only for the people,—which it surely was—but of them also, thus appealing to the lower being of our whole people and involving us all in a total effort on our part for nation-building. Judged from that point of view, the first F Y Plan did not succeed so well. But it was not as direct aim as well and hence to judge it from that angle is futile. What I wish to judge here is that the new Plan should not mean to incorporate this point in itself now.

There are obvious items that would directly touch the people and influence them for their obvious good, e.g. prohibition, bank or fundamental education of the people, etc. The first, under the British rule suffered under the idea that education would be difficult if socio-economic was to change. I shall freedom now our members and planners think that the lines of that reform would fall upon massive projects for irrigation, electrification etc. undertaken under the first F Y Plan. Thus what was "Education vs. Prohibition" has now come to be "Development vs. Prohibition". And even the first F Y Plan became an indirect party to this new slogan of

education for the implementation of the Nation's social reforms, of the Planning Government.

Here a fundamental change of education of our people — we require it, to repeat word. We also accept that this would be on the principle of its differentiation controlled by Gandhiji. And we desire that the whole system should be reformed accordingly. However, what is actually being done is to mind the "traditional" system and to old ways and through the machinery that clings to them. The result has been that nothing solid could be achieved in this sphere, and what was done was to have Commissions and Committees for higher and secondary education, and some tasks were undertaken to change it accordingly, without radically changing the traditional set-up to meet the needs and demands of the new age of India.

Another thing that has come about during these years is undoubtful from the point of view of our self-respect even. And that is the overwhelming practice of foreign travel and as prestige. Foreign doctors, foreign engineers, foreign experts etc. are having their day, as if things they never had before. In the beginning the Government of Bombay had reached that foreign degrees will bear no more weight or value than their Indian university equivalents. Unfortunately, however, this got reversed and it became as it was before. If this had not been so and the need thing that was initiated had continued, it would have helped in raising the dignity of our institutions and they would have tried to justify themselves accordingly. Instead of this, we find on India at present that one runs out abroad on the pretext or that as it adds automatic substance importance to the post, and this tendency is being helped or encouraged by Government. This has adversely affected the mind of the youth, and looking from the financial point even, it is an unaccounted drain of Nation's wealth.

Let it now be taken from what I say above, that to go abroad and learn new things by way of knowledge or industry is not necessary. The point is to say that our main aim is all that we undertake to pursue should be to achieve the virtues of self-reliance, self-respect and increasing self-confidence and strength. Whatever performance that gives us the cause of complaint — is what is meant to convey by the above.

And as a result of all that is noted above, the position seems to have come about that the importance of the rich and their riches increased and that of the large mass of the labouring people and their life and labour remained as it was. Thus in the new order of things, the latter which was expected to increase did not become so, and to that extent it was rather relegated to the background. In short, what should have been primary became secondary and as a result the movement did not catch the imagination of





14. *Example 14* Let  $\mathbf{a}$  and  $\mathbf{b}$  be two vectors such that  $|\mathbf{a}| = 2$  and  $|\mathbf{b}| = 3$ . If  $\mathbf{a} \cdot \mathbf{b} = 6$ , then the angle between  $\mathbf{a}$  and  $\mathbf{b}$  is  $\theta$ . Then  $\cos \theta$  is equal to  $\frac{1}{2}$ .  
 Solution: We know that  $\mathbf{a} \cdot \mathbf{b} = |\mathbf{a}| |\mathbf{b}| \cos \theta$ .  
 $\therefore 6 = 2 \times 3 \times \cos \theta$   
 $\therefore \cos \theta = \frac{6}{2 \times 3} = \frac{1}{2}$   
 $\therefore \theta = \cos^{-1} \left( \frac{1}{2} \right) = 60^\circ$

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Q. Now, according to that report, then, the witness said, "What do you consider the greatest threat to our nation's security today, Mr. Clinton?"

[illegible]

It is the correspondence that we are after. — The  
 Correspondence of the Correspondence

[illegible]

When I have a bad cough, I go to the doctor. When I have a bad cough, I go to the doctor.

...and the third grant will get the funds of us, though that last one isn't, really, in the institution that sense.<sup>22</sup>

The group will have no contact with other groups in the district. In 1970-71

1. *Explain, in your own words, the meaning of the term "cognitive bias".*

There is a difference between *claret* and *claret*.<sup>4</sup>

Twain admitted the same and observed, "There is too few enough men that may call heaven the pay for that the greatest difficulty is that men identify heaven with the gods."

[illegible]

What followed the question "Is organized religion a help or hindrance?" are contrasting comments on leading a good life:

Lambert, in a 1999 declaration, in this connection he mentioned the independent religious newspaper that it would be of little help that organizations are dependent on such organizations. I have always held that organizations in a sense of word is a little different in Christian circles. Last evening I was told that following in the work in place of a person and that they would build a new building and that they become a new church and that I think of all this, the idea of the church that continues and changes of both organizations and religious are considered to be correct. The organizations maintain the two because that there which is would have history is different. They in the process would have been able to have the activities carried out from the building that is in the place.

## 1999 2000 2001 2002 2003 2004 2005 2006 2007 2008 2009 2010 2011 2012 2013 2014 2015 2016 2017 2018 2019 2020 2021 2022 2023 2024 2025 2026 2027 2028 2029 2030 2031 2032 2033 2034 2035 2036 2037 2038 2039 2040 2041 2042 2043 2044 2045 2046 2047 2048 2049 2050 2051 2052 2053 2054 2055 2056 2057 2058 2059 2060 2061 2062 2063 2064 2065 2066 2067 2068 2069 2070 2071 2072 2073 2074 2075 2076 2077 2078 2079 2080 2081 2082 2083 2084 2085 2086 2087 2088 2089 2090 2091 2092 2093 2094 2095 2096 2097 2098 2099 2100 2101 2102 2103 2104 2105 2106 2107 2108 2109 2110 2111 2112 2113 2114 2115 2116 2117 2118 2119 2120 2121 2122 2123 2124 2125 2126 2127 2128 2129 2130 2131 2132 2133 2134 2135 2136 2137 2138 2139 2140 2141 2142 2143 2144 2145 2146 2147 2148 2149 2150 2151 2152 2153 2154 2155 2156 2157 2158 2159 2160 2161 2162 2163 2164 2165 2166 2167 2168 2169 2170 2171 2172 2173 2174 2175 2176 2177 2178 2179 2180 2181 2182 2183 2184 2185 2186 2187 2188 2189 2190 2191 2192 2193 2194 2195 2196 2197 2198 2199 2200 2201 2202 2203 2204 2205 2206 2207 2208 2209 2210 2211 2212 2213 2214 2215 2216 2217 2218 2219 2220 2221 2222 2223 2224 2225 2226 2227 2228 2229 2230 2231 2232 2233 2234 2235 2236 2237 2238 2239 2240 2241 2242 2243 2244 2245 2246 2247 2248 2249 2250 2251 2252 2253 2254 2255 2256 2257 2258 2259 2260 2261 2262 2263 2264 2265 2266 2267 2268 2269 2270 2271 2272 2273 2274 2275 2276 2277 2278 2279 2280 2281 2282 2283 2284 2285 2286 2287 2288 2289 2290 2291 2292 2293 2294 2295 2296 2297 2298 2299 2300 2301 2302 2303 2304 2305 2306 2307 2308 2309 2310 2311 2312 2313 2314 2315 2316 2317 2318 2319 2320 2321 2322 2323 2324 2325 2326 2327 2328 2329 2330 2331 2332 2333 2334 2335 2336 2337 2338 2339 2340 2341 2342 2343 2344 2345 2346 2347 2348 2349 2350 2351 2352 2353 2354 2355 2356 2357 2358 2359 2360 2361 2362 2363 2364 2365 2366 2367 2368 2369 2370 2371 2372 2373 2374 2375 2376 2377 2378 2379 2380 2381 2382 2383 2384 2385 2386 2387 2388 2389 2390 2391 2392 2393 2394 2395 2396 2397 2398 2399 2400 2401 2402 2403 2404 2405 2406 2407 2408 2409 2410 2411 2412 2413 2414 2415 2416 2417 2418 2419 2420 2421 2422 2423 2424 2425 2426 2427 2428 2429 2430 2431 2432 2433 2434 2435 2436 2437 2438 2439 2440 2441 2442 2443 2444 2445 2446 2447 2448 2449 2450 2451 2452 2453 2454 2455 2456 2457 2458 2459 2460 2461 2462 2463 2464 2465 2466 2467 2468 2469 2470 2471 2472 2473 2474 2475 2476 2477 2478 2479 2480 2481 2482 2483 2484 2485 2486 2487 2488 2489 2490 2491 2492 2493 2494 2495 2496 2497 2498 2499 2500 2501 2502 2503 2504 2505 2506 2507 2508 2509 2510 2511 2512 2513 2514 2515 2516 2517 2518 2519 2520 2521 2522 2523 2524 2525 2526 2527 2528 2529 2530 2531 2532 2533 2534 2535 2536 2537 2538 2539 2540 2541 2542 2543 2544 2545 2546 2547 2548 2549 2550 2551 2552 2553 2554 2555 2556 2557 2558 2559 2560 2561 2562 2563 2564 2565 2566 2567 2568 2569 2570 2571 2572 2573 2574 2575 2576 2577 2578 2579 2580 2581 2582 2583 2584 2585 2586 2587 2588 2589 2590 2591 2592 2593 2594 2595 2596 2597 2598 2599 2600 2601 2602 2603 2604 2605 2606 2607 2608 2609 2610 2611 2612 2613 2614 2615 2616 2617 2618 2619 2620 2621 2622 2623 2624 2625 2626 2627 2628 2629 2630 2631 2632 2633 2634 2635 2636 2637 2638 2639 2640 2641 2642 2643 2644 2645 2646 2647 2648 2649 2650 2651 2652 2653 2654 2655 2656 2657 2658 2659 2660 2661 2662 2663 2664 2665 2666 2667 2668 2669 2670 2671 2672 2673 2674 2675 2676 2677 2678 2679 2680 2681 2682 2683 2684 2685 2686 2687 2688 2689 2690 2691 2692 2693 2694 2695 2696 2697 2698 2699 2700 2701 2702 2703 2704 2705 2706 2707 2708 2709 2710 2711 2712 2713 2714 2715 2716 2717 2718 2719 2720 2721 2722 2723 2724 2725 2726 2727 2728 2729 2730 2731 2732 2733 2734 2735 2736 2737 2738 2739 2740 2741 2742 2743 2744 2745 2746 2747 2748 2749 2750 2751 2752 2753 2754 2755 2756 2757 2758 2759 2760 2761 2762 2763 2764 2765 2766 2767 2768 2769 2770 2771 2772 2773 2774 2775 2776 2777 2778 2779 2780 2781 2782 2783 2784 2785 2786 2787 2788 2789 2790 2791 2792 2793 2794 2795 2796 2797 2798 2799 2800 2801 2802 2803 2804 2805 2806 2807 2808 2809 2810 2811 2812 2813 2814 2815 2816 2817 2

But the workers told there was little space. "There is a problem with this national example of taking away a worker's entire machine and replacing it."

It is important to note that, while the above information is useful, it is not a substitute for a professional evaluation. If you are experiencing any of the above symptoms, it is important to seek professional help as soon as possible. The following information is for informational purposes only and should not be used as a substitute for professional advice.

1. The first step is to identify the main components of the system. This includes the hardware (CPU, memory, storage) and software (operating system, applications).

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There is no need to add

**Chlorobaculum** <sup>1</sup>

...and you can share your own story with others.

"What I want you to question, how you move in the

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What other should you use the whole or follow a strategy? When this happens, what? It is not more difficult than

There is the competition of the oilseed.

<sup>2</sup>That may be. Then you have to take the middle

<sup>1</sup> The map follows for the middle way 1<sup>st</sup>.  
<sup>2</sup> It was some time before I could come to that stage in the

solidified were retained. Viscosity while a crosslinking media. The solvent, 1,1,1-trichloroethane, was removed by rotary evaporation.

**QUESTION** – Can I get my child's name on the ballot? And what if someone is alleged to have voted? Can you keep it from your neighbors?<sup>10</sup>

Das Federal Reserve Board hat die clip 21 in einem Brief an die Öffentlichkeit veröffentlicht.

\* Another provided the material paid for by the company as follows:

1000 1000 1000 1000

18th International Workshop

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It is an urgent and important problem for the country to protect and improve the standards of our cattle more especially our milk cows. The question is how this can be done. The demand for some law banning cow slaughter appears to me to be based more on sentiment than on a practical consideration of this problem. Indeed there is a grave danger that such a law will not only not be enforced but will result probably in a rapid deterioration of our cattle population. We have in a large part of India, municipal and some times provincial laws preventing cow slaughter. These have not had any great effect.

I am killing her, you said, and you're certainly in trouble during the last few years, and will I doubt further losses. The chief problem today is of the big cities of Bombay and Calcutta. No simple law can deal with that problem. Some radical steps taken in Bombay have helped and further steps are going to be taken. As I have said above, we consider this as a serious problem from the economic and other points of view. But if we take a step which instead of solving the problem makes it worse, that will not help.

Over slaughter went to take place in India previously largely because of the results of the British annex. That is, some effect before 1857.





# HARIJAN

EDITED BY MANIPALA GASTHER  
1000, MADANMOHAN P. BHAG



Vol. XVIII, No. 42 AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1973

Price: 10000

## LAND REFORM AND BHODAN

(By Manipala P. Bhag)

*Land Reform and Social Agriculture* is the title of a small book \* by David Mitrany, the well-known author of *From Against the Present* from which I had quoted in my article "Fetters on the Peasantry" (*Harijan*, 27-11-54). Going through this pamphlet, I was incidentally reminded of the controversy whether Bhodan Movement was revolutionary. The booklet is an answer to this question in its own way.

The theme of the book is to show how the Soviet system of State collectivism in agriculture failed economically and politically and how it had to be changed in recent years to small-scale private farm holding and helping it in the form of crop, it, advice, equipment and supplies etc.

The author wonders how the Soviet system came to "adapt such a weird system of agriculture at all."

From a purely technical point of view of course, any kind of agriculture might be thought suitable for civilizational production. But there must have been some good natural reason why this system of human interference failed and hence be changed in position along the line, which became natural for industrial production in the last century or so. Whether it was dependent on the third quality of the soil, which cannot be changed at will, or on the part which man's effort and even force to put in sowing seeds and especially in raising weeds, the fact is that nature occasionally for concurring to (compelling) modification of all and sundry, viz. large colonies never been found produce the best quality. From these two overpowering odds, unlike large-scale factories were relatively much less productive than the small units of the farmers and peasants in Western Europe.

"There was nothing therefore in agricultural knowledge and experience to explain and justify the Soviet experiment in collectivization. There was however a strong ideological basis for it in the view that had been put forward by the originators of 'scientific' socialism, Marx and Engels, over a hundred years ago."

And hence he adds,

"How was it, then, that might not, but will as the understanding for and interest in the peasants it at first succeeded in gaining the support of the peasants for making the revolution? The fact would seem to be that the peasant has never been an ideological revolutionary, but for his others have an approach and therefore, emancipated workers required most of the time

and to find a way to change it into a work which would be the history of the world and one which still remains for many of the peasants in many parts of the globe today."

This point of the author is well illustrated by the Indian Communists also working in Andhra. As we know the land hunger of the Andhra peasants was exploited in Communist party ends and the party was unleashed to ravage the land. And we also know how the Bhodan tent, that Krishna came upon as God sent in that situation worked to quell it and channelised the peasant fury into constructive activities.

This question of land hunger and Communism is not peculiar to India only. As the author remarks

"It is strange that even after the Russian revolution the need to do justice to the peasant is never in its entirety has still not been done in many countries in the Middle East, of Asia and of South America. A 12 point plan by the United Nations in the interests of that were directed to, according to a certain part of it, world-wide, civil efforts and support for the peasants and still has not been in, it is a fair and progressive view. And not that problem is in the very heart of their present ill-fated and future progress."

And he shows the way to solve this problem in the following words

For three and a half years since the late Mahatma Gandhi came out of India, in the lives in the villages, not only. When I arrived in visiting the villages of their poverty, I have been finding that the streets. To a people (including and not only) only way, in which God can start appear to work as, promise of food and wages.

"There is a struggle yet complete explanation of why the Russian, Chinese and other Communists were at first able, to gain the support of the peasants, indeed why they were able to make a successful revolution at all. The revolution in China started in 1927 and since then, have all been early, present revolutionaries under Communist management. But at the same time they have been producing with the peasants but not for the peasants."

"That does not change the fact, however, that in parts of Asia, of the Middle East and of Latin America the peasant will be revolution and progressiveness, and that is long a, so is it that there is a ready party for Communist propaganda and action."

The lesson from all this is obvious. It clearly shows the revolutionary pathlessness and the deep meaning and significance of the Bhodan Movement. The author of the booklet does not seem to have known or studied this





# HARIJAN

Dec. 12

1934

## THE CONGRESS PRESIDENCY

(By Mahatma P. Swami)

The Indian National Congress has conferred the great honour and responsibility of the presidency of its forthcoming Session on Shri B. N. Dutt, the Chief Minister of Sarawak. I congratulate him for the honour and wish him all success in the great venture of service and leadership that he has accepted to undertake at this unique juncture in our history.

The meaning and importance of this great office in our public life has naturally changed from what they were in pre-independence days. This is clear even from the simple fact that the unique name of the office—the *Madhyam*—on the advent of our free Constitution of the country was transferred to and reserved for the head of the State the President. This change was symbolic of the very material change that came about in the nature and function of the Congress, on the advent of political freedom. The Congress had begun to assume the role of the chief political party organisation of the country. This change automatically necessitated for the Congress appropriate adjustments within itself not only organisationally but also functionally. This process is still on and the Institution is now required to be consciously considering it and arranging the change-over in a smooth way, and without losing—either exploiting to their very best, the great potentialities for the service of the nation that it has the unique distinction to possess.

Shri Duttarthal is called upon to assume the stewardship of the Institution in such a transition. He returns by the Gandhian constructive programme as the one thing that can lead us to Poorna Swraj or Sarvodaya. As he says, the country now needs to establish social and economic Swraj with the strength and freedom that have accrued to it on getting political Swraj. What are the main things that require to be immediately attended to in this behalf? It will be for the Congress to think out and place before the people in its Annual (Madhya) Session meeting a few weeks after.

Shri Duttarthal's choice as the Congress President has automatically removed the possibility of confusing the dual role of the Prime Minister and the Congress Chief vesting in one person. This is a noteworthy change, inasmuch as it is a deliberate promise not to combine these two important offices in the same person. This may better be set up as a healthy and necessary convention of our democracy. The chief point here is to see that the Congress functions freely

and keeping true to its own ideals performs its historical role as the bulwark of the people's war to Sarvodaya. To this end, it will need to initiate many other healthy democratic conventions to guide itself as also its Governments at the Centre or the States, wherever they be formed.

There is another equally important aspect of this question—the Congress is lately thinking to have a constructive work wing for itself. In the past it created autonomous institutions for it like the Charitra Sangh, the A-J-V.I.A., the Triloka Sangh and some others, though not created by it, worked with it, as the Congress symbolised in itself the constructive urge of the nation, to rebuttal itself along with the one to free itself. The two were moulded into one under Gandhian leadership. This has changed with the attainment of political freedom. However the need for the Congress to have its organisational roots in the midst of the people through constructive work is not less than ever before. How to secure this is a problem that faces the organisation in the next few years. We hope Shri Duttarthal, under his regime of two years stewardship of the Congress will clearly set these problems and guide it to their happy solution.

11-12-34

## PUBLIC SERVICE AND COSTLY GIFTS

(From Gandhiji's Letter to His Secretary)

(I am sure I had reproduced Gandhiji's Letter to late Shri Gokhale somewhere here in *Harijan*). The research found only one another interesting letter, one to late Pandit Ramraj, about whom readers of Gandhiji's autobiography\* have very well. Gandhiji's letter under reproduction and its reply from late Shri Ramraj which is also reproduced therewith, refer to costly gifts that Gandhiji returned for the use of the Indian Community by creating a suitable trust for their management. It is not known whether Gandhiji wrote anything again to Shri Ramraj, there is no letter to that effect to be found in the archives. However we know that Gandhiji devoted a chapter on this matter in his autobiography. Foreward part of it is also reproduced here. The question of costly gifts given to public workers for public service was raised to a moral level by Gandhiji and it has played a great part in making the mould of our public life during the Gandhian era. The lesson is well worth remembering and translating in a suitable form even under Swraj.]

6-12-34

M. P. I.

1

1934 October 1934  
Duttar.

Dear Mr. Ramraj,

I have been thinking what written reply to give to the handsome and costly address presented to me by my fellow countrymen. After deep consideration I have come to the conclusion that, consistent with common sense, by not doing this to them I must not be making them

\* Page No. 164, Paragraph 16, *Autobiography*.

merely saying that what I value is the affection that has prompted the gifts and the gifts as such. I have therefore decided to send the jewelry as per accompanying schedule to the Alliance Working Corporation, with instructions to deliver the articles to the National Indian Congress against a receipt signed by the President and Secretary or Secretaries for the time being.

I make them over to the Congress in the following condition:

(1) The jewelry or its value should form an emergency fund to be utilized only when the Congress has no other funds to fall back upon without the two listed properties.

(2) I should have the right to withdraw any of such of the jewelry that may then and here have been utilized for donating same to any beneficial object whether within or outside the scope of the Congress.

When the necessity for utilizing the jewelry arises, and if it is possible I would feel it an honor to be consulted by the Congress as to whether the object for which it is sought to utilize same is, in my opinion, an emergency within the scope of this letter. But the Congress is free at any time to withdraw the jewelry without reference to me.

I have taken the above step deliberately and purposefully. I feel that neither I nor my family can make any personal use of the costly presents. They are too sacred to be sold by me or my heirs and feeling that there can be no guarantee against the last contingency in my opinion the only way I can return the love of our people, is to dedicate them all to a sacred object. And since they are in reality a tribute to the Congress principles to the Congress I return them.

Lastly I repeat the hope that our people would translate into acts their good intentions for the justification of which the events presented were an earnest.

That the Congress may continue to serve the Empire and the Community and that my successors may receive the same support that was extended to me in my former prayer:

I remain,  
Truly truly,  
M. H. Harlan

Flower Station, Ill.,  
Vice Secretary, Address Committee,  
Durban.

### Schedule of Presents

- Gold medal presented in 1885.
- Gold coin, presented in 1886 by the Tumb Indians.
- Gold chain, presented by the Addressing Committee in 1888.
- Gold chain, sovereign purse and seven gold coins, presented by Mr. Francis Esomaji.
- Gold watch presented by Mr. Joseph of Sherry Dala Abacha & Co.
- Diamond ring presented by the Community.
- Gold necklace presented by the Federal Union.
- Diamond pin presented by Mr. Abdel Odeh and a Silver cup and plate presented by the Kathwana Union, Durban.

## II

### Esomaji's Reply

18th October, 1924.  
Durban.

Dear Mr. Harlan,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the yesterday's date, informing your intention with regard to the presentation articles, which you have received from

time to time in connection with the work of the Natal Indian Congress, of which you have been the Secretary and guiding spirit up to a very recent date.

I have given your communication my most careful consideration and I must frankly confess that the letters that you therein make having given me pain at the first perusal, deeply commends the right I feel at the decision you have arrived at in respect of the aforementioned articles of presentation.

As, however, such individual pieces in this world is supposed to be guided in ordinary matters of this nature by his own vision and convictions, I cannot find it in my heart to do other in reference to your deliberate decision, than to meet it by my own reason, also deliberately taken, after mature consideration, that, whatever your ultimate intentions may be with respect to the other articles of present, and however it may affect the other respective donors, so far as my own are concerned, the only way out of your determination with respect to them will only end in my severing my connection with the Natal Indian Congress, whatever gifts such severance may cause me—to do justice the work which had brought me to this country in my own way, unaffected by considerations which in the course of things brought me in contact with your great and honored personality in connection with what I conceived, and still conceive, as a great work of love, and so in which I have been influenced by thought, but the highest motive.

Your action I may explain, will cause me into the step I refer to in the following grounds:

1. Because tokens of regard and esteem bestowed on any man as such must I conceive, once accepted and received, be treasured as such.
2. Because any definite decision arrived at with respect to such tokens at any later stage of a work in connection with the consideration of which they were given, for recognition of services, cannot but lead to misrepresentation of motives in the donor as in the recipient.
3. Because what you estimate as valuable gifts are, in my estimation, trifles—so far as their material worth is in question and that they were given with the purest intentions for good value received (if in your opinion such acts are to be measured by the standard of L.A.S.).

4. Because in consideration of the purity of motives, which actuated my acts and donations, and which by the adoption of the step you indicate, cannot but result in my misrepresenting, towards sharing my own intentions—certain to be affected by your compromised decision of work of the articles that have been bestowed on me for alleged services in connection with the Natal Indian Congress.

In view of the above considerations, I beg, as a consideration member of the above association, whose values and efforts I value more than silver and gold, to appeal to you for a reconsideration of your decision in this matter.

I appeal to you all the more earnestly and with the greatest confidence, because recognizing your high character and great merits—recognizing your great qualities of head and heart, which alone brought forth any such signs of regard and affection as have been given to you in respect of great and valued services rendered, to what I cannot but look upon as a sacred cause of humanity and justice, I most fervently view your determination of involving in the disorganization of a great achievement—the work of which achievement is primarily due to yourself.

I beg to repeat that I appeal to you with perfect confidence for a reversal of your decision in the above matter.

I, however, for reasons which I cannot follow—however thoughtfully I view the picture of action which has resulted in your aforementioned decision, your determination



1. The first step is to identify the problem or goal. This involves understanding the current situation, identifying the problem, and setting a clear goal. The goal should be specific, measurable, achievable, relevant, and time-bound (SMART).

It is a common fallacy to assume that the only way to improve the quality of the environment is to increase the amount of land that is protected. This is not necessarily true. In many cases, the most effective way to protect the environment is to manage the land in a sustainable way. This means using the land in a way that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. This can be done by using a variety of techniques, such as reforestation, conservation, and sustainable agriculture. By using these techniques, we can protect the environment and ensure a better future for all.

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As a reward, PIRELLI in Atlanta preferred that "Creative" had found the right way to have more time than individuals. The PIRELLI was a great deal better than the 100,000 (100,000 more) people) would be distributing. Very many more people were (100,000 or more) also, go to a. In the morning, a team for other method of say, and said: "I'm not sure."

The success of these schools was quite high. There is about 4000-4500 children of school age in Maharashtra and almost 100000 in Madhya Pradesh. More than 400000 children are enrolled in these schools, including about 100,000 girls. Last summer, for example, 100,000 villages have had a school, and the 1974 summer will prove that the first 100,000 villages are in preparation to reach villages never reached before and of about 100,000 villages independent of India can be made functional for the very first time.

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**Finding:** Church-sponsored activities to give their thoughts to the two-witness presentation are best if religious youth first establish their own vision or belief before it years in the future as at Pentecost.

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The evening meeting included a lot of thinking as well as praying. In the closing meditations, Vondra began his speech with the words: "I am standing alone in the world; the movement of land is fast." Then call them before him, at the end. They share study papers, records and share their joys. "What would would you do with these papers?" He says that you are the people? (like that on demand). This is all very good. While the la-

remains, the excited center just away. I'd be home  
a real reason why would the have left. I'd be home, you  
but don't make this body. It's hard to find it off. There  
where the center will even have a body to make even better  
any one, please are working of itself. While inside a little  
is there. It is called the. The of God

Now that in England, we mingled just in the skin of a mongrel. The Russian friends gave Vlasov a very hearty welcome, in accordance to their custom. In fact, his coming to us was the cause of revival of the social fight in our little circle here. Tamara presented his address to us, came from his home and the Soviet. Meeting in days in 1948 when he worked among the slaves who were just in still under Vlasov's guidance and had also spent a week at the famous European Board of Agents. Vlasov pointed out that of all his comrades in the world, only Indian people never went out with a sword at his waist. That is to become an Indian—our neighbor who completed in Europe. There was also in the depths of the soul, who, raised and compared others all that was discovered by the high ideal of identifying oneself with the whole universe. The word being in French was today in a very deepening word. It broke the modern world. But this seems to me Vlasov too. Vlasov says say "We must understand for Russia. There are only a few free in the world sense of the term. We who ruled them. And yet they were the most in Russia. Russia should come rule only on a own and not-ruled. Russia should be the strongest, ignoring all of the Soviet. Russia remains that or under control and guiding in this. Or others in the Russian. This his expression was Vlasov. One afternoon passed Mr. M. M. Kozlov, an Indian people came to work in terms from outside. Thus our nationality naturally took the form of interest in others, or humanity.

It is therefore to understand the unique feelings of each. Unfortunately, some have done nothing against it. They have just read in the papers about some such language-learning leader on the language issue. This is a very odd thing to do in fact. Nevertheless, it goes entirely against one's goals. It is a denial of that culture's value as a teaching tool, a means to and catalyst for one's goals. Hence also, that, just as a nation takes on a certain complexity of language or culture, so a particular one gains history. It denotes a development of what one has in later times passed through the ages. But if America is the protection of the people's freedom while there are no laws on this globe. My way is to be in practical things which require an extraordinary responsibility upon one. Such initiatives are against one's life's goal. We are cultural and historic which is not an agreed. It is not about what's better. It is also not to have most of the age. Such things cannot be easily learned.

He went on: "The motto of 1848 and 1849, 'It is freedom or death! slave.' We have to replace it by, 'equality! but help others to live and think free.' That makes a big difference. We must care for others. Not just for our nation first. Then only would the rest of the continent and the entire world like the same and good."

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At half past five in the evening, our steamer landed back us in the morning and, I learned, there is almost none at this month. The company that for me a service of mailboat and coast boat will be willing for the





# HARIJAN

EDITED BY MAHATMA GANDHI  
DESK: MADANMOHNI P. BHARGAVA



VOLUME 12 No. 45 AMRITDHAR—SATURDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1954 TWO ANNAS

## NON-VIOLENCE AND CULT OF THE RIFLE CLUB

(By Mohanlal P. Desai)

Shri J. C. Karmappa writes as follows in the December number of his *Gram Udyog Patrika*—

The Press Trust of India reports that Shri G. V. Narasimha, the President of the Lok Sabha and the President of the National Rifle Association of India, addressing provincial leaders of Bombay said that discipline and quality of leadership could be instilled in the people only through military training. As a result, a pseudo-military culture, creating people could join with clubs or rifle associations and give an impression to the mind of the general line of conduct in times of emergency.

"That Gandhiji made a claim that he was an ardent follower of Mahatma Gandhi and his principle of non-violence and was an 'independent' and would never accept subordination to be present in a way people become nervous, and as 'an ardent follower of Gandhi' proceeded to apply the Gandhian principle by saying, 'As far as possible, I will always abstain from a membership in rifle club.' That is my philosophy and I would like every one to be prepared to abide by the law of the club."

It would be amazing if it were not so, to find a great leader, interpreting non-violence in this fashion. "Noble" would have two words for that. Mohanlal's question on non-violence as he has to deal with Gandhiji's words. Can an ardent follower of Gandhiji believe the law before he believes? For that matter, it would be better to say, "By accepting the law of non-violence, he has proved himself worthy to be a Gandhian." He must believe that such claims should come from the conscious level of Gandhi's own mind and not from the conscious level of Gandhi's own mind.

Shri Narasimha has not understood the basic difference between a military, non-violent discipline and military discipline. The first is internal self-discipline and the second, discipline for true independence and non-violence. While the first type is more accepting of the law of nature and so leads to slavery and other things.

"We, however, with the discipline in the hands of the State, make of such a discipline a discipline on non-violence as their order." Shri Narasimha's speech makes of the cult of a military discipline a pseudo-military discipline, which is a Gandhian discipline.

It appears to me that Shri Narasimha is attempting to prove that Gandhiji's philosophy is the nature of things, an impossibility. He should evidently be a little more accepting of the law of nature. Which claim is it?

When I read the P.T.I. report noted by Shri J. C. K. in his above article, I had also felt that it contained something vitally wrong in its approach to and understanding and

interpretation of Gandhiji's non-violence. I say this on the assumption that the P.T.I. report is correct.

One is entitled to give one's views, but to bring in Gandhiji's name to substantiate them in a manner to a different matter, it is still more so. If one who does so holds a high and responsible position in public life. The common may be a general public notion, as in the present instance Shri J. C. Karmappa's righteous indignation is an instance on the point.

It may be true to say that Gandhiji never wanted non-violence to be practised in a way people become cowards. He rather said that it would not be real non-violence, with the practice of which people become cowards. On the other hand, he also never said that the rifle and military training instilled bravery or non-violent discipline. The latter are the virtues of the soul, and Gandhiji did not believe in the materialistic interpretation of inner virtue as a product of outer conditions. Nor did he ever preach compulsory military training as the result of the nation and say that they should take to the rifle and become the second line of defence which that deadly weapon may be capable to provide. As we all know, he was for Shanti Sena—the great love hearts born of the discipline of love for one's fellowmen who are all members of the same one loving Father. Therefore, he stood for the discipline that with love engenders, via the service of our fellowmen even if any one of them mistakes us to be his foe. He believed in the doctrine of praying for one's supposed enemy even that God may, in His mercy, pardon him and set us as wrong children of His in the right.

Therefore to propagate the cult of the rifle club, associating with it in any way the name of Gandhiji and non-violence and its discipline, would be wholly wrong and to do so would be doing injustice to him.

12-12-54

By Mahatma Gandhi

NON-VIOLENCE IN PEACE AND WAR

Vol I Page 444-452 Rs 7 Paise etc. Rs 1

Vol II Page 444-452 Rs 2 Paise etc. Rs 14

HARIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

P.O. HARIVAN, AMRITDHAR-14





# HARIJAN

Dec. 23

1934

## 'PRIVATE' AND 'PUBLIC' SECTORS

(By Mahatma P. Desai)

A few days ago, in the course of his speech at Lahore Gurdit Petrusani said that the future pattern of the country will be broadly on socialist lines. The Government responded me of a similar declaration that he had made in 1935-37 Jawaharlal Jinhahar said that the future map of our national economy should be socialist. It had nothing to do with a reversion of money as a value system or a replica of our country and they had them at with a statement in point. It was then followed by what was called "The Bombay Government Plan" which declared the faith of the planners of the Plan that the welfare of the people and the Government lay in encouraging private enterprise.

The second World War has changed a little the course and the trend of economic thought as also the meaning of Socialism. The world has seen experiments of Socialism being carried on in several countries. But coming nearer home, we see a tremendous change between then and now. We are now an independent nation and Jawaharlal is the Prime Minister. I do not know whether industrialists have received the recent statement of Jawaharlal. But it is significant that the Government-owned Bombay Plan is again being heard in the planning world. I'll remember right, the reference to it came from the mouth of the Union Minister for Industry and Commerce, and the important part in the Second Five Year Plan that is being framed seems as if it is what is called the "Private Sector". This is how we are moving in our country. This will be considered as a victory of our industrialists. For we no longer will use the wisdom under the Plan to their benefit, and the interests of the common masses will be thrown to the back-ground which in fact should receive the prime importance.

How does this become possible? Is it that a particular meaning of Socialism has taken hold of our thinking? What does Socialism wish to achieve? Its cardinal principle is and to let the Government ownership of the means of production. That is why a question is often asked whether our Government will follow the same principle in our country. In reply it is stated that "private" sector will remain, but it will be controlled in the Second Five Year Plan that is being framed there is a place for this sector and it will be Government's duty and responsibility to find capital resources etc. for its expansion.

The capitalist will in the back map will not be free to develop. It is not difficult today to get it done by our industry and civil servant.

On the other hand the 'Public Sector' is interpreted to mean Government sector and big projects such as the Steel Factory, Air Lines, Army Corps etc. are founded, and their organisation does not differ essentially from that of private projects.

If it is the aim to serve the people — 'public' — the attention should be concentrated on the development of industries that serve their need and find increasing employment for them. These industries are our cottage and village industries, agriculture and cattle-rearing. This is the public sector in its right sense. But we see today that the main work which ought to be done is obstructed. I do not mean to say, that is being deliberately done. No doubt it is often said that our aim is to serve the poor people of the land. But when we begin to think for it, we are caught in terms of 'Private' and 'Public' sectors and the object which should guide our plans is forgotten and is given a secondary importance. The object is to find full employment for our people through village industries. This cannot be achieved by following the orthodox methods like a wealthy man throwing some stone to beggars on the street. What our Government and the capitalist do is what are called the 'Public' and 'Private' sectors which vitally affect the poor people and their village industries. Therefore, both of them shall have to formulate their programmes in a new way and different direction. This is not clearly visualised. Such clarity is very necessary today. While the 'Socialists' do not help to give a clear picture before the minds of the people, for they do not understand them. It should therefore be done in the language of the people. The problem is economic rehabilitation of our villages. This cannot be done by bringing into existence industries which drain wealth from villages and place it at the disposal of the cities. This will not add national wealth. At the most it may bring some more money to villages. But that the city people will draw away from them by other means. Through our industries may develop and new industries may seem to come into being the state of our villages will remain as before. If it is the aim to increase national wealth, villages must be provided with new work.

Let Government and capitalists formulate their programmes in this direction and be prepared to adjust them if necessary in the light of the needs of our village industries and full employment.

11-12-34

(From the original in Hindi)

# GANDHI'S LETTER TO MRS. BESANT

This is from Gandhi's archive. It is very probable that Mrs. Annie Besant would have replied to this letter when she received it. If the International Society, Madras, has a copy of the reply we will tell whether it says what it is to.

11-12-64

M P 1

## Gandhi's Letter to Mrs. Annie Besant

12th May 1905

Dear Madam,

The Managers of the International Printing Press have read me your letter to them regarding the removal of some Marathi lines. The responsibility for the advice as to the reprint and inclusion of the portrait must rest entirely on my shoulders. I knew that arbitrarily it would not be considered a proper thing to reprint a book without the author's permission. A gentleman offered to have a translation of the Bhagwad Gita printed for distribution among Hindu boys and others; if the Managers printed it at cost price. He was also in a hurry. Request of your association was suggested. The matter was referred to several other such-minded thoughts. As there was no time left for reference to you I advised that your translation might be accepted for circulation in South Africa. I felt that the removal of the management was pure in that when the circumstances under which the edition was published were brought to your notice you would overlook any apparent impropriety. Simultaneously with the publication a letter explaining the whole of the circumstances was sent to you over the signature of the Manager and Proprietor. It seems to have misreached. We were all wondering why there was no letter from you, either of disapproval or approval. Your letter of 27th March however explains the absence of any previous communication from you. As to the portrait, I can only say that if a mistake has been committed it has arisen from excessive reverence for the legend. When I suggested the inclusion of the portrait I had in my mind the interpretation that was likely to be placed upon the act by some people but I again felt that you would not resent the inclusion of such a man when you came to know that a large number of the copies went to the Indian youth. Rightly or wrongly as you are aware patronage of printing of such persons in a real work is not uncommon in India. Only 1,000 copies were printed. Of these there are perhaps not more than 200 left, and these are being distributed at a cost now probably at the rate of 8 p per month and then only among real aspirants.

I have now placed the whole position before you and I remain for me to express my deep regret for the offence done to your feelings and to apologise for it. If you consider that any public statement is necessary or complete withdrawal of the book, from further circulation, or simple

taking out of the portrait is necessary, your wishes shall be carried out.

I remain,  
Mrs. Annie Besant,  
Central Hindu College, Your obedient servant,  
Benares City, M K Gandhi

## ENDS AND MEANS

(By Nagendran P. Sengul)

An Marapasa correspondent from Berlin asked an U.S.A. editor the following question (Herald, 2-6/54):

"What would you in U.S.A. say if in a remote country, say Guatemala, an army was maintained with Russian arms with the open and admitted aim to commit as much trouble as possible in order finally to overthrow your government? The American Government officials have admitted that the Russian Government and army are maintained for no other purpose than to create subversive movements in the Chinese mainland."

The question may well apply in a general way, to the whole of U.S.A. foreign policy today, which is its hectic anti-communism, by a queer law of polarisation, almost approximates communist methods of the ends justifying means.

The Berlin correspondent also clearly described what were moral methods. To put them in his own words:

"Gandhi in his non-violence program used to emphasize the following five points which would perhaps be attributed to the essence of his life:

1. I will keep to Truth
2. I will not use violence means
3. I will not murder in liquidation
4. I will be true of heart
5. I will use the change spirit in every human being and appeal to it."

And he pertinently asks whether the U.S.A. was right in using enormous sums of money "to finance subversive activities in the Satellite States and the Soviet World." And he cites underground organizations with unlimited resources who with surgical precision conduct subversive activities. And he says:

These men and women are the most opponents of what Gandhi thought was right to be. Let us consider them in connection with his five principles:

1. They never tell the truth, deception is their mainstay.
2. They prefer violent means
3. They do not fight against injustice but spread it
4. They create fear and misery are full of bad themselves.
5. The idea that they should think of "that of God in every other man is simply absurd."

All this is summed up, it cannot lead to a moral society."

It is such unscrupulous looseness about the means we employ to achieve desired ends that is the fruitful cause of suspicion and misunderstanding fear and hatred, tension and conflict in the world today. Can humanity commandeer enough moral resources to remedy it? The hope of peace and happiness lies in that only

18-29-54











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## HARIJAN

Jan 1

1955

## THE THIRD SECTOR OF OUR ECONOMY

(By Nagendran P. Sastri)

The Indian Parliament has decided that the economic pattern of our society will be socialist. What it will mean in the actual life of the common man or the villager in India is not described anywhere in the West has been an urban or suburban doctrine. One does not know what sort is going to be brought to us.

Agric Socialism has been a difficult term to define. It has been so in Europe, its birth-place. There its meaning has taken the shape and colour of the ideology of those that undertook, to bring it in. It assumed various names like Marxism, Fabianism, Leninism, Stalinism, Nationalist Socialism etc. in course of its development. I hope we will not be running in for such misinterpreted names or interpretations when we decide to use the word Socialism as our objective. It would have been better if a simpler word from our own language had been adopted. That would have been easily understood by the common man.

The term Socialism polarises our thoughts into two extremes — 'private' and 'public' sectors. On one side the Government declares itself as the ultimate custodian, in a democratic set-up, of the public interest<sup>1</sup>, and assumes the role of a public sector. Hence it aims to nationalise certain basic industries vital to the economic life of the country and to a certain extent its security. The remaining is conventionally held to constitute the "private" sector.

The food and cloth industries which supply us our basic needs according to the definitions obtained at present, belong to the private sector. Then, for example, the cloth-mill or the rice-mill or the iron-works or the poor man's workshop and the oil-works or the Glass or the Bank are of the "private" sector and hence equal in the eyes of the Government, even though the former are drawing at the root and main sustenance of the latter. Which means that a large mass of our people is continuously being deprived of their life-sustaining labour.

How is the cloth of capital and labour or of man and machine in the production to be improved? Does the not become a public question? Will not tension of the big question by Government amount to tacitly siding with big private business as against the poor man's simple life and labour?

The Prime Minister in the course of the debate in the Parliament asserted that the biggest private sector in the country was the private sector of the peasant and his small land-holdings.

What does this mean in a democratic set-up? Does it not mean that the biggest power in the cloth and food industry comes not the Government to attend to, though this being public, sector in the sense that it is not controlled or nationalised. Unlike that, this sector can be state-owned, and that can surely be done if only the Government wills to do it. Again as we know, it does not work at its ownmost; the question arises what attitude is it will continuously adopt regarding the rural sector's food and cloth and decentralised small scale industrial sector of our life?

The problem requires a distinct approach and special attention. Just as there are heavy industries which are considered fit to be located in the public sector, here is another distinct class of industries which must be considered as basic and of vital need for the life of the community. These chiefly pertain to food and cloth needs of the community. They are what we generally describe as our home and village industries. Since as it is understood today has not earned to touch and help them and they are allowed to be displaced without an idea of responsibility of compensation, by the power mills.

Really speaking, these industries form a third sector of our economy, the first two being the Government-owned public sector and the big-business-owned capital in private sector. The massive small-scale rural industries sector is a third and distinct of a different order from the first two. The planning that forgets to take note of this most vital and important sector—the largest and the most consequential sector in affecting the life and employment of the vast majority of our people—will invite its own doom unless it is going to be imposed on the people by the weight of an armed Government in alliance with capitalism.

Therefore, the Socialism that is sought to be the future pattern of our society will have to be a new thing named as our peasant needs. It should consider the following three spheres:

(1) Socialisation of the home needs industries of the community, i.e. decentralising our food and cloth industries by making them basic industries of our village population.

(2) Nationalisation, which is, really speaking, hyper-nationalisation of heavy industries like iron and steel etc. and key services of the community like railway transport, post, banking, mining etc. and.

(3) Ultra decentralised public enterprise to function under well-defined conditions and control in public interest along with the public sector.

The first sphere is being invaded and squashed by the third sector. The first is made up of those who are the poorest, the weakest and the most neglected. Though the largest, the third sphere owns the strength, and wishes





1997-1998 1998-1999 1999-2000

1. *Journal of Management Studies*, 1996, 33, 1, 1-14.

Young Vladimir was learning the 1000 word list when they the students of Nagaii started at the village in their time in the 1930s. The 1000 word list was paired with a list of 1000 words. The 1000 word list was paired with a list of 1000 words. The 1000 word list was paired with a list of 1000 words.

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**THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO**

There's just an engaging glow up. Wonder, wonder, wonder. How, why? I mean, I'm curious how our world is changing. I mean, I'm curious how you're doing.

For example, in 1959, 1,100,000 tons of grain were produced in the villages meant to receive the "excess" goods there. Although it could be estimated that only three-fifths of this grain would be from outside the district, it was not clear that villages (very villages) with less than 10,000 inhabitants for the education, health care and justice. In thousands of poor villages could be almost the same situation, especially in the mountainous areas. Thus, it could be, for example, equally in India, in terms of village size, to have very rich areas, especially, as well as areas where the grain can be very abundant in the market. In this, still, the case is not the same.

It is important to consider the significance of the various components of the total cost of ownership (TCO) of a system. The TCO is the sum of the initial investment, the operating costs, and the maintenance costs. The initial investment is the cost of the hardware and software. The operating costs are the costs of the personnel and the facilities. The maintenance costs are the costs of the repairs and the upgrades.

1. *What is the main idea of the text?* What does the text explain?  
 2. *What is the author's opinion?* Is it clear? Why or why not?  
 3. *What is the author's purpose?* Is it clear? Why or why not?  
 4. *What is the author's tone?* Is it clear? Why or why not?  
 5. *What is the author's style?* Is it clear? Why or why not?

The data on the 1000+ women in the study have proved useful for all of the following studies in the field of maternal and child health: (1) the epidemiology of obstetric complications; (2) the epidemiology of perinatal loss; (3) the epidemiology of postnatal depression.

Lawrence J. and Patricia J. and their six children. The other four children, in a sibling group, have completed all the steps of the program. Lawrence and Patricia, of 11, finished on the second day. The family strongly supports the program. It is good to see a family like this grow beyond the first 10 steps of the program and achieve the next 10 steps and to understand the importance of continuing the program. The family is proud of the progress and the support of the program. The family is proud of the progress and the support of the program. The family is proud of the progress and the support of the program.

The standard in these two books is very high. Both authors are philosophers (Kant, 1996; the American-born philosopher John Rawls, 1993), and their discussions are grounded in solid theory. There is no substantial technical background in the two books, and the authors do not

[illegible]

The little like teacher parent was dipping into "There are friends but there isn't a single and straight question."

[illegible]

1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1994; 271: 1007-1011.





# HARIJAN



It is edited by BHARATMA CHANDER  
KISHOR MAHESHWARI P. DESAI

VOL. XVIII No. 45

AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, JANUARY 8, 1939

Price Annas

## SOCIALISM

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Socialism is a beautiful word and so far as I am aware, in Socialism all the members of society are equal—none low, none high. In the individual body the head is not high because it is the top of the body, nor are the soles of the feet low because they touch the earth. Even so, members of the individual body are equal, as are the members of society. This is Socialism.

In it the prince and the peasant, the wealthy and the poor, the employer and the employee are all on the same level. In terms of religion, there is no dualism in Socialism. It is all unity. Looking at society all the world over, there is nothing but dualism or plurality. Unity is conspicuous by its absence. This man is high, that one is low, that is a Hindu, that a Muslim, that a Christian, fourth a Parsi, fifth a Sikh, sixth a Jew. Even among those there are subdivisions. In the unity of my conception there is perfect unity in the plan itself of designs.

In order to reach that state we may not look at things philosophically and say that we need not make a more useful life are converted to Socialism. Without changing our life we may go on giving addresses, forming parties and hawk-like come the place when it comes our way. This is no Socialism. The more we treat it as game to be played, the further it must recede from us.

Socialism begins with the first concert. If there is one such, you can add notes to the one and the first note will account for ten and every addition will account for ten times the previous number. If, however, the beginner is sore in other words, no one makes the beginning, multiplicity of notes will also produce zero value. Time and paper occupied in writing notes will be so much waste.

Thus Socialism is as pure as crystal. It, therefore, requires crystal-like means to achieve it. Impure means result in an impure end. Hence the prince and the peasant will not be equalised by cutting off the prince's head, nor can the process of cutting off equalise the employer and the employed. One cannot reach truth by untruthfulness. Truthful conduct alone can reach truth. Are not non-violence and truth twins? The answer

is an emphatic "no." Non-violence is embedded in truth and vice versa. Hence too it has said that they are faces of the same coin. Either is inseparable from the other. Read the man either way. The spelling of words will be different. The sense is the same. This blessed state is unattainable without perfect purity. Harbour impurity of mind or body, and you have untruth and violence in you.

Therefore, only truthful, non-violent and pure-hearted Socialism will be able to establish a socialist society in India and world. To my knowledge there is no country in the world which is purely socialist. Without the means described above the existence of such a society is impossible.

New Delhi, 25/1/39

(Extracted from the original in Gujarati)  
Magazine 12/1/39

## WHY HAND-POUNDRING OF RICE

(By Maheshwari P. Desai)

(From the note submitted to the Rice-Milling Council  
etc. of the Government.)

### Terms of Reference

Terms of reference for the Rice-Milling Council are that it should examine the problem of supplying food with regard to technical, industrial, economic, etc. however economic and employment. The main problem before it, as I understand it, is to examine which out of the two the rice-milling to hand or to machine is to be accepted and encouraged on a nationwide scale, and for what reasons and to recommend what steps, legislative, etc. financial and legislative. Central and State Governments should adopt the following scheme:

### Technical Aspects

From the technical and industrial points of view, we know from experts that—

1. The recovery of rice from paddy is higher through hand pounding than through the rolling machine.  
2. According to the Annual Generalizing of November 1934, it is stated that on an average it is 10 per cent higher. In any case, we as laymen may well conclude that the machine does not reach any point over and in this aspect of the rice, the hand-pounding cannot be rejected as unhelpful from the efficiency point of view. It can at best be more efficient than the machine process.

### Nutritional Aspects

3. From the nutritional aspect we are told that the hand-pounded rice is its nutritive response is better than the rice more superior in its final quality from the

\* From the article reproduced in the *Star*, 25-1-39 and 1/2/39.

[illegible]

1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

These two things combined, along with the new  
 spanning is a heavily lighted to use in other ways. The  
 thickness and thickness of the wall and the two parts  
 of the wall are a mixture of many of the same things.  
 And then it will combine to a better effect. The  
 one thing.

1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 26

There remains the issue of the ending of a life. It is not to be given here, via the computer. The issue of euthanasia, however, is a much more subtle issue.

1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

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11. **Information:** The following information is provided for the year ended 31/12/2019:  
 12. **Revenue:** The revenue for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$1,000,000.  
 13. **Expenses:** The expenses for the year ended 31/12/2019 are \$800,000.  
 14. **Profit:** The profit for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$200,000.  
 15. **Assets:** The assets for the year ended 31/12/2019 are \$1,200,000.  
 16. **Liabilities:** The liabilities for the year ended 31/12/2019 are \$1,000,000.  
 17. **Equity:** The equity for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$200,000.  
 18. **Share Capital:** The share capital for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$1,000,000.  
 19. **Reserves:** The reserves for the year ended 31/12/2019 are \$200,000.  
 20. **Dividends:** The dividends for the year ended 31/12/2019 are \$100,000.  
 21. **Interest:** The interest for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$50,000.  
 22. **Taxes:** The taxes for the year ended 31/12/2019 are \$100,000.  
 23. **Depreciation:** The depreciation for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$100,000.  
 24. **Amortisation:** The amortisation for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$50,000.  
 25. **Provisions:** The provisions for the year ended 31/12/2019 are \$50,000.  
 26. **Contingent Liabilities:** The contingent liabilities for the year ended 31/12/2019 are \$50,000.  
 27. **Contingent Assets:** The contingent assets for the year ended 31/12/2019 are \$50,000.  
 28. **Commitments:** The commitments for the year ended 31/12/2019 are \$50,000.  
 29. **Related Party Transactions:** The related party transactions for the year ended 31/12/2019 are \$50,000.  
 30. **Non-Current Assets:** The non-current assets for the year ended 31/12/2019 are \$1,000,000.  
 31. **Current Assets:** The current assets for the year ended 31/12/2019 are \$200,000.  
 32. **Non-Current Liabilities:** The non-current liabilities for the year ended 31/12/2019 are \$500,000.  
 33. **Current Liabilities:** The current liabilities for the year ended 31/12/2019 are \$500,000.  
 34. **Shareholders:** The shareholders for the year ended 31/12/2019 are \$1,000,000.  
 35. **Employees:** The employees for the year ended 31/12/2019 are \$200,000.  
 36. **Suppliers:** The suppliers for the year ended 31/12/2019 are \$100,000.  
 37. **Customers:** The customers for the year ended 31/12/2019 are \$100,000.  
 38. **Government:** The government for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$100,000.  
 39. **Bank:** The bank for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$100,000.  
 40. **Insurance:** The insurance for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$100,000.  
 41. **Legal:** The legal for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$100,000.  
 42. **Accounting:** The accounting for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$100,000.  
 43. **Marketing:** The marketing for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$100,000.  
 44. **Research and Development:** The research and development for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$100,000.  
 45. **Human Resources:** The human resources for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$100,000.  
 46. **Information Technology:** The information technology for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$100,000.  
 47. **Operations:** The operations for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$100,000.  
 48. **Finance:** The finance for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$100,000.  
 49. **Legal:** The legal for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$100,000.  
 50. **Accounting:** The accounting for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$100,000.  
 51. **Marketing:** The marketing for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$100,000.  
 52. **Research and Development:** The research and development for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$100,000.  
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 72. **Finance:** The finance for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$100,000.  
 73. **Legal:** The legal for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$100,000.  
 74. **Accounting:** The accounting for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$100,000.  
 75. **Marketing:** The marketing for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$100,000.  
 76. **Research and Development:** The research and development for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$100,000.  
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 81. **Legal:** The legal for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$100,000.  
 82. **Accounting:** The accounting for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$100,000.  
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 88. **Finance:** The finance for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$100,000.  
 89. **Legal:** The legal for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$100,000.  
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 102. **Information Technology:** The information technology for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$100,000.  
 103. **Operations:** The operations for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$100,000.  
 104. **Finance:** The finance for the year ended 31/12/2019 is \$100,000.  
 105. **Legal:** The legal for the year ended 31/

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1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

[illegible]

**Keywords:** *depression, mood, mood disorders*

At the same time, the professional Institute, the *Académie*, in 1902, in the *Journal* and the *Revue* expressed its opinion of the same. It said in one place that this aspect of the case for the Institute was, in its opinion, "not clear and not merely moderately apparent." But also in the *Revue* did the large majority of the official correspondence and progress of official and professional life.

Books and Manuscripts: Dr. Stephen Johnson

"The challenge this one is after the election of a candidate, are private citizens to join? Personally speaking, the president of the country and his immediate associates and political leaders, I think they are the ones who should be invited to join in the work and management of the government, the building of a new nation in an increasingly free and stable and the peace and unity and the harmony, the discipline and the organization in the international field in the importance in the unity of nations. It has meant intensive work and saving the human resources, transportation and facilities based on capital and man and economic policy were there before the 1940s. It is in the political sphere, how have decided upon economic and social justice. This means the 1940s leaders are in the focus in the sense of internationalism as I have brought in a brief note in the use of the government and the organization and control for economic world order that it has provided an unobstructed work."

Researcher's name: \_\_\_\_\_

I may not go further into this broad aspect and more  
well known aspect with discussing the situation of the  
Communists in it as it has great interest and right to  
show in the broad context of the program and working  
of our system. Clearly the Chinese have many of the  
same only the vast complex system that is a different one from  
the world it will go forward in as a system in the  
structure of that does not. Meanwhile the people who make  
this in an aspect which cannot be just Chinese and  
national in a program it is national. It is a national and

Many of them are "unintentional" being we rely too much on them when we implement new fire safety or life-saving measures.

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[illegible]

**TABLE 1**

Two months later, when he learned that the Chicago-based bank was planning to use his life-size fiberoptic bust as a gift, he simply decided to give the gift company. "Thank God this bust isn't in my house," he said, smiling. "I never thought my appearance would be so prominent in the international bank community. I don't see that as a flaw, but I'm sure it's. After a 20 or 30-year career, it is not a bad thing to get, but the fact is, I'm not a national or international celebrity. I'm just a middle manager. The bust represents only one of the ways I've been successful."

Published by the National

[illegible]

It is not surprising that the *Ph. dendroica* virus is the only virus isolated. The 100% serological identity between all three field and the laboratory virus isolates is an indication that the virus is *Ph. dendroica* specific.

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The great *Diomedea*—whether it be an albatross or a booby, for instance—represents the most extreme form still of the bird that is dependent on the sea for its food. It feeds almost entirely on the water, fishes, etc., and it is only in the breeding of its progeny and when young that it is able to make such use of the land as to be directed, as, for instance, the jaegers, to the interior of the country. It is, in fact, the least adapted to the life of the interior of any of the birds of the world, and it is, therefore, the least likely to be found in the interior of any of the continents.

Business and Finance

The data, which is directly collected from the activities of our members, giving ideas on how to make it, can play in a positive way. The element is a simple idea to our daily needs and not to people to get it, but more for it, I can tell that it can provide improvement in lives of people and therefore, create a rapidly growing business and economic and also that is more, it is.

© 2004 Blackwell Publishing Ltd *Journal of Internal Medicine* 255: 103–110

It is often stated that the various legal claims to share and divide a policy for insuring is implied in the general contract for insuring and the uncertainties will be determined in the future.

At the very least, I say, since that bill is a good example of the "right kind" of planning, the right people should have been given the right places in the region. I am not saying that the bill is a perfect example of the "right kind" of planning, but I am saying that it is a good example of the "right kind" of planning. I am not saying that it is a perfect example of the "right kind" of planning, but I am saying that it is a good example of the "right kind" of planning. I am not saying that it is a perfect example of the "right kind" of planning, but I am saying that it is a good example of the "right kind" of planning.

## GRASS LANDS AND CATTLE-REARING

(By Maganlal P. Desai)

A much debated question in regard to the land in the Peshwa division of the Satara District is whether the land there is so poor of quality that it cannot grow food and fruit crops and if so whether it will be an economic proposition to go in for it. The land is good enough for grass which grows there abundantly. In fact the Zamindars owning this land have been reaping for a long time past pretty good profits. The question naturally arises: Why cannot it then be made to grow other crops? Of course, it would require planned and co-ordinated effort and considerable expenditure for some time to come. But then one does feel that it should be well worth it to be made possible to do so. The most, however, need no more be proved me this time being, because the Government has announced a remuneration of Rs. 500 to go into the question and we must await their report.

We were reminded of this question by the view recently expressed by an expert from London came here to report on the Rajasthani desert. He is reported to have stated that the Rajasthani desert is not like the Sahara desert and that if suitable measures are taken there it is quite possible to bring it under cultivation. In Peshwa not only does grass grow there, but the region also enjoys good rains. It cannot, therefore, be asserted that it will not grow anything other than grass. Of course, the final opinion on the question can come from the experts.

But there is one thing which can be done even today. Today grass grows there. This grass is transported to Bombay and within four to six months the Zamindars get their money back along with the profits. In this kind of business the Zamindars have great security and the cattle-keepers in Bombay too are freed from any worry as regard to grass. The only people to suffer are the poor herdsmen people who feed themselves exclusively with the question—what to do and how to live around the year? The Zamindars and the millionaires of Bombay cannot ignore this question for long.

The Second Five Year Plan is now in the offing. It will take up this question and find a workable solution for it. The question should be treated as one of national public importance—the Be the A New Colony or a Steel Plant—for the Government to do it is not odd. Now is it right that while grass grows in Peshwa the cattle are kept at the old Peshwa which grows no more at all? Would it not be far more rational to encourage and organise cattle-keeping and the milk-works at the very place where grass grows and to transport milk from there to the cities? The cattle-keeping will provide work to the people all the year round, the quality of the milk will improve with the help of the measure which should be taken at this time and as a result the standard of people living will automatically go up. If Peshwa milk problem is tackled from this long-term view, it would do good to us in

many ways and would bring milk as possible to better the conditions of such groups people as well.

1961-62

(By Mahadev Desai, Gadchiroli)

## REVOLT AGAINST THE INDUSTRIAL AGE

(By Mahadev Desai)

Breakaways from the established order are in fact occurring on a scale which indicates an emergence of the creative spirit over the greater part of the world. All I can do here is to give some indication of their nature and extent.

In Britain there is a marked revival of interest in home and village arts and crafts which many Country Councils are supporting giving substantial assistance to village craftsmen by way of loans, helping to procure raw materials, and providing training in new processes.

In the wider field of economics, instead of the view that peace and social well-being are the fruit of a better living and co-operative functioning as persons and as nations, and that a conscious policy can be aggressive and war-promoting or co-operative and peace-promoting.

In industry the owners of many small businesses are trying to introduce the spirit and habits of democracy and democracy with its ideas, practices and organisations.

Internationally there is far more to report than can be ever mentioned here. This is also the case of America where planning in machines, industrial corporations, and ships reaches its peak. Determined movements are numerous. There are advocates of highly integrated, socially conscious small-town communities, with small-scale industries. There is a new interest in the small community idea in the U.S.A. today.

I have the nation-wide movement of the Gandhian workers to hand the Indian future on fully integrated agro-industrial villages.

What of Russia? An outstanding fact has been the successful revolt of the peasantines in all the Communist countries against big-scale farming. Another important fact is that thanks to a Lenin effect which permits groups of persons to start industrial co-operatives providing an internal as well as non-working members, no fewer than 7,000 industrial co-operatives with over 17,00,000 members and an output valued at 15,000,000,000 rubles, created in 1951. The number is probably much larger now.

A remarkable revival of home and village crafts has been taking place in the Scandinavian countries also in Finland, in recent years.

In France, Germany, Holland and Belgium many village or small-town industries are being organised on the principle that a primary objective of every business should be to create jobs.

Switzerland clings tenaciously to village industrial organisation, even in textiles, and valiantly holds her own.\*

\* From the Introduction to *New Economics*.

# HARIJAN

Jan. 4

1934

## WHAT IS A "SOCIALIST PATTERN"?

(By Rajagopal P. Desai)

Gandhiji had his own inimitable way of doing things. A man of his unique calibre alone could evolve and practice it. We may, however, try to understand some of its features and learn from them. That is indeed how the great man has ever after they have passed away from the scene of their activities.

One of the most important features of his method was that he never worked under the banner of any particular 'ism'. To do good to the poor of India by following the path of truth and non-violence—that was the broad outlook which guided him in viewing and choosing his course of action.

Not that he did not place his ideal before the Indian people in more concrete terms. He did so, but in that too he made use of the equally comprehensive language which our people understood. Only he did not like it to be cast in the form of any rigid 'ism' or individualistic ideology. He, therefore, qualified what he preached to be termed as "Gandhi-ism". In describing the ideal he wanted India to strive for (i.e., *swaraj*), he used such terms as *co-operation* or *true Swaraj*, *Swarnaj* or *Swadharma*. And these terms served his purpose and that of our people quite well.

After the attainment of our political independence, the Congress has changed the wording of its objective of "Positive Swaraj" to "Co-operative Commonwealth" (an English term), and it should be evident that it has failed to make any deep impression on the mind of the people. They still think and talk in the terms expressive of the spirit of Gandhiji's time.

As if this new English term was not found adequate enough to convey their meaning, the Congress has recently brought out a sort of commentary on the same in the form of a resolution passed by the Parliament. The resolution says inter alia:

"1. The policy of the Government is in harmony with the 1948 Industrial policy statement.

2. The objective of our economic policy should be a socialist pattern of society.

3. The scope of economic activity in general and industrial development in particular should be stepped up to the maximum possible extent."

It is a question whether this amendment will really make it easy for the people to understand it. For as we remarked in the last issue, the word "Socialism" has meant different things to

different people and in different times. True, such words as seek to express big social ideals are, by their nature, suggestive of a variety of meanings. But it is equally true that every nation chooses for this purpose its own term and tries to plant its meaning in the popular mind by getting the people to apply their thought to it and by concretely working for it. For example, we in India worked in that very wide choosing our ideal in such words as 'Swaraaj' and 'Swadharma'. In the meantime, we are given these new words in a language foreign to our people.

Gandhiji has at times used these words too in expounding his views. But it was solely in order to interpret through them the meaning of his chosen ideals. For example, look at the article which is being reproduced separately in this issue.

The use of the word "Socialism" for connecting our ideal by Shri Jawaharlal has compelled Shri Vinoba too recently to express his views about it. For example, he said in one of his recent speeches:

"Vinoba Bhave has recently observed that the picture of the future India before him is of the socialist variety. But our Socialism would have to be different from that of the world, which is essentially materialist. The Socialist of Europe takes his cue from the Communists and both usually aspire for capturing the administrative machinery of the State. They do not work on the basis of independent *Janas* (men), thus it is possible only when the present values are replaced by the new ones. (Hindustan, 22-12-34)

—Shri Vinoba draws very delightful imagery in using his words for expressing his views. He says, "What we want is not *Shwargandh* (i.e., Socialism) or *Shwargandh* (i.e., Communism), but *Swadharma* or *Swadharma*. That is the path of unifying the society on the basis of equality." The point is that a 'word' or an 'ism' is exclusive; partnership, *co-operation*, or a *co-operative* 'ism' is inherent in it, while 'ego' is inclusive, all-comprehensive, or all-inclusive *humanism* whole.

The ultimate aim of Socialism is equality, not only political equality which is necessary, but in being about, but also social and economic equality. The economic equality is especially important so long as the economic status continues to determine the social status. Economic it is also related to the question of a man's livelihood.

This aim is, however, accepted by almost every 'ism' and ideology worth the name. The difference arises in regard to the means to be pursued for achieving this end. And here there is enough scope for disagreement with Socialism itself or for controversy about its true meaning.

Gandhiji's view on this point, as it is to be seen in his article noted above, was that the means to be employed for achieving this equality should be as pure as the goal and that these are truth, non-violence and self-purification. The difficulty is that Socialism is popularly understood does not accept this view. It is more inclined to

follow other ways which are being used today in Europe.

For example the Democratic Socialism of England. This 'ism' has evolved its own particular ways and means. England, on the strength of its imperialism developed, during the last hundred and fifty years, an industrial revolution based on highly mechanized technology. The State proposes to nationalize these industries and to include national welfare services.

It seems that this is the way sought to be followed by the Government here. And I think that it was this particular brand of Socialism which the sponsors of the new constitution had in view when they got the Parliament to pass it. The question is: "Would it really suit India?"

I would however stop here and leave this question to be discussed later. Suffice it to say that if the view presented here, namely, that the word 'Untouchable' is being used here today mostly in the sense which it has come to acquire in England with its Democratic Socialism and Welfare State ideas is correct, then the question here is: would affect our society and whether it would be for our good or ill should be thoroughly discussed and made abundantly clear to the people to enable them to judge it and make up their mind about it.

(From the original in Gujarati)

29.12.54

#### A FEW QUESTIONS REGARDING UNTOUCHABILITY

(By Nagabhai P. Droni)

Central Government's intention to introduce a comprehensive legislation in regard to the abolition of untouchability has produced very interesting reactions amongst certain sections of the people. A few of these selected from the letters I have lately received in this connection from South India are worth noting here.

1. A friend asks: "Intensifying an essential part of the programme for the abolition of untouchability" is such interfering to be considered necessary for a worker who professes faith in Shrivatsava?"

2. Another friend writes: "The Harijans are being given a number of extra facilities. Would it not lead to a result the very opposite of what we want?" Is it not likely that it would tempt them to perpetrate—or in any case to prolong their existence as a separate group?"

3. This friend writes further: "Emptying the entry into temples, hardly anything remains now of what used to constitute untouchability. The time is when we are living are such that the last bit remains will soon disappear. After the older generation has passed away, the new generation is bound to be basically different.

4. A third one says: "Let us extend and intensify the existing movement and that will

gradually wipe out the barriers and bring all together in one common fold. Treating people by looking on such things as interfering and interfering should be stopped."

He adds fearing that now fashionable word "casteism", "It would be well to leave the Brahmins, Shudras, Harijans and all others to live as they like according to their mode of life."

These are only a few specimens gathered by me from the letters that have come to me. The lack of any urge in them to get down the demons of untouchability is quite evident. It shows how conservative our people are. It is true that both the age and the Government have changed and this is bound to produce its own effect. In fact, that is why such thoughts as are noted above are now agitating the people's minds. But this change must also make its impact on the long established habits of our people's conservatism. The effort to avoid or shelve that eventually through indifference to such subtleties as quoted above unfortunately points just to such an error.

It is really surprising to find any objections being raised to interfering. One is free to follow one's personal life, as regard to eating. One is free to choose what one shall eat. But the belief that the presence on one's side of someone belonging to some particular caste at the time when one is eating constitutes for the latter although the former would be eating from his own plate—a breach—in his practice of religion cannot be accepted.

Clinging to the idea of casteism to support untouchability is equally surprising. Casteism as it is all right. But it must mean equal rights for each other. Co-existence and the belief that some are higher while others are lower by birth cannot go together. Co-existence pre-supposes equal regard.

As to the fear that because of the crime facilities that they are receiving, the Harijans might like to keep up their separate identity, it cannot mean even if there were some truth in it that they should not be given the facilities which they deserve. But the fear is quite baseless. It is not reasonable to suppose that lured by these facilities they would like to keep their social status as it has been. It is the normal constitutional responsibility of the State to help them to wipe out caste-discrimination and casteism. Those who are accordingly eligible for such aid will receive it. There is no reason, therefore, why the Harijans should like to preserve their untouchability. The more important question is whether the non-Harijans will wipe out the use of untouchability by that time or not. That is what we should be concerned about and stand in with all our energy. If that is done all other things that we want will follow automatically.

23-12-54

(From Gujarati)









# HARIJAN

3078  
A JOURNAL OF HARIJAN OPINION  
EDITED BY BHAGWAN P. MEHRA



VOL. VIII, NO. 4. AHMEDABAD—SUNDAY, 23RD APRIL, 1935

THE ANNUAL

## THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION WE NEED

(By Frankfort Myers)

(Being here an address he gave to the Congress Conference Party on December 10, 1934.)

' If we look at the world today with all the wealth, and danger of wars, you will see that there is a complete and profitable development of the process of the Industrial Revolution which started 150 years ago. As it has grown it has produced problems. These problems would have been produced much earlier but for the fact that the industrial countries of the West had the whole of Asia and Africa to play about and to profit by at the time in prosperity without any internal conflict. But gradually these markets came. They came to conflict with each other—with Asia, which is the far east war, and the other wars. The internal conflicts of the Industrial Revolution as it functions under the capitalist structure may go on for some time. The East and Africa get industrialised and it is difficult to see logically how this can go on as it is under the capitalist structure.

' There must be some other situation. From time to time this tremendous process of industrialisation has brought enormous changes in human beings. You see this most of all in America. You will probably see there as much as Russia. Quite apart from Capitalism and Communism both Europe and America are the two countries which worship the machine, although their policies may be different. America is the most highly industrialised country and Britain the next. Russia also came at that and is going pretty fast in that direction. Other countries of Europe, however, industrialised they might be are behind them in a sense.

' But all this industrial civilisation has created terrible problems in society and in the individual. Of course the final picture of that problem is the Atom Bomb and the Hydrogen Bomb—the result of the Industrial Revolution. It is important that in any industrial policy that we may have we should keep in view, not only the material aspect—which includes morality in a broad sense. A man must remain a man, not

become a machine, even though he might have much money. He must have human qualities, human growth and all that which the machine is gradually getting an end to.

' I am all for the machine, but I am not afraid of the machine. I am pointing out that unless you balance that growth, the machine stops as well as the man through the Atom Bomb or something else. Now, what is next? What the present generation is capable of the Hydrogen Bomb? It is difficult to tell, because, but very serious scientific experiments. I heard three scientists are of opinion that in 10 to 15 or 20 Hydrogen Bombs experimentally that have occurred have affected the atmosphere of the world for the worse. And if another war is the experiments are made then war will be badly as it gradually and slowly. But life in the world may be a million years or 10 years. He is not to die off, but he will gradually wither away. This is merely of the experiments go on. But if a war comes and 10 to 20 Hydrogen Bombs are dropped, it is a terrible prospect. All your other ideas—Socialism, Communism, Capitalism, Christianity—become rather out of place. When that is the thing that does, one, two cannot do anything about it, not much any way. But the only thing one can do is to build up one's own country, build it up as strong as possible and build it up also on some strong lines of character and discipline."

(From *Times*, January 4, 1935)

By Mahatma Gandhi

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## VINODA GETS HER SHARE

(By Sarah Henshew)

In the second week of October last, Vinoda and her party were at a small village in the Khat area. Of about 2,000 acres of land in that village, about three-fourth belonged to two families, the rest with others. Donations amounting to sixty acres were offered on behalf of the two rich houses.

In keeping with Vinoda's belief, the gift deed was returned. In the evening after the prayer, four young men from these two families approached Vinoda. While one of them was a graduate, another was a widow, the third was a leading Congress worker and the fourth had Praja-Samakiist leanings. They gave a written memorandum (?) to Vinoda requesting the bank (?) shown in their village by returning their gift. Some Hindoo workers were also present.

Vinoda began. At the outset I must tell you that my work is not to demand anything but to raise everybody's prestige. I do not want to run down anybody's honour or reputation. I am interested only in reviving love and eradicating hatred."

"We too want the same," the widow put in, "but I am constrained to add that our daughter was raped. I know cases where offers short of one-fourth have been accepted."

"Valid belief, it is no court of law where you must argue against the adversary. This is a company of the kindred who give vent to their true feelings who are anxious to wash off all stains on their heart. I am—quote—memberless creatures when people have offered far more than one-fourth as also of those who have forsaken their all. Why should you insist only on—padding cases?"

"My only intention is that our offer may please be accepted. More shall follow later."

"I would urge upon you to grasp my point. I want you to take me in your house as a member on behalf of the disadvantaged. If you are five brothers I should be considered as the sixth and given one share; if three then the fourth, if seven then the eighth; and if you are alone then I must get the half. I do not want children, for they grow away from home. Mine is a religious demand."

The widow grew silent and seemed to be thinking hard. But the graduate explained, "Tada! We can't meet our own needs. Besides, there is the ever sharp sword of the Government hanging over-head."

Supporting him, the widow added, "They are going to fix ceilings. Who could then offer land in gift?"

"I know it very well," answered Vinoda, "and I also know that all your talents are employed in the task of sabotaging the proposed legislation. When I was in Telangana, the Government was thinking of land expropriation. It went on thinking. Meanwhile the land-lords transferred their lands in the names of their

various relatives. To him and the Ait has now come, allowing some 250 to 325 acres. Now this is as good as not doing it. Even Bihar too, poor families are being dispossessed. Within 2 years, or by the time this summer, two-thirds of the land would go to the family members. And that Ait would be rendered futile."

Do you mean to say that this legislation is in vain?"

"You know it far more than myself," said Vinoda with a laugh. He continued, "I am afraid you did not appreciate the scope of my demand. I want to abolish the very ownership of land. To claim landownership is robbery. It is against the will of God. I go from village to village to spread this message. As air, water, sky and light cannot be owned by anybody, so also land. Land would go only to the tiller, even as a book goes only to the reader. True that some of you will not be able to work on the field yourself. But I give you time, not much, but four or five years. During this period you must prepare your children so that they may labour in the company of the children of the landless. But would you please tell me the means?—longing for land when you can support yourself by legal practice?"

The widow tried to evade the point. People have not yet quite understood!

And the Congressman joined her. "Even if we agree to part with land, the elders of the house do not. They have earned it by the sweat of their brow. How can they give it up now?"

"I would not go into the question how land has been acquired by you people. I would not take up the past. It would help neither you nor me. But I would like to know your date as Congressmen. Your State Congress passed a resolution for 25 lakhs of acres and also repealed it in a subsequent meeting. Do you feel that you mean fulfil that resolution?"

"There are over so many resolutions," interrupted the socialist young man.

"I see!" spoke Vinoda in astonishment. "But it were you of the Praja-Samaki Party who told me that I had taken up your work. Does it mean that you have abandoned it after my taking it up? You are a very strange lot. Your leader, Jaganmukha Narayan, appealed for it. But you are such great followers as have forsaken their own leader after giving him a push!" The whole assembly convulsed with laughter.

"Babe, this is not surprising at all," confessed the graduate, the youngest, "for your demand strikes first at men's own self."

"You are right," exclaimed Vinoda. "Had it not been repudiated to offer one's own share, both the Congressman and the Praja-Samaki would have accepted the resolutions of their parties. This is the difference between my work and that of others."

The widow seemed to be in a hurry to wind up the case. "All right! You agree to our present offer. We shall complete our work quite shortly."

"My brothers are willing to offer themselves, the entire household. If this comes where I should be able to give to the nation, I will do so for you."

"Is this really your intention, and being able to be considered as a brother, I will do so."

"Why, don't you give me all this? It is waste for you but I can make use of it. My demand is— Give me all the uncultivable land with you and out of the cultivable land I want my rightful share as a brother."

"Toba, what can you do with that uncultivable land?" asked the Congressman. "It is of no use—it is either thorn or weed or barren."

"Please give me first. All is good that comes in my way. I will show you what I can do with it."

"We won't be able to keep it with us under the proposed enactment."

"And yet you do not part with it."

In a slow voice, the elder murmured, "Its compensation."

Vinoba heard it and uttered loudly, "Here you are! It is more than you have earned your heart. Your eye is on the compensation money. This is what makes you stick on to this. I would rather ask you to donate me all compensation than you may get. Please, have done like that."

"They must have been rich men," said the Congressman. "We are not so well off. Nor the others will accept it."

"Well, I won't say that. But I am sure that offering your uncultivable land you lose little."

Silence followed. The four talked for a while in whispers. Then one of them in a feeble voice said, "Toba, we four are willing to offer the one-sixth of our share."

Vinoba laughed and inquired, "What is your work or measure? Is it that of the Purna University or that of Bihar?" This confused everybody. "What does it mean?" One of them said, "May we know the two measures?"

"Some time ago I met a pleader with a diploma of the Purna University," said Vinoba. "He offered me one acre of land with the remark, 'It is more than one sixth.' I asked him to clarify. He explained, 'We have one hundred acres in our family. We are four brothers and our father is alive. So I got twenty acres out of the 100. Now I have three sons. They three and myself make four. Consequently my own share is divided into four. And only five acres fall to my lot. Obviously, one acre is more than one-sixth of the share.' This is the Purna plea."

All burst into peals of laughter. Vinoba continued, "So one-sixth of 100 acres is one acre. So kindly let me know which party you follow."

The young graduate was very ingenuitous. "Toba, tell us also the plea of the Bihar University."

The Congressman turned him. "What more do you want to know? Bihar? Give him what you think fit."

"We? I am Bihar and the whole one-sixth of the land is more than one-sixth. All of us will donate one-sixth."

Thereupon, Vinoba asked, "I wanted at least one-sixth of one-sixth of Bihar. But you have followed the Bihar University. Now I want what about my share of the one-sixth of Bihar members of the two families."

"For that one Bihar and Bihar would meet," replied the Congressman. "All members of the families will do something definite what to do. Presently we have agreed with one sixth of our individual share."

"As you please," murmured Vinoba. "I hope that you will prevail upon your elders and successfully persuade them to part with at least one-sixth of the family holdings. But what you give me now is, I am sure all cultivable land."

This started the Biharis. "Now that we have accepted you as a brother, we give you as your right. And when we get a right, he need share both good and bad stuff."

Vinoba replied in a soft and slow, "So I know your family members now. But I plead for justice. When you like to or be there is land on the first day or? Naturally, the most is made to share. Besides food, all other things too I am your weakest and young as brother. Whence I have an extraordinary claim."

They all started at these words. The Congressman seemed to be stuck again. He grunted, "Toba, you are continuously attacking more and more."

"Is there anything unfair in what I ask? Would you dare make more whole your own brother be in a wretched condition? At any rate, I would expect you to get broken all India land you give me."

All the four conceded the demand.

More than an hour passed. It was past eight. Vinoba turned to the workers who wanted to consult him on some points. And the four brothers took his leave.

## Corrections

In January of December 11, 1964 (Vol. 41) on page 82, column 2, line 1-2, the first line should read:

By Vinoba Bhave

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# HARIJAN

Jan 15

1955

## HISTORICAL ROLE OF THE CONGRESS

(By Mahatma P. Desai)

We learn from the Press that there is a proposal before the Awaad Congress Session to change the aim and object of the Congress. It is reported that the move is to put in the term "Socialist Society" in place of "Co-operative Commonwealth". Not having the text of the suggested amendment with me, I say this from its press reports, available so far. They now say that the Steering Committee has rejected the move on the grounds that what obtains at present is the very real object or the creed of the Congress in India the idea of Socialism, however. If at all anything needs to be done in that behalf, it might better be covered by the forthcoming Congress resolution on the new economic policy.

The Steering Committee deserves to be congratulated for this wise decision, because if the suggestion is accepted, it would be a grave mistake on the part of the Congress. The change would mean denouncing the water and roots comprehensive Ideal of world peace and Co-operative Commonwealth and resorting to a narrow and ambitious creed. This might also lead to an undesirable situation of some separtist groups, like the constructive workers setting out of the great organization to which they will look up for their political leadership. Or it would lead us into a fruitless attempt of juxtaposing the new term Socialism as equal to and meaning Sarvodaya, as can be seen from a recent article of Shri S. V. Agrawal titled "Socialism and Sarvodaya" reproduced in this issue elsewhere. All admit that we in India have and desire to go differently from West. We should hence therefore have our own unambiguous term for it and that from our own language. The word "Sarvodaya" is the Sanskrit term. The Congress may well have it, if it desires to change the creed at all.

India expects to have a social order which assures world peace and is destined to last, and for the good of all "even this last". Such an order cannot but afford to see that its economy is for world peace. One of the main objectives against Socialism as it goes today is that, however it wishes it, it does not tend to peaceful international relations. The Socialist idea had its birth from 19th century European Capitalism, so also has been to remove its defects. But it accepts the same fundamental of Capitalism which are born of the economic and political history of Europe during the last six century and a half or two. Socialism does not radically improve upon them.

It accepts centralist and urbanizing technology and science, as a result of which we have had imperfections of the last century and modern world trade exploiting the weaker or backward races and nations. The main difference between the two is that while Capitalism allows private profit and property. Socialism aims to nationalize it. It is therefore that the latter is sometimes called by some as State Capitalism.

Capitalism has brought in its wake a type of civilization which is also acceptable to Socialism. It only adds that the benefit of that must be secured to all, to which and it creates the idea of a "Welfare State" and attempts to have enough money for it from the people and from other lands also through competitive trade and commerce etc.

To implement this aim whether the governmental or one-party way of Russia is adopted or the so-called democratic way of majority rule and its planning (which means controls and regulating regulations) is adopted both result in a "monogorical" State or a rule of experts, say a highly powerful bureaucracy. This is detrimental to individual freedom and freedom with man's free and independent growth. Such a State can hardly eliminate war and exploitation from the world.

Free India is not for creating such an order as the West. Learning from the history of the West, it wishes to forge a new way. Surely it will walk of the best or Western science and philosophy, but it will be its task to improve upon them and make them conducive to world peace and Sarvodaya for the good of all peoples. The Congress stands for this ideal. To realize it in India is its historic role. Future knows how far it will fulfil it. It should at least not forget that it is greater than its parliamentary party. Through its work in India, the Congress should aim to establish world peace and Sarvodaya.

(15-1-55)

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## SOCIALISM AND SANVODATA

(By S. N. Agarwal)

It was, perhaps, for the first time that the economic policy of India was discussed at length in the Parliament. Shri C. D. Deshmukh, who introduced the debate, made it quite clear that "the central objective of our economic policy from now on must be to secure full employment conditions, within a reasonable period, say, ten years from now." This is by no means an over-ambitious goal "In achieving this," said the Finance Minister, "there is ample scope for expansion both in the public and private sector."

According to the calculation of Shri Deshmukh, some 24 million jobs would have to be created if our objective were full employment, and the total investment would have to be of the order of Rs 1,000 crores a year. Considering the resources available while the development of major industries must continue in national interest, the Finance Minister thought that it was necessary "to foster the development of multiple and village industries with greater opportunities for employment and more and more chances of improving the resources of the population."

Introducing in the debate, the Prime Minister confirmed his policy of bringing about a "coastless and seamless union" through the "peaceful and co-operative method." It was also made clear that India's approach to Socialism was not a doctrinaire approach but a pragmatic way of achieving the basic objective of full employment, more production and economic justice.

In order to ensure full employment to the people of India, it is estimated that the rate of investment should be 10 per cent of the annual national income. It should be understood, however, that economic planning in under-developed countries cannot depend on monetary resources only. The main problem is to organize and utilize the life-time-power of the nation. It is from this point of view that increasing investment will have to be paid in the development of handicraft and village industries.

The Finance Minister was on uncertain ground when he stated in the Parliament that additional jobs for providing fuller employment "must already be created in the non-agricultural sector." If 12 million new jobs are to be found in the country by the end of the Second Five Year Plan, it would be impossible to do so in the urban areas alone. We have no doubt in our minds that additional employment on a large scale will have to be found in the direction of age industries like hand-planting of rice, silk-growing through village ghans, handspinning and weaving of cotton, silk and wool, leather-making, small handwoven manufacture of gar, Khaddar, etc.

There is already enough congestion in our cities and the process of depopulation of our villages is almost continuous. If we attempt to pro-

vide work to idle people in the urban areas through small-scale industries, there is bound to be greater congestion in the cities, and a number of additional problems social, economic and moral will crop up. The best solution of the basic problem of fuller employment is, therefore, to provide work to the peasant or the artisan at his very door, in the form of village and cottage industries.

This plan could be achieved only if the State decides to avoid unhealthy competition between the large-scale and small-scale industries by reserving the fields of production for the small industries. For example, we see no reason why all edible oils should not be reserved for the village ghani. Hand-planting of rice which has been providing seasonal employment to several lakhs of our workers could be encouraged by banning the use of rice-hullers, more especially in the countryside. In regard to leather manufacture, factories should not be permitted to prepare certain varieties of leather footware like chappals and sandals. It is only through such reservation or demarcation of spheres that the State could hope to afford greater employment. Perhaps a million of our people who are either totally unemployed or are partially employed for only a few months in the year. There is no other way out.

In trying to establish a socialist pattern of economy in India it would be futile to regard rationalisation of industries as the panacea for all evils. It is of course essential that basic or mother industries like iron and steel, coal, power, and heavy engineering ought to be State-owned and State-managed. But no attempt need to be made to rationalise other existing industries which manufacture consumer goods like cloth, sugar, oil, etc. Instead all these large-scale consumption goods industries should be progressively decentralised in the form of Co-operatives. In short, the kind of Socialism that we desire to establish in this country would be very different from the Socialism of those countries, whose population is sparse and capital is plenty. In a country like ours, where population is dense and capital is scarce, a socialist economy must be in the nature of a decentralised economy. In India, Socialism can only mean Serviceism.

There is one more point which Mahatma Gandhi used to emphasise repeatedly. Serviceism cannot be based merely on the production and accumulation of more wealth and material articles. We must always bear in mind that man does not live by bread alone. Along with the fulfilment of our material needs, we must try to raise our cultural and moral standards as well. That is why Gandhiji laid stress on the concept of "character of life" rather than on the "standard of living." "I wholeheartedly dissent," said Gandhiji, "from such desire to destroy distance and time to increase material appetites and go to the ends of the earth in search of their satisfaction." By going on increasing

the means in path of end," wrote Gandhi. "You can get nothing but a shirk." Likewise, the distinguished Indian economist and thinker of the fourth century B.C., observed in his *Arthashastra*: "Whoever is of rooster character, whoever has not his organs of sense under his control, will soon perish, though possessed of the whole earth bounded by the four quarters." That is why our Vice-President Dr. Radhakrishnan has described the Indian way of life as "Ethical Socialism."

Such a pure type of Socialism can be established in India only through the Gandhian twin stages of decentralised economy and "corporate" democracy in the form of self-dependent and self-governing village communities or *Panchayats*. A bold demonstration of political and economic power would go long in enabling us to establish a kind of moral and economic order which could serve as a model to other countries of the world. A highly organised State with a centralised economic system tends to become authoritarian or totalitarian with all the modicum evils India must avoid such a regimented and over-centralised type of economy. Moreover, true Socialism could be established only if there is a viable and real change in the attitude of the individuals who compose the wordy "Socialism machine," said Gandhi. "with the first convert." "If there is one such, you can add scores to the one and the first one will account for ten and every addition will account for ten times the previous number. If however, the beginning is a zero, multiplicity of zeroes will also produce zero value." When individuals change the society also changes. In order to bring about a Servodays Society, therefore, all of us must "turn the searchlight inward" and begin by reforming ourselves. There can be no short-cut to true Socialism. It is not merely an economic doctrine but also a way of life.

(Adapted from A.I.C.C. *Frontiers Review*, January 1, 1945)

### THE THIRD CAMP

The Eighth Triennial Conference of the War Resisters' International (W.R.I.) met in the Salle des Sociétés Savantes, Paris, from July 29 to August 2, under the chairmanship of Harold King.

The greater part of the time at the disposal of the Conference was devoted to the consideration of the policy of the Third Camp. The subject was introduced by A. J. Muste, Secretary Executive of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation. He was followed by Frances Brodway, M.P. (Britain) who dealt with the colonial and economic aspects of the conception.

Treating the subject under the heading "Asia and the Third Camp" Horace Alexander (Britain) and India) dealt with the threefold character of Gandhi's teachings: (a) Indian freedom, (b) non-violence as a means to the achievement of freedom, and (c) the development of self-reliance and self-sufficiency as the

means to stabilising freedom and creating the conditions of peace.

Horace Alexander's description of Gandhi's work and teaching was supplemented by a very address by J. C. Kaverappa (India).

The development of the policy of the Third Camp is an attempt to propose what has always been the greatest implication of Gandhian concepts, at the crucial historical period when only a positive expression of pacifist philosophy can save humanity.

For many of the W.R.I. Sections the Third Camp policy is a new idea, and the Paris Conference will represent the beginning of discussions rather than their culmination. The concluding comments by A. J. Muste's address provide a pointer to the kind of work those who are advocating the Third Camp are setting out to perform.

"This all means some special creative interpretation of the spiritual and political, of a new psychological orientation, a new concept of values and a new and creative way of making them rule in the social and political life of nations. It means, it seems to me, that we of the pacifist, the anti-militarist, the non-violent, the non violent movements in the world, must work together co-operatively to what Gandhi was. He was on the one hand a saint, one to whom non-violence was as deep as water a way of life that he could go, he would still believe in non violence even if it meant that India did not become independent, but who—precisely because of that—generated the spiritual dynamism which led the masses of India to follow him and made everywhere in at least one great situation an instrument of effective and profound political change.

"If in any other realm of life such a demonstration of a new method had been given, the sciences, the political and spiritual leaders would all be saying 'Well, we must—whether this method will work or when about take too.' In this situation we have gone through the terrible experience of two world wars and are faced with catastrophe in a third, yet there is virtually no government outside India itself, no government in the rest of the world, which speaks so much as a dollar on exploring the possibilities of non-violence in an experimental and creative way in this situation. This, I say, my friends, is utterly unexcusable and it is shameful."

[W.R.I. was to be better thing to use the expression "Peace Area" or "Area of Peace." As no one else who which is going to present by the name Third Camp Third Peace or Third Union." To take the two camps or three go on increasing the area of their armed camps and systems, and then they be unexcusable, even the area of war, the policy India holds in its for positive peace, without means for war or without area and then to extend the area of positive peace there and then.

4-10-45

M.P.]

\*From the *Frontiers Review*, Vol. II, Number 10, the W.R.I. Report.

## CAPITAL AND UNEMPLOYMENT

(By M. P. T. Ashby)

I

When unemployed workers were unemployed one link lost in a chain became weaker & other links. Not only because the unemployed who cannot earn money fall out of the flow of earnings, but also because the reduction of production deflects other productive activities which necessitates throwing others out of employment. It is not easy to revive lost links afterwards.

Even productive units keep other productive units busy. So that if one unit fails and falls off the other units have to reduce production or completely shut down their business and throw out their employees. There will be no further orders from other firms unless new firms start and speculate. All business is hence speculative, gambling, for none knows what each one will do or will be able to do. It is all a chance if firms keep afloat. Even the oldest firms cannot guarantee their future. In fact, most of the biggest firms are based upon legal orders and run great for danger of losing them. They generally reduce the staff in order to save themselves from sinking. But that is also reduction of consumption and therefore of the markets.

II

Since all business is based on the credit of labour to firms — if the firms have no use for the credit of labour they automatically cut the ground from under themselves. After dismissing employees they will have to dismiss themselves. But order is more important to them than business, because their economies are so narrow that they cannot do anything to keep the employees.

Firms, think labour is enabled by capital to lose. But as business links sink together, after labour sinks, the life of labour is also the fate of the employers although the latter may hold out for a time by 'sitting their own fat'. Today, there is no more class-struggle and class-warfare, which is capitalist resentment, position or left.

Only when there are no more employees and no more employers possible that both can save themselves. Not before that.

III

All distinction is being run on the credit of labour given to capital. Even in Russia the labourer or employee is compelled to accept a certain fixed sum per week or per month and asked to deliver the goods to the employers. It is not that capital advances money to the labourers and employees, but it is labour which is given that is advanced to capital, for the labourer or employee is paid only at the end of the week or month. If the latter in advance of money by capital, it is because capital sells goods later and cannot sell earlier. But without labour capital cannot get any goods.

While the labourer's or employee's wage is fixed, the price of goods delivered are not fixed.

Labour has no voice also in the fixation of prices. The employers can fix any price convenient to them. Naturally the difference between what is paid for labour and what is taken for the goods accumulated capital which is again used for further exploitation and profits. Whether that is done by private individuals or State makes no difference.

The State must necessarily be a non-producing organisation. Its interests are necessarily with exploitation and profits. Even in Russia, it only plans and enables the organisation of exploitation of State capital for profits, by hiring labour to produce goods and serve its own interests. As Gorbunov and 'the State is a socialist machine'. Just as private capitalists cry about the horrors of communism, the Bolsheviks protesting cry about the horrors of private capitalism. Both are right, but both condemn capitalism in the name of freedom or communism and democracy. The fact is that capitalism can only be abolished by the people taking over all things for their common benefit. If they do not want to take any responsibility for their own welfare, but want others to attend to them, others "who are experts" will only further enslave them, too much dependent on experts will enslave all. We must simplify (decentralise) matters to make dependent on expert and managerial unnecessary.

(This is an epitome of some thoughts that late Mr. M. P. T. Ashby used to send to me as they came to him in his compulsory seclusion. This was going with me since long, his thinking is again, I find that it can well bear production every now.

Also with it I had then added a note of my own as further line in that connection. That is also given below.

Employment is not a mere fixation of labour and means to capital, which is to keep more and to labour. The right to work, as it is called, i.e., to be productively employed is one of the fundamental rights of a citizen. It is his duty. And the performance of this duty is the acquisition of civil rights—whatever we may say, in a broader and well-understood economy cannot wait on the pleasure of capital and be made dependent on it, because that will mean dependence upon the exploiters—only a small section of the people. This is fundamental and unchangeable.

And what is capital after all? It is either the by-product of work and employment. It is surplus value extracted and appropriated by some as their own. Hence if capital is made the basis of employment, i.e. is capital, then the labour-capital relationship is not complete but becomes a duopoly, which becomes narrower and which not necessarily or directly eliminates—due to the economy, but much in itself and at the expense of work.

And this is not to be wondered at. Because the main object of capital is not working. Full employment or production for use—not for exchange. A difference of essentiality in the content of production for use—and a paper, but an act of necessary service to use the language of the State — but makes it is a process in the form of a competitive race of business organisations and working the world and other working and capital. Hence it is both is controlled by the State in the strongest form.

FROM THE WORKS OF M. P. T. ASHBY

These have I printed today, the September and I now finish it.





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100-51388-54-47 4 MONTHS OLD - SATURDAY JANUARY 24 1964

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J. R. Hargrave and E. D. Dwyer

A major issue in the current arena that

Italy's national average by 1933 increased by 24, 500 credits as compared with the previous year. It is placed at 24,500 credits less per capita (number of credits placed in the works and at 24,500 a day of work, day and night 1933-34).

bag 11 raises is, which sector of our economy or which class of our people is particularly benefited by it. The news item says on this count:

The estimates indicate a small increase in the increase in the application of credit but a large reduction in the increase in the use of equity. The figures for the previous year

For example, if it is a case of the individual, i.e. the rich is not getting richer, the poor agriculturalists are almost everywhere as it was.<sup>10</sup>

It is hardly not surprising, on the call of industrialisation and any big mass production, anything really means it. What is really wanted, therefore, is a plan that will deliver to the poor sections of our people, whose need is first and greater. The new wealth that may be produced under the national Five Year Plan. The Plan should particularly be new wealth that is aimed to be increasingly produced distribution itself. It is therefore that the village industries and Khadi are progressively viewed as agents for a real industrialisation programme in our country. It is here that Gandhiji differs radically from Socialism and such-like things from the urban West. In this context, it is heartening to read the following in that Mahatma speech made the Month 10-12-34 at the Shantiniketan Convention presiding on 10-12-34.

human mind all over the world was searching for a way out—an escape from the terrible fate of that devoted but blind about-face community and its unwise slave. Although the Russian people had received all the blessings of communism, they were not as usually happy. Apparently they had progressed but had lost all the happiness of a backward one. What the progress seemed to have killed the source of their soul.

There had to take a lesson from the West in this matter, he said. A new judge was in the making. And that the master of the knowledge of his system had been of great assistance for several projects being launched. His intention was to go on to the

valley projects meaning millions of rupees were being pushed through, others were being stalled in the courts and lawyers. But India could not afford to forget the essence of the Indian way of life—the spiritual and moral traditions which had helped them survive the rain and hail of colonisation through the years.

Mr. Shetty said that was the biggest problem, which was during the Indian festival today. How to achieve a festive feel with the film—science and social issues? I think cinema, movie-makers and, in fact, every Indian, must live in India as much as in this query. On a national cinema festival, I pointed out to Shetty: is this to a white man, is an Indian film, the world.

It is a well-known fact that the United States has a long and proud history of supporting the people of the world who are struggling for freedom and democracy. This is a policy that has been a constant theme of American foreign policy since the end of World War II. The United States has provided economic and military aid to many countries in the Western Hemisphere, and has been a leading force in the promotion of human rights and democratic principles. This policy is not only in the best interests of the United States, but also in the best interests of the world. It is a policy that has helped to bring about the freedom and prosperity of many nations, and it is a policy that we must continue to support.

Overall, a CT scheme should be studied in the field, on a small level, around the factory, and the use of AUGUST in the field in Canada might be good for the development of other computerized techniques, but before we might see its use, it will be available. To complement the ideas brought in here.

[illegible]

### Abstract

**Dr. William C. Cline**

## UNITED CHARITY

Page 4-60 Page 4-61 Package 000 4x3

FOR WORKERS AGAINST UNDISCIPLINABLES

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## THE REMOVAL OF LINTHICAMILITY

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## NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

<b>Budget geschätzt</b>	<b>Budget des 12.</b>	<b>Budget am Ende des 9.</b>
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HOW TO REPLY THE CARD

Revised: 10/1/2000    Revised: 10/1/2000    Revised: 10/1/2000

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PO Box 10000, Denver, CO 80202



these nations are, it seems to me of transcendental importance.

True the question of the industrial order and system of manufacture—not the question of ownership, nor of distribution of the profits, but of the system of manufacture. Some years ago, during the war several Australian troops actually experienced with the use of subnormal labour. The managers of the girls were surprised to find that the girls brought to them from institutions for the mentally deficient were as good or better workers than so-called "normal" help. These girls were paid at the same rate as normal girls, and were found to be successful in performing every process involved in the mills.

Hearing of these things, public institutions in Australia began to initiate experiments of their own, sending out mentally deficient people to work in various industries. The reports were uniformly excellent. As a result, the administrators charged with the care of such unfortunate experienced a sudden access of morale. They saw that if the mentally deficient could be gainfully employed in industry, one of the greatest obstacles to their happiness would be overcome. For to be equal to the common tasks of other people is the longing of all those who are defective in mind. Here was a means to help them to self-respect.

A young Australian writer, however, Niall Brennan, found in the success of this programme a stimulus to study the impact of modern industrial practice on people's lives. Regarding the use of mental defectives in industry, he remarked:

"What scores can be done here today by an uneducated party with normal capacities, the question, on which level this equality has been achieved, must also be asked. It may be good to discover that in a modern industrial plant there are conventional processes which can be performed by a boy with a mental age of ten, then eight years, and a severe lack of manual coordination. It may be true for the boy that what were the 'normal' skills doing in this same process before the crippled and retarded boy came along to do it for them? No really normal person can afford to ignore the frightening implications in the discovery that some 'normal' men and women are working in jobs in which subnormals are equally and sometimes more efficient."

This conclusion stirred Mr Brennan to extensive research, in the form of taking job after job to experience personally the sort of work men do to earn their bread, to determine how they do their work and what their work does to them. His findings reported in a sprightly volume, *The Making of a Worker* (Shree and Ward) are devastating, and on the whole accurate we think in pertinence to the study of economics as that which deals with "the social phenomena centring about the provision for the material needs of the individual and of organized groups." The facts Mr Brennan reports are consistently ignored or held to be unimportant by most advanced circles of education in economics. We however, take the view that edu-

cation in economics which overlooks these facts is very largely waste of time.

The point that all the concepts of value which are under criticism in this book are held to originate by producing all economic systems and characters of modern times, whether conservative or radical, to Brennan puts all

The important point at this stage is that these processes the entire world of efficiency and the end is a process of growth, not a static situation where progress and achievement, which have more value than mere man. That is a concrete state of affairs. It does not seem to me to demonstrate progress of any sort."

Brennan went from plant to plant, in both England and Australia. There was always the same story. The low grade of responsibility felt by many of the workers—their lack of a sense of participation in making something worth making—had proved itself a depressing influence. Inertness, pettiness, and general corruption without any particular object were common phenomena. The book is not unjust, nor is it merely a crack-pot attack on modern industry. It is a deeply perceptive study of what it works for money instead of as response to an inner drive to engage their productive powers in chosen activities. It is a photographic account of a certain stage of the corruption in a social order which practices a religion of economics. In Brennan's words:

The effect of industrial philosophy upon human nature has already been shown. The objective of business, clearly stated in every textbook of economics is the satisfaction of the self. The satisfaction of the self is the aim of the jungle. The existence of the modern jungle is clear from the effect of industrial society upon human society.

Initially, Brennan found that some of the plants, where the mental attitudes of the workers were worst, were plants regarded as "ideal" from the "scientific" point of view. The result, in the book, is a new kind of economic analysis, in which human values are related to the preferred position.

Mr Brennan has no dramatic solution to offer. The time is probably not ripe for an overall solution. But what he has done is to call dramatic attention to conditions which have been staring us in the face for generations, yet which the theoreticians of economics have disregarded as either beyond repair or not coming within the province of their science. This is the time for an assembling of the facts. We should like to see a lot more books given to the collection of such facts. Then, if enough men start thinking about them, we may get to work at changing the pattern of our lives. But the solution will not lie in the design for a new "system." It will lie in the formulation of worthy ideals and occupations for human labour. And then, we think, it will be possible to have economic theories which do not take for granted doctrines of human nature which when applied on a large scale, first degrade, then destroy, the human species.

(Adapted from Harijan 24729)

# HARIJAN

Jan. 22

1950

## CONTROL OR COMPENSATION

(By Mahatma P. Desai)

Those who stand for encouragement to the hand-possessing industry but to all other village industries with which the imperative rural industries compete it may for example be asked in the like manner with respect to textiles and cloth-mills. The question arises naturally at the present juncture when we are engaged in planning and building up a new economy for our country.

Let us first take up the question of compensation. Looking at it a little more closely the demand for compensation on the part of the owners of factories and mills appears strange. Let me explain why. Does it ever occur to them how many houses and villages did they throw out of employment and reduce to dire misery when they started their mills and factories? What did these poor people get in way of compensation except unemployment, under-employment and starvation? The State should have made amends for the injustice done to them either by giving them suitable compensation or by offering them alternative employment. That the then also Government did not do it and did not care for it does not mean that there was no question of the payment of compensation or of any kind. On the contrary, the fact that the number of those who thus suffered was very large broadens the question with greater public importance. And the present Government as the true representative of the people must now take up their suffer and plead for it.

The factory-owners are a rich class. The shareholders too are apparently men who have adequate income to serve as taxes the amount of money which they have invested in shares. Besides they must have commensured with their substantial sums as depreciation and reserve funds etc. If they still demand compensation from the nation when they are now asked to act in the interest of the poor in whose unemployment and consequent poverty they have played a large part, it is, I think, clear that their behaviour is most strange.

But suppose any that, however it may be from the point of equity, justice or morality, if you force the factory-owners to close down their factories then you must pay them such compensation as they may be fairly entitled to. The

may of course resort of forcing them out of existence put on them any amount of reasonable restrictions and regulate them in the larger interest of the country.

If this legal view of the question is right then either we must change the law or, retaining within its present limits try to encourage and promote the home and village industries.

The law would mean changing the Constitution to the effect that private property may be appropriated for the good of the people without giving compensation. That would however be too drastic a measure at the present time. It may be contemplated only when the way of regulation for some reason fails and there is no other course left open for achieving our purpose. Even then, before we embark on so basic and far-reaching a change, it would be necessary to examine its deeper implications for the society and the individual.

Hereafter in the new economy which is being built up one thing should now be made clear beyond doubt. There can be no room for large-scale concentrated industries to compete with the simple decentralised industries concerned with the people's food, clothing and housing. The textile mills, rice-mills, cloth-mills etc. should be kept under control and regulated with their broad principle in view. Of course, in deciding what restriction is to be placed on them one would have to take into account the quantity of their production, the quality, the consumption, is also the price and many other things. With the production thus secured to them the home and the village industries will naturally prosper and spread out over a larger and larger area in their respective spheres. And as they spread out and move very steps are taken to make them economically sound and self-supporting. The problem of unemployment will ease and lessen automatically and to the extent that home and village industries increase the factories will be enabled their work shrink and their production diminished far extent if it is possible and proper. The rest will proceed only within, away in the same way as the mechanised industries close down and the village industries. This means that the import and establishment of new industrial plants will have to be stopped and the work of the existing ones to be restricted within proper limits.

It is not to be understood from this that I am advocating all the steps that will have to be taken. The last is only illustrative. The point is that the Planning Commission has now accepted the principle of pursuing such a policy of controlling large-scale industries in the interest of the small-scale and village industries. For example, they have suggested that the mills may be used in finding the necessary finance to promote the handicrafts and even to equalise the prices of their respective products so as to set off the high prices under which the latter have otherwise to suffer. We may even expect that if this policy











# HARIJAN

FOUNDED BY KARNATA GANDHI  
EDITED BY MAHATMA K. GANDHI



VOL XXII No 45

AMHEDARAD—SATURDAY, JANUARY 26, 1935

TWO ANNAS

## GANDHI AND THE WORLD CRISIS

(By Pyarelal)

The world today stands anxiously poised on the brink of a catastrophe. As Iung remarked in 1918, it is as if a little boy of six were given a dynamite among his birthday presents. "How can we save the child from the dynamite that nobody can take away from him?" The good spirit of humanity is challenged as never before. It is high time that divided man turned his mind to the fundamental things. It is now a question of existence and non-existence."

We have wars because we are not sufficiently selfish for a life which does not need wars. The lesson for peace, Gandhiji taught us, lies thus, in the first instance, is to fight and win in the heart of the individual.

Gandhiji summed up his entire philosophy in one sentence: "I recognise no other God except the God that is to be found in the heart of the dumb millions." And I worship the God that is Truth or Truth which is God, through the service of these millions."

And as a corollary to this, "I believe in the absolute oneness of God and therefore of humanity. What, though we have many bodies we have but one soul. The rays of the sun are many through refraction. But they have the same source. I cannot, therefore, detach myself from the wickedest and nor may I identify myself with the most virtuous."

What could not be shared with the least be held to be of little account and not worth having. If we do not keep this, which is the core of Gandhiji's teaching, the adoption of voluntary simplicity in the spirit of the full realisation of truth as embodied in the ideal of oneness of all life, before us constantly, we shall not be heading for peace but strife only.

Einstein has given us his well-known equation, establishing the relation between matter and energy, which says that when even an infinitesimal particle of matter attains the velocity of light—the maximum velocity attainable in the physical sphere—a square mass which is in-

finite and since the velocity is approximated within the structure of an atom, theoretically there is no limit to the destructive energy that can be unleashed by the conversion of atoms mass into energy, as happens during an atomic explosion. The possibility of man misled by the selfish, old mind of mass-misleading atomic energy is thus by no means remote. With what else but pride be reinforced?

It is here that Gandhiji's philosophy comes to our aid.

Physical laws have their counterpart in the spiritual world. Gandhiji set forth the corresponding formula governing the release of spiritual energy by associating that when Ahimsa is completely established in man, being so that man's whole being—whether as the plane of thought, speech or action—becomes as it were a fraction of Ahimsa, then some Truth alone is left and all else is thought, war becomes filled with a power—the power of love, also, known as sat force—to which there is no limit and before which all hatred and opposition is dissolved. The conclusion is that one must have reduced oneself to an infinitesimal by absolute surrender to "God which is Truth and Truth which is God."

"With Truth combined with Ahimsa," said Gandhiji, "you can bring the whole world to your feet. When man is set in motion, if it is intense enough it can overturn the whole universe." Working under this law, indeed, it is possible for our perfect Satyagrahi to win the battle of right against Wrong."

There is an ancient philosophical belief in India that one who has been true to the law of his essential being without a single fault throughout his life can cause anything to happen by the simple act of willing that fact to witness, the Sanskrit "being content" of cosmic power, the power of truth—*Satya*—"the highest expression of the soul." This is known as making an "Act of Truth." The truth must be truly rooted in the heart so that it manifests itself in human relations as infinite compassion or identification with everything that lives.

A few hours before the end, Gandhiji was asked by a foreign journalist, "How would you





# HARIJAN

Jan. 26

1935

## THE GANDHIAN WAY

(By Rajagopal K. Desai)

I have described (vide Harijan 11-52, p. 323) the village and home industries sector of our economy as the third sector, the last two being the Government-managed or nationalised industries called 'the public sector' and the private-owned mill industries called 'the private sector'. In this classification not open to a rider, similar to one posed in regard to the terms 'third area', 'third bloc', 'third camp' etc. in international politics at present.

This objection in politics is met by paraphrasing the idea by saying that it is really not third, but is a unique camp entirely of a different order and outlook from the usual two. It is rather an 'area of peace' and the aim is to extend it by resorting to measures for collective peace on the principles of co-existence, non-interference and mutual helpfulness and regard towards one another.

Similarly what is said as the third sector of India's economy is not really third, but is also unique as it represents quite a different outlook as economics and endeavours to seek a social and economic order wherein the poorest of the poor can live with self-respect and honour and work freely and in the joy of co-existence, in his own village home. This is a totally different thing to aspire for and achieve, in comparison with what the private mill industries sector or the public Government sector will do. The aim of this so-called third sector is, rightly speaking, to extend the area of co-operative and peaceful ways of employment of our whole people. The aim of such employment is necessary and sufficient production and not unscrupulous mass production, releasing the substantial demand of full employment and equitable distribution to a secondary place and thereby creating material and international problems it can hardly solve.

In the field of social activity also, the doctrine of the unity of ways and means is applicable. If we desire a co-operative communalist for ourselves, or an equitarian social and economic order, the means must be similarly designed. Therefore, the third sector is really the area of equality, non-exploitation, and co-operative co-communalism, and the idea is to extend it so that the private capitalist sector or the public State capitalist sector may, in course of time, fade away from their present unbecoming all-engrossing importance and find a niche which may be proper for them in the context of our common life. Is this not the way to a really socialised pattern of society?

Thus viewed, the third sector is really speaking, not third, the term 'third' is only to say that the sector is different from the conventional first two ones. It is a new idea peculiar to and born of our situation in India. We are a rural civilisation, most of our people live in villages. If freedom means anything to them, it must be in terms of their life and economy in their own villages. These villages must be better places to live in, and conditions for working there as a free, satisfying and creative way must be secured to them. If we desire to have Socialism in our time and in our land, it has to solve this peculiar problem.

The Western world's pattern of Socialism is unrelated to us. It has headed that world in a programme for collective warfare in defence of the order it has produced for itself. It has brought the world to the status of a condemned or quarantined camp under a dictatorship of the 'free democratic world' and the 'disoriented communist world'. Both these worlds really work in the framework of a capitalist ideology or economy. It is either entire State Capitalism as in Russia, or private Capitalism under the label 'free enterprise' as in U. S. A., or a mixture of these two under the label 'Democratic Socialism' as in Great Britain. All the same, they are one in their capitalist genius, which is the chief attribute of the industrial age in the West.

In the last century when Socialism came to be seriously considered, the idea was mostly or mainly economic, and no superlatives were not attached as now. Hence, Socialism in those days never concerned itself with non-war and no-exploitation as we have in the new. Balance of power was the doctrine of peace and armaments. Co-existence on the basis of mutual regard and recognition of sovereignty of all nations was unthinkable of then. Now, in the present world, we have to add or translate these new 'ideas also in the context of' Socialism.

The Western world might not do it, maybe it cannot. It may find it difficult to lift itself up out of its past history without a pull from those who are divided at present as 'backward' peoples of the world or whose cost is prepared through colonisation. How can this pull be administered? It has always been in history that civilisation, when it begins to decay, was revivified by so-called barbarism on its borders and encouraged to it to begin anew. It is more politic and judicious to change the word 'barbarism' to 'backwardness'. It is, therefore, now a question for the backward peoples of the world how they will behave non-war the Western civilised world. Will they revert to the traditional ways of violence? Or is there a new and human way as an alternative?

The Gandhian way is an answer to it. It is the way of non-violent revolution—a moral equivalent of war, with non-violent, non-co-operation with evil and civil disobedience of immoral laws, as the chief weapons and the construction

as popular as its popular enemy, and industry. What is called the third way of our country is a part of its technique, but an ingenuitous one, it is real Socialism of our kind and kind.

8-1-32.

## GANDHI ON DEMOCRACY

(By Mahatma Karamchand)

Gandhi was one of the greatest democrats that ever lived. His heart was irrespective of caste, color or creed, regardless the human personality as sacred, and gave his life to struggle man from oppression, whether political, social, class one or religious. His heart on democracy at that time well worth study, especially as they are so vastly different from what passes for democracy today.

Modern States think that they are democracy if they have adult franchise, whereby people are enabled to elect their own representatives to government. But the question is how do these representatives really represent the people? For, in large groups such as nations with acquisitions of several millions in which the voters and the candidates for office can have little personal knowledge of one another, the vote is captured, very often, not by the most deserving for knowledge and capacity, but, by one who has the money to buy up votes, the backing of an influential party or the gift of a long tongue that can carry audiences away with empty promises. Gandhi, therefore, concluded that real self-government or democracy was possible only in small groups like villages where people know one another from day to day and had personal relations with one another. So he wrote:

My idea of Village Swaraj (self-government) is that it is a complete republic, independent of its neighbors for its vital wants, and yet interdependent for want where in which dependence is a necessity.

The government of the village will be conducted by the Panchayat of five persons, usually elected by the adult villagers, men and women, possessing minimum political qualifications. There will have no the authority and jurisdiction required. This Panchayat will be responsible authority and supreme control in place for its year of office. I have not imagined any interference of authority with the neighboring village as the latter is my first purpose is to govern as an unit of village government. Here there is perfect harmony based upon individual freedom. The individual is the center of his own government. He and his neighbor are able to defy the might of a world of a few billions and yet every village is that he will suffer little in the defense of his and his village honor.

(Hindustan, 29-7-32)

It is important that the village should thus defend as it, if for defense, for if it does not, it will lose its independence.

That such a decentralized political order requires as its necessary counterpart, a decentralized economy, in which each village will produce primarily for its own requirements. For, if it does not do this, but converts production for itself through large scale centralized manufacture, it will work against the

self-dependence of other units. "Therefore we have to concentrate on the village being self-contained manufacturing units, for our use" (Morges, 20-5-33). His insistence on the village which was merely symbolic of his desire to revive village and cottage manufacture, by means of which people would learn to be self-reliant, be owners of their tools and work on their own initiative.

For the ideal of these decentralized units has always been as a means, per se, for the preservation of village and livelihood for the generation of real strength among the masses—the strength that will free India from Britain. "We have to create village communities and make them capable of working their own produce and looking after their own needs through" (Hindustan, 29-7-32). (Hindustan, 29-7-32)

Otherwise, in a centralized economy, as under industrialization the individual loses his independence, becomes a mere employee doing the will of another, and is easily replaced. Moreover, political power is therefore concentrated in the hands of a few and there emerges an all-powerful State which ever increasingly controls every department of the life of the individual—food, clothes, housing, education, health, recreation and travel. The individual is hedged in on all sides by controls and has by all practical purposes forfeited his freedom. Gandhi declared this greatly and wrote:

I look upon the increase in the power of the State with the greatest fear. (The Modern Review, 1931, p. 216)

Self-government means continuous effort to be independent of governmental control. Every government will be a sorry affair if people look up to it for the regulation of every detail of life" (Hindustan, 28-7-32)

In an ideal democracy accordingly, the State will have little or no place, as the individual will manage his own affairs in co-operation with his neighbors.

"There is then a state of complete self-reliance" in such a state centered in the own ruler. The ruler himself in such a manner that he is never a neighbor to his neighbor. (Hindustan, 27-7-32)

For that however self-reliance should be the guiding principle in the life of an individual under democracy. But modern nations under the influence of industrialization are ever multiplying wants. Their ideal seems to be not self-reliance but self-dependence. This leads inevitably to greed and selfishness, and consequently to the monopolization of power and wealth, inequality, colonialism and war, which are the opposites of democracy or true brotherhood. Gandhi therefore concluded:

I believe that the world will be saved by the revival of large families. "When we are divided in a small body a husband or wife life is more and yet it has more comfort in a very small, but to keep that little is more than the big that has persons that persons can make are joined for an attack on one another and are about only to cause of the multiplying of wants. When they are there will be an explosion, and then Europe will be a terrible hell on earth. Non-Violence



## INTERNATIONAL VEGETARIANISM\*

(By Dr. J. A. Macquarrie)

Some people think Vegetarianism is merely an aspect of the food question, or a kind of vegetarianism, embracing one-shed's interests, and a kind of bloodless diet, its health, and the form or another it has been introduced in the various many religions, and philosophies, and has been produced by the different food conditions from the dawn of history.

Nevertheless, it remains the support of numerous diseases of non-religious character. Many modern vegetarians in the West, which are not practically religious or even religious, follow the bloodless regimen for a variety of non-religious supplementing the old religious and ethical modes of traditional vegetarianism.

Some are prompted by scientific reasons. Two great scientific disciplines help men to appreciate the nature and the proper place in the world. Chemistry teaches, showing his place among other forms of matter and anthropology, which came up the researcher in the nature of man. The findings of the two sciences, both free from bias, lead to a common way and show for anthropology, with scientific precision that man was not a carnivorous animal nor a herbivorous one, nor a mixed being, but belonged to the human family which could be trained, but there being no trace of him and omnivorous parts. Consequently, many men who agree to it is harmony with the law of nature have abandoned the eating of flesh.

Since 1860, which was about the date of the beginning of modern dietetic vegetarianism, has received a tremendous impulse. Reported laboratory experiments on many countries in Europe and America have proven beyond any doubt that meat, far from being an indispensable element, or even necessary and beneficial, was really responsible for a great many diseases. Europe was covered with a good network of culture on a small element in which scientific methods suffering from chronic nutritional diseases, was restored to health by a well-balanced scientific vegetarian diet supplemented in particular with its many vegetables and fruits, and rice establishments has become a scientific model for chronic health culture and a great many among the numerous scientists in Europe and America were prompted to adopt their pure regime by health reasons.

Yet another even more powerful reason helps for in being the majority of mankind to the natural and pure regime. The population of the world has more than doubled in the last hundred

years, and if this continuing increase will be satisfied by a fourth, long storage area with the improved methods of cultivation. There may be more harmful than helped. Experiences show that in many countries this led to a dangerous decrease of the fertility of the earth, which the merciless exploitation caused by chemical fertilizers resulted in some of the worst conditions.

The analysis of food elements in agricultural facilities show that while one hectare (slightly over 2 acres) produces annually 2 millions food calories in meat and milk, it produces 10 millions calories when planted in potatoes, 15 millions calories when milked in an average crop of wheat or other cereals, and over 25 million calories when cultivated with rational methods of food gardening with constant rotation of crops. Thus one could feed ten times more vegetarians on a land devoted to vegetables gardening than meat-eaters on the same land.

Statistics from the Department of Agriculture of the United States confirm this view, showing that in the continental United States, although the per capita consumption of meat has decreased by 2-4 since 1900 years, more land is devoted to produce cattle food than is used in producing crop for human food. This is why many governments of the most civilized countries are considering measures to induce their citizens to eat more vegetables.

This rapid survey suffices to show vegetarianism in its broader and wider aspect. It is more than a practice based on the more or less efficient ideas of man, or less absolute beliefs. It is a way of life based upon the noble and fine ideal of new world where people will be healthier, more harmonious and happier, because in following the laws of nature they shall come to accumulate means of disease in their daily life, and will find it easier to solve political and social conflicts in a friendly way.

This is why vegetarianism is a growing international movement to which the religious and spiritual leaders of the East are supplemented by the practical, scientific and progressive spirit of the West.

United by a common ideal and common practices of life, Vegetarians the world over aim at forming a new international, the great international of culture in harmonious, health and hope.

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\*From a statement of Professor Dr. J. A. Macquarrie, President, World Vegetarian Association and Vice-President, International Vegetarian Union, at a Press Conference held under the auspices of the Times Magazine, London, on January 26, 1932, December 1931 at Bombay.





# HARIJAN

(PUBLISHED BY BHAKTMA GANDHI)  
2000, AMBAGODHAR P. STREET

Vol. XXII No. 22 AMBAGODHAR—SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1935

TWO ANNAS

## MR. W. W. HUNTER'S LETTER TO GANDHI

[The following is from Gandhi's address. It is a letter from Mr. W. W. Hunter to Gandhi. Mr. William Hunter, as is known to readers of Gandhi, was distressed by this as follows:

"I think you are one who has noticed the importance of the Indian question in South Africa before the Indians themselves and needed their valuable support. I was Mr. William Hunter. He was editor of the Indian review of the Times, which he founded and edited in his own person and which we first addressed him in connection with it. He wrote personal letters to several politicians in support of our cause. He used to write to us about every week when some important question was on the cards. This is the subject of his very last letter. I am sorry to read of the situation there. You have been our darling your struggle continuously peacefully and with out any violence. My sympathy goes with you on this point. I will do my best possibly as well as I can to see that justice is done to you. I am certain that no person could ever be so good of ground in this matter. But I cannot bring to reasonable an important question would be to suggest that you should maintain it. He represented the Indian cause would be hard to the fact as well as to the fact of the Times on the question. He wrote continued the same throughout and Lady Hunter wrote to the editor of a letter that clearly before the fact he had prepared an outline of a series of articles which he had planned on the Indian question."

Mr. William's references to English opinion and its prejudices against the Indian National Congress Party in the Indian are interesting from the historical point of view as also the trouble he makes to his friend, Mr. the editor of a British subject to more important in the eyes of the British people than that of being an Indian. The letter is reproduced below.

—W. F. I  
Oxford Hall,  
New Oxford,  
13th May, 1935.

Dear Sir,

I duly received your telegram of the 7th May and have taken such action as is possible in absence of information regarding the Franchise Bill's completion of the receipt of the Memorial. I shall certainly consider what future

"The Franchise Bill in South Africa, a 10. (London: Second Edition 1935) Price Rs. 1.50 postage via. Rs. 1.50.

The Franchise (Amendment) Bill is the one introduced in the Legislative Assembly of Natal in the year 1935 in relation to Indians. It is

The memorial was presented by the Indian community in Natal to Mr. Sir John Chamberlain, then Natal's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, requesting him to introduce an amendment before meeting to the Franchise Amendment Bill, 34.

steps are practicable.

I had a long interview with the Secretary of State for India a fortnight ago on the grievances of British Indian subjects in South Africa. He was much interested, and I laid before him an exact account of their status in the Transvaal, Natal and the Orange Free State. He expressed his sympathy, but mentioned the difficulty of adding further elements of disturbance at the present moment to our complications in South Africa.

I have great hope that justice will in the end be done. But it will, I fear, be done somewhat slowly. You have a good cause, but it has unfortunately got mixed up in English opinion with the movement of complete unity by the Indian Congress Party. I myself sympathize with much in the Congress Movement. Yet I cannot help thinking that any really good cause, like that of the British Indian subjects in South Africa, which in England have being too prominently connected with the Congress platform.

You have only to take up your position strongly in order to be successful. That position is that the British Indian subjects in South Africa are, like in our own Colonies and in independent friendly States, being dependent of their status as British subjects guaranteed to them by the Sovereign and the British Parliament.

Please address letters or telegrams to me at Oxford as your telegrams are re-directed and involve some needless charges.

Wishing you all success in your public-spirited labours,

I am,  
faithfully yours,  
W. W. Hunter

M. K. Gandhi Esq.

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## HARIJAN

Feb. 5

1955

### THIS IS NOT ENOUGH

(By Magsabala P. Saroti)

The Avasi Congress has passed the following resolution—

"In order to realise the object of the Congress as laid down in Article I of the Congress Constitution and to further the objectives stated in the Preamble and Directive Principles of State Policy of the Constitution of India, planning should this year with a view to the establishment of a socialist pattern of society, where the principal means of production are under social ownership or control, production be progressively speeded up, and there be equitable distribution of national wealth."

We have been discussing this new development and the shift it marks in the policy of the Congress followed hitherto, in the past two or three issues of this paper. Having now seen the resolution as it has been passed by the Avasi session, it does not appear that there is any need for the modifications of our views expressed therein. On the contrary it confirms the fear expressed in these columns that a change of this nature is likely to create confusion and even obscurity in regard to what the Congress really wishes to do. The debate on this resolution at Avasi points to the same conclusion which is again testified by comments in the Press on this subject. The *Hindu* of Madras, for example, on its 10th Feb issue, sounds the following warning at the end of its long and thoughtful editorial: "Congressmen have an obligation to see that Avasi has not merely added one more misleading slogan to confuse the people."

But we need not quibble over words. We are concerned with work and what is pertinent is to see whether, in the present conditions in the country, this resolution will help fulfil that work, and if not, then how and to what extent.

The resolution refers in its preamble to the object of the Congress as laid down in its Constitution, as also to the objectives stated in the Preamble and the Directive Principles of State Policy in Part IV of the Constitution of India. And it aims to further these Objectives.

The object of the Congress as laid down in Article I is the establishment of a Co-operative Commonwealth.

And the Indian Constitution speaks of constituting India into a Democratic Republic. It also sets forth in Part IV the Directive Principles of State Policy in order to achieve that ideal.

It is clear that both these ideals are much wider and more comprehensive than what is implied by 'the socialist pattern of society.' These two have already laid down in broad terms we might say, the kind of society we are at. The question is what path shall we take to achieve it.

It is here that the necessary difficulties may arise. The above resolution of the Avasi Congress seeks to clarify the question by moving in the path to be taken. Let us analyse what it says on this question.

The resolution specifies the following few things—

1. There must be planning to reach the goal.
2. The planning should be so conceived as to usher in a socialist pattern of society.
3. The socialist pattern of society envisaged here will have the following features—
  - (a) the principal means of production should be under social ownership or control,
  - (b) production should be progressively speeded up, and
  - (c) there should be equitable distribution of national wealth.

In the Directive Principles of State Policy the Constitution of India has itself indicated the path to be pursued in order to reach the goal laid down in it. Does this resolution add anything to it or modify it in any respect?

In the same way, the Congress has also specified its path—the path of what is commonly called the constructive programme to reach the goal laid down in Article I of its Constitution. Does the resolution under consideration make any addition or modification to it?

What do we find by scrutinising the Avasi Congress resolution in the light of the above considerations? It is clear that it now brings forward a totally new formula, namely, the social ownership or control of the means of production, which is the distinctive feature of destructive Socialism. That production should be speeded up, and the wealth so produced should be equitably distributed are not new things. What is new is that the means of production should be under social or Government ownership and control. This, therefore, might be taken to be the special feature of this resolution or its participation at the present time.

We know that planning is a job for Government. The Congress, being in power, the Congress Government has been doing it, and the Parliament has resolved now that it should take place with a view to the establishment of a 'socialist pattern of society.' The Government is therefore committed to it. The Avasi Congress has set its seal of approval on it. Obviously, this is the plain meaning of the resolution.

But that is not enough. It does not by any means complete the work of the Congress. As said in an earlier article, the Congress is bigger than its Government. It is a people's organisation waiting or desiring to work among the people.

Not only that. If it means to guide the Government as has formed,—which it is duty-bound to do,—then its vision must not remain confined within the limits which Governmental

disseminated as they also may have to accept it should be much greater and go much further than that.

The Congress has hitherto turned its power mainly from the villages of India. The crux of the unemployment, the poverty and some of the pain which has continued to blight our village life has been its first and most important object. And it must continue to reserve its first attention even from the exclusively economic point of view of the desirability of increasing the national wealth and bringing about its equitable distribution. The Constitution of India is equally interested on that point when it says that the State must ensure work and employment to the people so as to enable them to attain a reasonably decent standard of living. It has to be confessed that the above resolution suffers from a grave defect in that it fails to mention the need for full employment and the eradication of unemployment. None the economic philosophy would say that this constitutes our first task. It would have been better to declare so by a formal statement in the resolution. However, let us hope the resolution would be construed to include the objective of full employment and the eradication of unemployment through village industries as the most effective means of increasing the production and the planning work on that basis.

28-1-55

(From the original in Gujarati)

## PLANNING FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT

Dr. P. E. Mahalanobis

The concept of planning has captured the imagination of our people, their especially since the advent of India's political independence. It is not only politicians and political or economic subjects who take plans without a reference to the need for planning and economic life. This interest in planning is not altogether new and born. Industries Councils in our efforts may be taken as the basis of the demand for a coordinated approach to the solution of national problems which subsequently got crystallized in the famous Karachi Congress Resolution of 1931. For the first time in our political history an attempt was made to define our social policy.

When the next stage was reached in the political struggle and the Congress participated in and won elections, came the opportunity for giving concrete shape to the principles that had been enunciated. This led to the appointment of the National Planning Committee in 1938 under the Chairmanship of that great leader Mahatma. In its early stage this Committee defined the objectives of national planning in the following comprehensive terms: "To improve the well-being of the community primarily by identifying the economic development of the community concerned on an all-round basis, at no expense incurred to nature, so as to achieve a due proportion between the various forms of producing and wealth for equitable distribution among the members of the community and to induce such adjustment between the interests of producers and consumers, individuals and the community collectively, the private and controlling governments as to maintain a proper balance between these various interests."

We may skip over the intervening period which ended in the introduction of foreign domination and the complete transfer of power to the people of the country. The Constitution of India that was adopted in the name of the people defined the fundamental rights and introduced cer-

tain directives of social policy. Having regard to these rights and to the contents of the principles, the Government of India constituted the Planning Commission in March 1950 with the object of drawing up plans for progress. The first step was to fix the standard of living of the people by certain objectives of the measures of the economy, increasing production and creating opportunities for full employment in the service of the community.

The introduction of the Plan and the various steps taken and suggested in the publication are again, events of recent history on which it is not proposed to dwell here. The plan has come into its operation for the first three years and it is felt, and the first three years passed with confidence, in less than a year and a half. On various occasions the progress of the Plan has been reviewed in official consultations and has formed the subject of discussions in Parliament and in State Legislatures. The first advantage of such reviews in the guidance that they afford for our future course of action, it is obvious that planning does not end with the expiry of the five-year period. They represented the first stage of planning. The first Five Year Plan has to be succeeded by at least two or three further plans before we can reach the goal that the nation has set before itself.

It is more than that it is not too early yet to think in terms of the second Five Year Plan. The Planning Commission as such, has concentrated the ground predominantly and it is presumably engaged in elaborating requirements and planning measures. Very appropriately led by the Commission and Government have declared publicly that the first two years to be drawn up from before. The matter for consideration in the approach. The first Plan represented in a certain extent, the estimate of development and reconstruction already in progress in most States and at the Centre initiated upon with the setting up of representative Governmental effort to their responsibilities to the people that it is only the commission that and eventually realization that the Planning Commission launched which imparted a social purpose to the plan.

It is a danger that if the next Plan should be hatched from before it may also suffer from the same defect, namely, the lack of a definite social purpose and meaning. Proposals will be put forward for industries and industries by those which through acceptable in themselves do not constitute a coherent pattern. They may not be inspired by a set of well-defined principles. A plan so constructed may be capable of being worked out and it may even be fitted into a well-planned programme. It cannot, however, constitute social planning. The first document which therefore is to stimulate these principles, which may inspire the entire plan. It is the national effort that goes towards the realization of the plan left in its purpose.

The ground has been cleared in a considerable extent by the decision that took place recently in Parliament on the subject of the national objective in the economy. This was the most general of national effort is to have been shared, in full employment, greater production and better distribution in securing that aim we have to proceed along democratic lines, through the pursuit of methods that are consistent with the safeguarding of our fundamental rights. It is only, then, that we shall be in a position to replace the present social order by a socialist, democratic, socialist society the establishment of which becomes Parliament has declared, our main task.

This declaration has far-reaching implications which cannot be lost sight of in the social process of planning our programme of economic development. In the first place it has to be recognized that production per se is not the end because of production has fundamentally to be planned for in a manner which is in harmony with the social object of increasing the volume of employment and which can be achieved without detriment to the social object of securing better distribution. In the debate in Parliament, the aspect that first claimed attention was that of unemployment. As it is full employment that planning

has to be taken into any consideration of this subject what we have to take into account is not the numbers who are unemployed, but the still larger numbers who are not, possibly, employed usually, intermittently, seasonal, or for part of the day or in certain parts of the day.

Dr. H. Howard Foxwell, for facts published in 1934, that 75,000,000, mentioned 4 to 8 years as the number of persons who were unemployed and 15 to 20 as the number of the advanced unemployed. At that time there were hardly any reliable figures available on the basis of which an accurate estimate could be made. With the aid of the relative new statistics in the Census of 1931, and other reliable statistics and surveys it is possible to form some approximate estimate of those who are still not employed. However, it is still a little difficult to assess the volume of underemployment, depicted as such. But probably 100,000,000 is good and is often 120,000,000 in agriculture and in small-scale occupations.

In the course of his recent speech in Parliament, that C. R. Dendrobis gave an exact statistical idea of the magnitude of the underemployed, but dealt mainly with the numbers for whom employment had to be found during the period of the last Five Year Plan. Telling the working force as it exists he assumed that roughly the proportion of those who were not in employment and for whom it is found is to be found as 10 per cent. That means, since and a half of people were available for employment in 1935, that he had also to be made for the 15 lakhs of persons who according to present estimate there would be added annually of the unemployed people. Thus, there is a 10 per cent. work, working force, to be found, according to the estimate, for 24 lakhs of persons, and in the second five-year period the 12 lakhs.

There are by themselves, therefore, figures. The actual problem is employment to be provided for would be 15 lakhs which is nearly as much as the total number of population in all the Empire. Indirectly put together. But there is an element of underemployment involved in these estimates. To the increase of 10 lakhs in the class of population coming through the normal growth of population in 1935, there has to be added half the number of those for whom jobs have to be found in other suggestions that in 75 lakhs, for the first five-year period, 100,000,000, about this figure has to be found for 12 years, persons for 10 lakhs, persons or 24 lakhs per year. But for these figures, this is a normal of the an employment and underemployment that power in the 1935 of agriculture.

In the memorandum by the Ministry of Agriculture and the High Industries Board submitted for consideration to the All India Conference of State Boards and Congresses. However, the number of persons who were unemployed was shown according to agriculture to be 12 lakhs according to the All India Conference the working force in 1935. That the Census is 1400 lakhs. The number of the population mainly 10 lakhs were reported, the increasing dependence of 10 lakhs among the agricultural and non-agricultural classes, according to the end of those to be unemployed, we get the figure of the persons for whom employment has to be found. This will be another 10 lakhs of the additional workers, 10 lakhs in total figure who will have to be found for employment every year.

An estimate of the capital resources required for providing work for these large numbers was given by that Dendrobis. It is simply which shows that the money needed would be enormous compared to the resources the country has at its disposal. When the magnitude of the expansion of industry or the expansion of agriculture would be very far left for expansion or also the form of production the output of which could be marketed within or without the country, that an examination of the figures — the numbers to be put in work and the capital resources required — makes it clear that along the line of the form

of industrialization than not in any solution of the problem of full employment. In fact, it shows in any instance in the production of consumer goods which are in general being increased and by making including village industries or which ways or can be industrialized. Thus the people will be the reverse of what is intended. Instead of finding new jobs for people other large numbers will be displaced from their present jobs or the possibility of increasing increased employment through the expansion of these industries will remain the same.

It is for that reason that during the past few years demands have been raised for the placing of restrictions on the expansion of large-scale organized industries which, tapping upon the already existing of village industries, from the broad standpoint of national economy. The Rural and Cottage Industries Committee of the National Planning Commission that put forward this policy of slow in industrial form. The First Meeting Committee (Department) and all the steps for the preservation of certain form of production for the handloom industry. Later, some a matter demands by the Economic Committee of the Congress. The principle has, subsequently, been accepted by the Government of India, and is related to the handloom weaving industry. Restrictions have been placed on the production of certain types of textile goods by textile mills and a quota system has been applied for the cottage industry. For the benefit of the cottage industries and handicrafts industry a case has been proposed on the grounds of the large-scale organized textile industry. There is differentiation already in operation in the matter of the control system states on the textile industry, the steps taken by the State and these industry the differentiation being either to grant a quota to the small-scale units or to exempt them from duty or to reduce in duty from the scale of duty. While the certain forms of production such as the shirting mills, there may have to be a complete ban for some, the policy may be to shallow expansion, and for others, the differentiation of systems of production. In the past differentials in duty on the existing manner as the Planning Commission visualized, there would be justification for the imposition of a case on an organized large-scale industry in the interest of the over-producing cottage or village industry.

The purpose of such regulatory action is to afford protection to that sector of the economy consisting of self-employed persons, which even in the field of industries maintains itself. In the aggregate, in the national income, the individual proprietors are equally in work, because there is a vast volume of underemployment, at least for days and months and not a few weeks, even for a full day. Besides the individual self-employed persons suffer most from the impact of market trade goods on his production. The form of competition is reflected directly in the lowering of his earnings. Lastly, the restriction of the industry, individuals, such as they are, get displaced under the stress of competition. There is a form of competition in all forms that the self-employed industrial worker has to be made. It is his productive capacity that has to be stimulated. It has to be checked the growth of underemployment and thereby to stop a form of productive underemployment which causes, automatically, increase both of employment and production.

In such discussion of production it is often assumed that it is an assumption of technological advance that keeps the scale of production in going. Industries start in to put the limitations of natural power or the capacity of materials in their hands that continually set a limit to any increase in productivity. Once it is left of resources in the stage of any more in raw material or in carrying out or improved tools and techniques that keeps down not only the quantity of production but the price. The industry for progress also is shown in the form of powerful competition — the struggle between the hand and the giant — and besides the steady increase of most individuals and the average business the scale that they

any major means is impossible for those areas if they wish to do so in any new technique. The philosophy of the policy of regulation and protection to favour the growth of an active programme of providing organizational, technical and financial aids.

Such aids can be more actively provided through the expansion of the employment of being, handicrafts and other manual workers in co-operative societies. It is not enough if production is increased and absorption of it employment expanded. The economic system of the future, it is predicted, should be such as does not give rise to competition. On the contrary it should carry on with the road to a classless society. The co-operative form of organization with its democratic structure can, however, in the first place, give the economic activity its needed power to control the production and for their economic betterment. The replacement of the system of profit by the practice of service helps the economic enterprise to harmonize with the interests of the community in general. And for the economic individuals who constitute it or will do so in future the membership of the societies to progress towards self-sufficiency without external help in the initial stages will be a experience that will help too that it is desired effected through their aid.

Lastly a word about technological progress and the use of electricity. The use of electricity has often been advocated as the principal means for the development of native industries. Supply of electricity we shall have in abundant measure and it may be that power will be available on terms which compare favourably with the rates charged for similar supplies to rural areas. Even if that is the case the use of electricity will be mostly beyond the capacity of the average worker in native industries for reasons both of the initial outlay involved in equipment and the price paid for the supply. Besides the question of the extension of the use of electricity for native workers has to be judged by the application of two crucial tests. Will the extension of electricity give greater scope for the realization of a man's labour for more than that is possible under the present conditions? If the answer is in the affirmative it would be desirable to encourage the introduction of electricity. The second—and even a great extension—contribution is will this supply labour in any form the effect of providing increased employment for utilization of resources equipped with human, capital? With the use of electricity will be providing additional healthy employment it may well be welcome. But if it is likely to result in displacing labour now engaged in native industries, certainly it can cause an unemployment under the new order of things. Freedom from exploitation and growth of employment must, first, higher to some of our values that more because of productivity

## THE STATE ACCORDING TO GANDHI (By Dr. Krishnaswami Sanku)

The first part of the "The state philosophy" led to the issue of Gandhian Democracy. Read the following further part I.

What a noble conception of man we find here! "I am not considering an age for which it is to be found through-out the history of a few thousand years. It is to be found in a dream of a man who was but a reflection of the Absolute. The dream that man is rational and, therefore, free. They came the people of America whose religion pointed to a great object but really ignored and failed man to be. Man became an agent in the great drama which God plays through history. Perfection came through to enter this life but with perfect man is remains the value of others, of things. First came the great but isolated elements of it of knowledge which did not advance man but put physical power in his hands. The result has been something in the form of the civilization of man. There has sprung up a system that man is intellectual and he is clearly a creature of his society. Knowledge and habits are all developed in such a philosophy man is man has got himself lost. But there is still that great Tradition, changes on which regards man as a spiritual being with creative qualities. Gandhian philosophy of man is founded in the position of the great images of man from the past. This tradition is an old tradition resulting in great human values. There is an age for contemporaries being replaced by respectation, emphasis and love being replaced by understanding and love. There is an age that man is to be released from the terrible grip of the new machine and returned to his human position of dignity when the great heritage of man begins his.

Thus if the world is in the grip of a new tide and a new order here in the new tide and the new order that Gandhian offers to the world. Gandhian has given us a political ideology. He was too much of a practical man, to believe that it would be of more immediate help to him, he was in the grip of a reality that he was putting his ideal before the people in such which gained and gave others what will have to be made. If you talk with him that the world is in the grip of such a tide is should be your children but to achieve intelligently of course, and find out if it could be put into practice and so on that a man will show the tide which Gandhian here is aware and does not remain simply to giving government to him that there was a teacher and a sage who saw a great change but the spiritual generation did not attempt to act up to it.

I would advise with you to take it to your laboratory. I am not to do so but here he is in contact with human experience and how his human nature for human human nature or otherwise can be used, to achieve it. It is only then that Gandhian's dream can be saved from being depicted as a mere dream in the long history of human thought.

When you take Gandhian philosophy to your laboratory and begin your observation and reflection, the first difficulty that will face you is the radical change introduced by him in the conception of man. He was to live the spirit of the man and man was the instrument of God's action and love. This attitude of the Christian philosophy of man which Gandhian inherited in learning was, but the philosophy points to the world have caused such a revolution and the man of science moved up them to the first of politics have led him to the idea of freedom of man to their political is to live a place that in the hands of the Research Committee of the American Political Science Association the question was raised here could national rights become more again a matter of justice and unbalanced opportunity and it was actually proved. Can a Gandhian have he found whether the rule of mankind can share the solution that man is contained by his nature with certain inalienable rights? And then the answer continues and says "Perhaps there

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last, notwithstanding that psychology is limited to explore man's mind, would the thoughtful man rather provide an alternative? What would many expect after 1914? Psychology seems to me to say that you are putting some thing first which is incapable of giving a conception of mind in its alternatives. The world is defined and limited, man is in the world of man as he is. Wrong education demands the recognition of man in his present position is dangerous. Goodbye's conception of man is in contrast to the great demand of the day. Political education here to accept it or find an alternative to it, man again in a position of dignity in society.

I have already said that as political education your education should be to find out if Goodbye's conception of social values can be put into effect. In this movement we face great difficulty that will have you first tell to the nature of man. Underlying any action of human mind here is some previous conception of human nature and the meaning of human existence, and you know Goodbye's conception of the nature of man which involves his state and the social system which he demands. If there is such a vital relation between human nature and the political and social system then to know whether Goodbye's political and social system can be made good, that you will have to study human nature as God and how far we can take as it was beyond of obtaining a new society and state.

Goodbye's man is a man of more creative cultural mind and feeling. It is under that a State or society of his conception may become a reality, no man is God and if man is rather in such or not he is able to.

It is now admitted that the study of human nature has a rightful place in the methodology of political science. There is still a great difference amongst folk, it about what human nature is and we cannot be sure, of what kind of State will come out a need and survive in time we have a few thought of human nature. It is to find out some thing profounder on that that you are education, we are like primitive man though, a group of individuals and there it is accepted a personal capacity for liberty, imagination and creative thought his future, creative all our hope of giving the world new faith will be with. All these make it imperative that in the context of our understanding the fact whether Goodbye's philosophy of the possibility of human affairs can be source of hope in a corrupted world, we have to study human nature as God how far his conception of man is based on reality.

I have no hesitation in declaring the statement I have myself said that his teachings are not for an actual state. How many states we have and together within the States are in the great created of action with one about the beautiful passages of the Old Testament what "Wingspreads" I will remember how inspiring these passages were. And we cannot be disposed to say that we were like children of life. After the outbreak of the last war there was proclamation of objective in a large scale in our villages. The war in Europe had been before, of for centuries of the people there, is consider here to read the situation created by these theories. We thought of making a collection here and we spent hours in discussing whether these theories would go round the village of a tribe, because tribe being a system of violence would not really fit in our kind of non-violence. Now we are free and the village of violence has demonstrated the reality of non-violence as a powerful weapon. But if you have been reading the newspapers of this State you must have found that we are unfortunately using these tribes to force, many tribes have and in order to maintain peace we have to use the free police which in pursuance of Goodbye's philosophy many would very much like to be replaced by a police system in the method of non-violence dealing with crime. I mention all these to show how

necessary it is for you to make a study of human nature if a State of the vision of Goodbye is to take shape.

I know to do this you will have to take guidance from psychology. It has been said that the greatest contribution to our day has been the birth of science of psychology and we need to understand man demonstrating the truth of this statement. There is something incredible in this, and this is why in social sciences we can only know the complexity in human action and find the simplicity as in physical sciences which have to deal with things. The concrete example of human nature is our example in schools and with the help of psychology we can discover a pattern in human nature which may help us to understand human conduct. We expect political science to give us the knowledge of how human behaviour can be controlled and directed and it is essential in this only if with the help of psychology we can discover what are the basic impulses working in man and how they work. An impulse which works for evil may also be used good and made to become an instrument for the good instead of doing it bad and in the course too much you find wrong man but it may be perhaps increased in its evolution which is necessary for the progress of man.

It is said that man is so short that if left to himself he would not take the trouble of even travelling his mind and mind of achieving improvement in life. He cannot do it necessary for the advancement. With the help of lower order animal human nature a powerful force for evil to find out that he substituted into one capacity powerful for good. A psychological analysis of the complex pattern of our nature sometimes helps us to know what is clearly there in our nature which can be harnessed to the great work of giving practical shape to the social organization of Goodbye's State and also which of them can be constructed to serve that purpose.

Human nature is not immovable. It is said that it not change but there that there are two extremely opposed views. One holds that human nature is human. The other group believe that man can be changed in any change in society. The real answer to any attempt to make change in the existing order of things can be that it is the result of working of the nature of man and it would be futile to make any change in man because of the facts in his nature will prevail in the end only.

Opposed to this the other extreme view is of those who believe that human nature is a mere social construct and a change in institutions can change human nature itself. To this group belong those radicals who want to create man and society after their own thoughts. But the truth seems to be somewhere between these two. Human nature changes though with slight difference. Man's personality itself is the result of the interaction between the inner man and his surroundings and social action is the result of the interaction between personality and social surroundings. If it be so you have to make a deep analysis of the implications of your inquiry to find out what changes can be made in them so that they may be of help in increasing those traits in our nature which may be conducive to the establishment of a Goodbye Society.

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## ECONOMICS OF RURAL PURCHASES

(By F. L. Molini)

The appeal to the public by our Kibbutz can be justified on various grounds, but the effect of increased productivity is almost its prime. In an economic order based on merit, it is the connection with laborious Kibbutz work that the applicant must be considered here in his purely economic way.

The prime economic production that needs to be emphasized is the one which has led the Planning Commission of Village Affairs in the Ministry to recognize the importance of village agriculture in the national economy. It is not in the least a rural order in the production of rural products, but in the way in which the development of agricultural production. The various village industries are covered by the Commission to be an essential part of rural development, firstly because they provide for the production of numerous goods without the help of capital equipment or in any considerable scale, and secondly because they provide employment in rural settings to surplus or underemployed labor on the land.

More important than contributions are will be clear from a glance at the following table compiled on the basis of the Census taken in 1959:

	Development expenditure (in millions of lire)	Additional persons employed annually (in thousands)
Industry (including small-scale industries)	148.92	4
Major Industries and rural factories	180.40	7½
Agriculture	358.40	20
Trade and Buildings (including retail trade)	21.43	1
Health	204.27	2
Cooperative Industries	37	10 (plus 40 provided with labor employment)

From these figures it is obvious what an enormous contribution is expected to be made by the development of village industries by way of additional employment. This share is particularly significant in the light of the work involved in the various areas of development. On the basis of the figures presented in the figures of the Planning Commission it is able to make the assertion that to which report of the National Commission of development makes such a large contribution to the solution of the problem of unemployment with an little capital outlay. While the raising of the standard of living of the bulk of the population is one of the objectives of the Five Year Plan that object is itself incapable of achievement unless the growth of unemployment is held in check. Hence in the present context as Parliament has recently emphasized there is no problem as unemployment in its magnitude as that of rural unemployment.

Accordingly the all round system it should be to take in the forefront of our plan of national economic development the active promotion of village industries must become a matter of public duty.

There are two areas of participation in this enterprise. One is the traditional productive laborer or is still in the economic exploitation of those who take in such laborers. Some among our own is in the work of economic support for the all our society in the fact all of us can realize the by spending part of the proceeds of these village industries even at some surplus.

A society of the village industries suffer because of the limited markets they can command and the region

of the production (including the village industries). By application of the principle of the "law of diminishing returns" it is hardly possible, if not impossible, to obtain a constant, lower price performance and more money performance (and it is not). We should then, if we are to make the village life in the shape of an increasing income, which such a solution is in the general support of the national economy, and not merely for the benefit of a few producers.

The call for such work will be limited, as far as the aspect of Kibbutz production the nation of the present, however, because it is not limited in number but rather in its use for connection with the large numbers of men and women in rural areas who are unemployed or underemployed either throughout the year or in the off-season. This is why a demand is put forward for the producers of Kibbutz work to the production of other factors. After agriculture, Kibbutz work can become a trade industry, but no other cottage industry is capable of providing employment, either in the rural setting or elsewhere for such large numbers without much employment of capital machinery with the aid of local resources, and with only a little preliminary preparation and instruction.

The basic statistic in the development today is the shortage of a market that can absorb the growing volume of production. This production at the end of the Five Year Plan is distributed by the All India Planning Commission is expected to reach the figure of the village per capita of state. Even if Kibbutz work a little more than other industries and businesses that the additional volume of expenditure involved will not be absorbed considerably when viewed as part of a contribution towards solving the problem of rural unemployment. The difference between the price paid for Kibbutz and the other varieties of goods represents the difference which that has to be recovered for the purpose of operating in the orderly control of the market in order to achieve employment in rural areas and the possibility in these areas of additional employment of an acceptable type.

In many countries, there are schemes of rural development which protect all efforts against unemployment. In India, where schemes of rural security are devised to meet directly in terms of industrial labor employed in large-scale industries or other large-scale enterprises. But the number of such industrial workers is relatively small. The large class of the manual workers being employed in the agricultural industry, for whom and for whom families subsistence and partial employment are not a financial problem, but not a technical difficulty. To devise schemes of rural security for the use of workers and for the state would be unworkable distribution and would ultimately be against the interests of national solidarity. To provide against unemployment in rural areas is however a tremendous financial undertaking, possibly beyond the present capacity of the Central or State Governments to undertake.

Again from that even if a scheme could be devised the large numbers involved with will surely without work. While the numbers involved are small or the unemployment more among the groups in industries concerned is but a passing phase, being without work may not present a biological problem. But to prevent millions in rural areas without work some from year to year and to years and even where for long periods is away from the economy, as well as the biological point of view. The other these large numbers to maintain an income, even if that were lost, is which is far from being the case it would be such work. The revival of Kibbutz work in villages should demand the only solution.

Although the bulk of the employment that will be provided through the extension of Kibbutz production will be for handicrafts and of whom may be persons working the field should not be overlooked that, in addition there is quite a large number of other persons who are skilled workers such as the basket makers and weavers. The handloom weaving industry suffers from

a chronic shortage of supplies of work and the capacity for production that is available. But largely idle "Western workers put a full month's work." The extent of Government production of clothing in each will be to provide additional full-time employment on large-scale workers and in other activities as well.

It may be that in some of these the whole disposition in public levels that exist today may get increased and in the meantime the Government has the proposed under state guidance. It is not recognized as a basic state machine it is known in getting the economy, therefore assigned to it in the national plan. The limited quality of the quality of material available, it may be obtained in not inferior to that of corresponding minimum state. Government at least will be made by the State and Village Industries Board to raise the standard of production. Increase of level of the may help in increasing state and some reduction in the state brought about through improvement of work, with the aid of the Board, in purchasing state and in increasing facilities for marketing. But the more state leading to lower state will be the use of improved state. Beyond the introduction after experiment and research, of more efficient tools and techniques and the pursuit of better methods of production which aspects of the work before it have already required the attention of the Board even in the early stages of its career.

#### 'DOCTORS WARN: DON'T SMOKE'

*Magazine Digest* for September 1964 reprints an article by Dr. DeWitt Fox, M.D. which is summarized below:

"In 1960 some 50 million Americans blew up into the air the smoke of 4 lakhs million cigarettes. Over 2,000,000 cigarettes are lighted to the tune of \$255. For the habit the American public paid half a billion dollars—more than we pay all our school teachers in the U.S. or the value of all the automobiles we make each year.

"The personal financial aspects are equally appalling. Take a man at 30 who smokes a pack a day. During his smoking life—40 years—he will have up \$1,800, the value of a brick cottage, a fine car or a trip to Europe. If he is a two-pack a day man, the cost will be \$4,000, a college education for his son or a trip abroad on a luxury ship.

"The smoker in his lifetime is worth a year or two of his salary to the cigarette companies. He works for them, not for himself. He deprives his family of many of the fine things in life while he burns them up in smoke.

"The financial aspect is not as important as the ill-health that follows in the wake of this gigantic volume of smoke.

"Dr. Oschner, professor at Tulane Medical School is one of America's leading doctors and an authority on lung cancer. He said:

"I am a physician and realize the harmful effects of tobacco. I feel that it does even more harm than alcohol. I don't advocate drinking. But anything one does to excess is harmful. And there are very few people who smoke moderately."

"He added: "Tobacco is an addiction that is as bad as morphine and it is almost as hard to break. I hope the time will come when

we will have more use of cigarettes without tobacco."

There is this question: "What is through smoking a 3-4 pack smoker has 100-150 percent phlegm—capable of causing death if the amount is only about 5 cc. (cubic centimeters) injected directly into the blood stream at 3-4 pack dose."

"Tobacco smoke contains a number of other chemicals including benzopyrene, which is responsible for the new source of lung cancer that is killing down men between the ages of 40 and 55.

"As Oschner says, the increase in lung cancer bears a close parallel to the rise of cigarettes. In 1950 lung cancer was only 1.1 per cent of all cancer, in 1958 it was 8.3 per cent.

"Twenty-five years ago," said Dr. Oschner, "I saw only one cancer of the lung in 4 years. During the last 15 years I have seen thousands. I am convinced there is a direct relationship between smoking and cancer of the lung. Meritons, pipe and cigar smokers, though less likely to get lung cancer, are more prone to cancer of the lip and tongue."

"In a study of 684 lung-cancer patients Dr. Wynder and Dr. Graham found that 75.5% of the men were either moderately heavy smokers or chain smokers (10 to 25 cigarettes in a day for 20 years). It is a pity to find a patient with lung cancer who does not smoke.

"The rapid increase in coronary heart disease in younger people, according to Dr. Oschner is largely due to tobacco. Nowadays people are more nervous and in turn smoke more nervously.

"Smoking can also produce an increased pulse in some persons, even a racing or irregular heart-beat. This is the so-called smoker's heart."

"Pulling a cigarette can also elevate blood pressure.

"This effect of tobacco on the heart reminded President Eisenhower at the wisdom of stopping. His blood pressure and pulse immediately returned to normal. Since then he has been healthier.

"Another melody you help yourself to avoid when you don't smoke is stomach ulcer. Smokers have more than their share of stomach ulcers.

"Like Dr. Oschner many other physicians will not treat an ulcer patient who smokes.

"Nicotine withdrawal can result from excessive smoking.

"It has been suggested," commented Dr. Oschner "that one should smoke because smoking calms the nerves. It does not calm the nerves at all. It makes one more nervous. The only thing a cigarette does for the nervous man is to give him something to do with his hands. But a pencil is doubtless could serve the same purpose with no danger to his health."

# HARIJAN

Feb. 12

1935

## HERITAGE OF GOODS AND UNEMPLOYMENT

(By Vinayakdas P. Desai)

I stated in a previous number that mills and factories should not be in an unhealthy or unfair competition with village and cottage industries in the field of supplying the basic necessities of our people such as food and cloth; in that and they should be properly regulated and controlled, and if found necessary government should take charge of them.

This question has come to the forefront because we now want to establish an ordered order wherein everyone of our men and women is usefully and profitably employed. We want to arrange things in such a manner that everyone of them is able to earn his or her livelihood adequately and with self-respect. By adequate livelihood I mean that one would be in a position to earn a proper minimum of bare income. This is the main objective of a true socialistic order and the theory of Socialism lays down that in order to achieve this aim industries should be under the ownership of or properly controlled by government.

Let us look at the question from another angle. Undoubtedly it is considered one of the duties of government to see that for the working, growth and maintenance of various national industries old as well as new, they should be protected against their foreign counterparts who may kill or suppress them by competition. It is admitted on all hands that government should regulate its financial and export and import policies and keep a close watch on the custom or value duties and the subsidy rates etc. to this end. All these matters are to be minutely watched and seen into by government for that purpose. In the same manner it must be seen that large-scale capitalist industries do not kill or suppress by unfair competition the small-scale hand industries that are spread all over the country. This is the meaning of our saying that our country lives and works in its villages. But what is the position which obtains today? These small hand-industries hardly suffer from the unfair competition of large-scale urban industries. They "with" even far anywhere in a free economy. The fact however is that they are aghast and their small industries which produce a substantial part of the wealth of the country told they are not given proper consideration as their due weight in the industrial policy of the country. Thus we are lurching however. The reason is they have such vitality that they cannot be killed or destroyed. The first thing for the government to consider therefore while framing its industrial

policy is to protect the village and cottage industries. The large-scale private industries are powerful enough. They can easily take care of themselves and without government's wanting consideration on them. If support or protection be needed it is for these small village and cottage industries operating in the whole of the country unless they are protected and helped and allowed to thrive against the competition of the others we could not hope to save the people from unemployment. Nor can we hope to produce enough wealth. Government, therefore, should directly undertake to protect them.

An objection is here raised. Suppose you begin controlling the mills and factories. Will they not stop working altogether? Will not industrialists give up their jobs? Will this question not create difficulties for the country and the people themselves? Shall we not suffer from scarcity of goods and shortage of supply? Will it not lead to unemployment of industrial labourers?

Firstly, how far would it be true to say that the mill-owners and factory-owners are trustees who hold themselves responsible for supply of goods and things? But let us grant that their industrial work is this indirect advantage to the people as a whole. Still the objection raised is more or less imaginary. The mill-owners and factory owners do want to coast. They do want to occupy themselves mentally and gradually. It may be accepted that this would like to get out of the industries controlled by government. If they could find more suitable occupation or employment elsewhere. That however would be something for the nation to welcome. For, if the mills closed because they owners refused to run them, it would mean that the people have found their way to supply their needs by village and cottage industries. Here, however, the need has arisen these industries would as a matter of course begin to falter.

Let us, however, for argument's sake assume that there is some shortage of goods and things during the transition from one order to the other. How can that be any cause to be afraid of or to be pained? If it is necessary government itself can undertake to run these industries for a while. Besides, the people have already at their service the village and cottage industries besides set up by government itself. They can be easily worked to meet the shortage. Government, we would be using them by propaganda and other substantial aid. The people also must have by the time begun to feel hopeful and enthusiastic about these industries. And the government we have today is not a foreign government. Indeed, it is the people's own government and it has adopted the management of these industries as its policy. All men of the country people are desirous for employment industries that they know how to run and can start very easily are already in existence. The one thing lacking is a clarification of

and certainly about professional jobs, and its first objective. This purpose seems to be served by setting up a free, labouring, self-governing, centre of research and abstract thought (technical education). This is something as last made fundamental. It is to set our whole people to the work of production and to build the economic and industrial policy of the country on an entirely new basis. Unless we adopted it and sooner rather than later, we cannot hope to establish an order based on the socialist pattern, which means, if anything, equality for all on Earthdays, nor can we hope to reach the goal of the welfare state where our constitution has envisaged, nor can we hope our people to turn to the democratic way of life and government.

4-3-55

(From the original in Gujarati)

## MISTAKEN TREND IN INDIAN EDUCATION

(By Mageshwar P. Desai)

I have on my pending file for review, an article (Leader, October 12, 1954) by Sri Sri Sampurnanand now the Chief Minister of U. P. It is headed, "A Dangerous Trend in Indian Education." It seems to have been composed by and as a reply to the address by Sri G. N. Agrawal as the President of the U. P. Secondary Education Conference at Meerut. I have not seen the text of that address. What Sri Sampurnanand takes exception to in it is "the trend ... that education should be linked up with the problem of employment, ... should be integrated with the economic framework of society."

As I read above I do not exactly know what Sri G. N. Agrawal said in his address. Surely Basic Education as conceived by Gandhi, was not what Sri Sampurnanand takes exception to. Though I wonder whether there can ever be a sound system of really national education which is not linked to the economic or social needs of the community.

Sri Sampurnanand agrees that Basic Education is good for the entire nation.\* But he says, "It appears to me that any attempt to carry these principles into the secondary and still more into the university sphere only be tantamount to hamper the growth of knowledge." He also admits, "I do not agree with Mr. Minoo Banaji when he says that, Basic Education as applied to the pre-secondary stage is a retreat from civilization."

\*It may be noted here that Basic Education was not thought of as being for "all" as we generally know from Gandhi's emphasis. Basic Education as the general notion has been given somewhat shape in India. All that was made in 1934-35, and this further requires something in the way of modifications as time goes on. It is not intended that education should be a retreat from the world of knowledge, as it is to be said that. It is also meant by addressing and directly related to the life of the Community.

but I do feel that Gandhi said we shall be making a serious mistake in making a fetish of it and trying to carry it into regions which are beyond its limits.

To my mind this criticism, especially in the professions, one of them. Moreover, the critics of Sri Sampurnanand's view are eager and emphatic here or there. Still his position is fundamentally true and of a constructive idea as what Gandhi described as fundamental. It would have been more proper to say that some kind of Sri Sampurnanand's position is wrong as Basic Education in itself is not a thing. It is by it Sri Sampurnanand and himself have a Basic Education is more violent in nature of education, and this is an idea which is against general education for the whole nation forgetting at that time that what is under focus is in present is not really the stuff for India. For now, otherwise, would be perverted the end as follows.

"Those of us who believe in the meaning of the ages of India believe that it is necessary to the ages, the very fundamental nature of the human mind and that the human mind, history in life of the age is the expression of itself in any system of social economy, or a national economy. This is a concept must be placed as a concept personal and recognized as possessing an importance by not of itself, entirely independent idea, and independent of any one to which a single individual has had."

I am afraid, this might create, in the mind of an ordinary reader, the impression that Basic Education is something that goes against the grain of the teachings of our ancient sages and is a detraction to a way from our past ages. That this is wholly wrong is obvious.

There is also in the statement a fallacy that knowledge as we usually understand it is confused with what our Shlokas say as we. For example see its definition in the Gita, Chapter XIII, 7 to 10 as in the common notion of human life, while 'man's life may reach its full usually does today'—there is a learning or consequent information. It is this that the good of our civilization as, that our history is allowed to be for the future, though even this they are a necessary thing. It is a different matter. What is to be said here is that this knowledge may be whole, but it is not a variable knowledge to the point of real life, as this knowledge is not an end of its own.

The real aim of Basic Education as shown so on by Gandhi was to restore the present educational design in India to a truly general type of education of the whole nation, and restore the values of our ancient education which was a real pursuit of man in the true meaning of life. And what has been the chief and real defect

of English Education in India? It will surprise some, but it is clear that English Education, by and large, has been mainly utilitarian and vocational. It was pre-consciously meant and grew and developed to be an aid to British rule in India and to supply necessary professional personnel, official and non-official, for it. To assert this big and fundamental drawback is it and to deny Basic Education on the high-sounding plea of *art and quack*, will unfortunately come to ignoring the realities and over-riding what Basic Education really is. It will give a false direction besides to institutions like Shri Muni Indani and others to cling to the status quo. It is in this context that Basic Education is a revolutionary doctrine in Education. And I make bold to say that, it is also true in terms of the teachings of our old sages as well. *May* to be really worth the name must be born of *ayuga*, as must grow from life-experience. Knowledge or *gyan* must be integrally related to it, otherwise it will degenerate itself into *ajyan* which is worse than ignorance—a greater bondage. The reader will excuse me for quoting here from the Publisher's note of *The Educational Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi* wherein is shortly described what Gandhiji's view of education was in terms of the Gita philosophy. This is reproduced elsewhere in this issue.

It is hoped we shall try to translate this view of education in the system of education that free India is attempting to set up now. Basic Education viewed and understood this way, is a very desirable and urgently necessary reform.

30-13-34

By Mahatma Gandhi

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## NOTES

### Use of Possession

Sometimes, somewhere, man will wake up and realise that property is there only to be used, not possessed. He will realise that possession is a kind of illness of the spirit and a hopeful balm lies upon the agonising soul. The daily pronouns 'my' and 'our' will lose all their magic spell.

The question of property will never be settled till people cease to care for property. Then it will settle itself. A man needs only so much as will help him to live even faithfully. Surely, the individual who wants a motor car merely for the sake of having it and riding it, is as hopeless an automaton as the motor car itself.

All possession of the property question must arise spontaneously out of the new impulse in man to free himself from the extraneous load of possession and walk naked and light. If we are to keep our back unbowed, we must deposit all property on the ground and learn to walk without it. We must stand still. And when many men stand aside they stand in a new world. A new world of man has then come to pass. This is Democracy—the New Order.

It is a LAWRENCE

[The pronouns 'I' and 'my' of 'I have been given to India language the words 'ayuga' and 'ayuga' and some of property-grit and unpossessedness. These are linked with by us as 'Gita of the Gita' of which we are told to the earth to care ourselves.]

This idea must govern not only our individual spiritual life but also our social or corporate life and morality. It is here that the vital distinction between *use* and *possession*, between *using* and *owning* comes in. Its meaning brings us to possess merely goods. It is not even the body our vehicle and the physical possession. However, the sphere of such possession lies in, for we use what we use, and the end we have for it. Superstition is a world of possession is not only a burden, but is death or corruption from the community's common pool or wealth. Possession is therefore not coming but to find which while helping us huge money also through its proper use. Owning is possible or justified only through its right use.

4-1-33

It is P. I.

### Great Expectations of Monkeys

To

The Editor of *Hindia*.

Sir,

I have today received a letter from the Secretary of British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection 41, Whitehall, London, S.W.1 in which he signs

'The quote Pandit, wrote in saying that had some should never be imposed upon to gain right ends' but when I wrote to Pandit Harar asking him to interview that day the traffic in monkeys sent from India to laboratories in America and Europe he did not reply. It has just been reported in our (Punjab) newspapers that the (West) Indians actually gave an interview to the man who exports most of these monkeys. The man's name is Mr T. S. Patterson and he was once a London politician. His exports stand at 500 monkeys each year from India.'

People of our country are known all over the world for their kindness towards animals. It is sincerely to be hoped that Mr. Jeebhari Mehta, Prime Minister of India, will abandon this

policy of exporting the unfortunate monkeys for wicked destruction purposes. Monkeys should never be sent to other countries where they are so cruelly ill-treated.

Woodhouse Road,  
Colaba, Bombay

ROHINI K. MEHTA

### A TERRIFICOUS TRIFLE

(By J. Arnold Merthy)

The assets of any nation or any society are its natural resources which go to build the primary necessity of its citizens. India has all these in abundance. But still she had to face an alarming shortage of food. This grave challenge has been accepted by our democratic leaders. Our Government is pouring a great part of the country's revenues for this endeavour in producing dividend schemes, constructing huge dams, and importing machinery and technicians from the United States. But the pity is, it has forgotten to make use of an indigenous boon which can ensure a substantial increase in our food production. One such amazing boon is our bee-keeping industry. This may look a trifle, but, one has to admit, it is a Tremendous Trifle.

The honey bee, as the name itself indicates, supplies to man Nature's most perfect sweet food—honey on one hand, and on the other kind of renders indispensable service to agriculture. The Indians have justified it by regarding honey as nectar. Even modern science cannot deny its nutritive value and benefits to health. Canada produces about thirty-five million pounds of honey every year, which is worth about 75 million of rupees. But India is allowing such a valuable source of wealth almost unexploited. Crores of rupees worth of honey drip up in the sea, rotting as utility. This is like having a well-fed cow and allowing it to go un-milked, merely because there is no one to milk it.

Honey which has got a very high nutritive value is nowadays being used mostly for medical purposes. This is so because of its easy production.

In foreign countries like Canada and Australia bee-keeping is taken up not only because of honey and bee-wax, but also because of the valuable part bees play in the country's agriculture. It is a fact well-known to all ranging from an itinerant farmer, right up to a qualified botanist, that all fruits that never do not rot in a fruit. They fall away, unsuccessful in their mission of bearing fruits, because they were not fortunate to be pollinated. There are several pollinating agents in Nature, and the major of them is the honey bee. Each bee visits thousands of flowers everyday making a lot of honey by sucking nectar and in return pollinates them. It is a scientifically proved fact that honey bees pollinate 90 per cent of the farm and the fruit crops of the world. It is also learnt that production from bee-keeping industry, through agriculture

and gardening, is 15 times more efficient compared to production in the form of honey and wax.

It is a pity that we have neglected this industrial aspect of farming at a very heavy cost of losing more than half of the crop yield. It is extremely unfortunate that an agricultural country like India should have great scarcity of honey bees. Even those that are existing are being destroyed by the unscientific methods of honey collection. The colonies are being and the honey combs are smashed along with the brood and the eggs. This not only makes the honey adulterated but also leaves no bee to harvest and supply honey for a good time.

The Government should at least now pay attention it deserves and work for its development and propagation. There are some institutions like the Village Industries Department of the All India Rural Service Scheme through and some State Governments like Bombay which have developed a better technique in tending bees and honey extraction. But much is yet to be done in this important field.

### THE WAY OF KARMATOGA IN EDUCATION

Carlyle all his life had been a teacher of man, irrespective of class or creed, caste or colour, sex or race. It was from that larger aspect of his personality that he was required to teach all sides of man's life on earth—in progress and development. Therefore he dealt with the problem of education and developed it not merely for the moral aims of a school but also for other and wider fields of various human activities. His view of education, therefore, was to evolve the whole man in us, whom God has created in His own image. Hence education according to him, encompassed the entire vista of man's life on earth, from conception to creation if not before or beyond it.

Such a view of education was born of a philosophy that holds that education is indivisible; therefore it does not agree to compartmentalised or departmentalised man's life and its problems as technical apart from social, biological apart from ethical, physiological apart from metaphysical or spiritual. All these contradictory-looking aspects of man being dissected themselves in his view as one whole which man surely is and should undoubtedly be so considered, and his peculiar genius as the great teacher of men gave us also a similarly whole technique for the realisation of such an unity.

Very often Carlyle described himself as one who had not really discovered any new thing but had only translated or re-lived the heavy truths for the modern age and had chiefly tried to apply them to the group-life of man in society. These truths were well known in guiding our individual life, but more often than not they were ignored or, if at all, observed only in their breach.





# HARIJAN

EDITED BY BHAKTIA CHANDER  
DEWEE, BHAKTINAGAR, P. BHOOL



Vol. XVIII No. 21

IMMEDARAD—SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1935

TWO ANNAS

## THE LEGACY OF BHAKTIA GOKHALE \*

(By M. K. GANDHI)

જી હરિજિ સર્વજિ જી, ગુણિ સર્વિ જી :

જી સર્વજિ સર્વિ જી, ગુણ સર્વજિ :

અનુક્રમ ૧-૧૫ :

'Whatever you do, whatever you eat, whatever you offer as sacrifice or gift, whatever martyrdom you perform, O Bhakti-gan, dedicate it all to me'

જી સર્વ જી સર્વ જી સર્વ :

જી સર્વ જી સર્વ જી સર્વ :

જી સર્વ જી સર્વ જી સર્વ :

જી સર્વ જી સર્વ જી સર્વ :

ગુણ :

I, all have lived in your purpose only if I see Him (the Lord) face to face as I laugh and play O Gokhale, Krishna, Mahatma's Master, is the Lord of our life

It seems that Mahatma Gokhale functioned as if the words addressed by Krishna to Arjuna had been addressed to him by India, the mother of us all, and had been made by him the guiding principle of his life. For it will be readily admitted that whatever he did, whatever he enjoyed, whatever he sacrificed, whatever he gave in charity, whatever sacrifices he performed, he dedicated them all to his motherland.

The Gopal's devotion to Krishna as pictured by Mahatma is a just measure of Gokhale's devotion to India.

'What is the moral of Gokhale's life? What legacy has he left for us?'

These questions were answered by Gokhale himself in his last words to the members of the Servants of India Society who were present beside his death-bed.

'Don't waste your time in writing a biography or setting up a statue, but pour your whole soul into the service of India. Then only shall you be counted among her true and faithful servants.'

We have also before us Gokhale's views as regards the implications of service to the country. The Congress organisation must be maintained in full strength, people should be brought to a

\*From a message sent on February 10, 1935, on the first anniversary of the death of Shri Gopal Krishna Gokhale to the members of the Harijan League, the Harijan Sevak Sangh, to perpetuate Gokhale's memory.

realisation of the real state of the country through speeches and writings, education should be made available to every Indian child. But to what end? And in what manner? As we try to answer these questions, we become aware of Gokhale's standpoint. When he drew up the constitution for the Servants of India Society, he said that it was the Society's object to spiritualise public life. This is a comprehensive statement.

Gokhale's life was that of a man of religion. Every thing he did was done in the spirit of a devotee as I can testify. Gokhale once called himself an Agnosth. He observed that he had not, but wished he had, Kant's faith. Even as I could discern a religious strain in his ways, it would not be improper to say that his very doubt was inspired by religion. A man who leads a dedicated life, who is simple in habit, who is the very image of truth, who is full of humanity, who calls nothing his own—such a man is a man of religion, whether he has or is or is not conscious of it. Such was Gokhale as I could see during the twenty years of my familiarity with him.

In 1911 I tried to bring to public notice in India the question of underpaid Indian labourers in Natal, before I did so I knew our leaders only by name. But on this occasion I first came into contact with the leaders of Calcutta, Bombay, Poona and Madras. Gokhale was then known as a disciple of Gandhi. He had already become a life member of the Deccan Education Society as a professor in Ferguson College while I was quite an inexperienced young man. Still when I met him in Poona, I fell in love with him at first sight, and hence was privileged a bond of affection between us, such as I cherished for no other leader. I have had a personal experience of what I had heard about him, but I have never been able to forget the impression he left upon my mind by the love written in his eyes. I recognised him at once as the very embodiment of religion. I also saw Gandhi about the same time, but I could not have access to the innermost recesses of his heart. I knew him only as Gokhale's master. I do not know why, perhaps it was because he was so much my senior in age and experience that I could not know him as I knew Gokhale.

Since commencing in 1927 referred to above, Gokhale's political career served me as an ideal. I

trifled here as my heart of hearts as my teacher as public."

Professorship was a very important element in Gokhale's composition. Indeed this virtue is an indispensable quality in a man of religion. There was a surge of turn in Poona when Gokhale was in England at the time and referring to it he spoke to a conference of influential members of the British Parlia-ment. Some statements made in that speech could not be substantiated later on. Therefore when Gokhale returned to India, he tendered an apology to the Krongarth officials whom he had charged with misconduct and thus incurred the displeasure of some ignorant people who called him a coward and advised him to retire from public life. He rejected this advice with the noble words:

"Public duties undertaken at the bidding of my man, cannot be laid down at the desire of any one. Whether one works on a higher plane or a lower one is a matter of small importance. One is always glad of the appreciation by the public at what one has done. But it is not the highest purpose of existence, nor really the highest. If it comes, to give the words of Herbert Spencer, well, if not, well also, though not so well."

Gokhale did his duty conscientiously and never granted a single selfish thought on what view the public would take of his action. I believe he had the capacity, cheerfully to accept the failures for the coming, unless if necessary. I know no mortal the failure, more than once was very much easier for him than to face a difficult situation. But he never so much as thought of turning his back to it.

If therefore, we would learn a lesson from the life of this great patriot, we should follow his method of working in the spirit of a devotee. Every one of us cannot become a member of the Supreme Legislature, and members of that Legislature are not always men in the realm of the servants of the nation. Every one cannot serve on the Public Service Commission and men designated as its members are not always found rendering service to the country. We cannot all acquire learning like him and learned men do not always serve the people. But we can all cultivate virtues like courage, truthfulness, patience, honesty, a sense of justice, straightforwardness and perseverance and dedicate them to the nation. This is the spirit of a devotee. That is what Gokhale meant when he spoke of "public life being spiritualized." All who consider themselves in such a spirit of dedication will always see their way clear before them and claim a share in the legacy which Gokhale has left for us all. Such devoted workers will be endowed with all such gifts as they need as the Lord has promised, and Gokhale's life is an illustration of that promise having been abundantly fulfilled."

\* Translated from the original Gujarati - "vijay" - done by Yash Chavhanji Desai.

## BASIC — PRIMARY AND SECONDARY — EDUCATION

The Avest Congress passed the following resolution on one of our most important nation-building subjects, viz. Basic Education. The subject was considered so important that the resolution was sponsored and moved by the Prime Minister himself. The Resolution is as follows:—

"Whereas changes in the existing educational system are necessary essential for achieving the national idea and social objectives of Free India and in particular to train the right type of personnel for the speedy execution of the developmental plans. The Congress resolves the address of the Ministry of Education for reorganization of secondary education, particularly the decision to establish multi-purpose schools throughout the country to give adequate and basic training to students for specific vocations in life as well as for preparing in higher educational courses."

"The Planning Commission and the Government of India have already accepted the policy of introducing basic education as the basic pattern, or primary as well as secondary education in India, based basic education over the method of pre-tertiary activity and vocational training, subjects to different parts and to the social career as well. It is eminently so India for the needs and conditions of India. The Congress calls upon all the State Governments to further, as early as possible, this policy as far as they implement it fully in India rural and urban areas in a systematic and well-planned manner within a period of ten years."

Moving the resolution Mr. Nehru said: "But, partly from the educational point of view, any modern educational system would accept the method of basic education and yet unfortunately, to his great surprise, some educationalists in the country had insisted on it. They had said, and they still was a throw-back to some primitive stage of education. He could only say that they had not taken the trouble to understand what basic education was. Further, they had not quite understood what India was facing at today."

The old style of education, it was well known, had originally been started by the British with the particular purpose of putting a number of Indians trained to help in the administration of India in lower grades. It was true that since then their education had progressed and it was also true that even under the old style of education, India had produced very fine educated men and women. But that was no argument against basic education.

"Unfortunately, in our country there is a tradition," Mr. Nehru regretted, "that manual labour is something bad and degrading and is meant for the lower class of people. I doubt if any other thing had done more harm to the country than this mental attitude that manual labour is meant for the lower class and that high-class persons should not do anything by hand and should only do what is called mental, intellectual work."

Mr. Nehru reminded that the idea still persisted. He would describe it not only a wrong idea but a pernicious one. "I do not think if any nation thought that way, it can really progress."

\* Abstracted from the press report, Indian Express, Madras, Jan. 26, 1935.

Apart from everything else, from the point of view of character development, manual labour is essential."

Mr Nehru explained that they were concerned with the type of education which could give them both mental and physical fitness. The type of education which concerned itself only with reading of books was, from any point of view, incomplete.

It had become extremely important to lift the greatest strain on physical stress and ability to do things, Mr. Nakai said.

Explaining the purpose of elections, Mr. Nelson said, "After all, we want to elect a person for something. What for? Well, perhaps, previously it was to get a job in Government service. Government service is of course a respectable calling. There is nothing wrong about it. Certainly, not in Free India. But obviously only a small handful can get into Government service and the vast majority of people have to do something else."

"We want a society in which everybody is a producer in some way or other. Everybody is a consumer; he must be a producer also. If he is to be a producer, an effective producer, he must know his job well. For this, he must learn.

"We want everyone to be good at the particular job he does. And there are hundreds of thousands of millions of ways of working. I do not particularize this work as that but you must will to will be will of activity and be a producer.

"If that is our objective, then our whole training—ideological, intellectual and physical—must be aimed at that."

"Now the whole concept of basic education is, as I understand it, that for a period of seven years everybody in India, every boy and girl between the ages of 7 and 14 must go through this course of basic training and that training must give every person an adequate background to do something. No way, at a later stage, go to higher studies—not necessarily degree like B.A. or M.A. It will provide the studies in some technical or scientific institute where he can go and specialise. But seven years of basic training will be common for all. It will give some cultural attainment character capacity to work that is fitness to carry on manual activities and intellectual ability. We want that kind of basic education throughout."

Tarapur is pre-basic education. Mr. Mishra said that he considered pre-basic training as very essential part of the educational system. The pre-basic training which according to his conception would begin after the child was a year or two, was of the highest importance, much more important than any training given afterwards, because the child's character was largely formed in the first five or ten years.

The next step would of course be Mr. Mehra said that the basic education should be fitted into it. After that, some would not seek additional training. They might become farmers, shopkeepers or artisans. There was no need for these people to go to college or university. But those who had the capacity, should go in for higher technical—scientific, medical or engineering—training. So the basic training and the other training should be dovetailed. At present, there was not.

So have in a subject of the highest importance — **training of our youth, training of the mind, of body and hand.**

"I hope and trust that our State Government will take this up with speed and enthusiasm. Because this is largely a question for State Government. Of course the Credit Government come into the picture also and they must play their part. Nevertheless it is largely a question for State Government and they must push it through."



### The Relationship Between

Levels of Naturopathy all over the country will be checked at the sudden demise of Dr Krishnam Rao the founder of the Prathyaksha Chikitsashala which worked for Dr. Krishna's ideal in the field of Naturopathy. Goodwill lost and blamed him and his work. Dr. Prady's faith in Dr. Rao's healing potentialities knew no bounds. His approach was original and his patients were based on self-healing. All his life he struggled against the tyranny of medication and remained firm in his faith to the last. A day when he off when science will merge with his experiment.

**Fredrik Andersson,** *MANAGERIAL ECONOMICS*

© 2004 Blackwell Publishing Ltd, *Journal of Internal Medicine* 255: 105–112

Two days ago I came across the following figures of consumption of liquor in the U.P. in the columns of Sabal:

	1997	1998
Domestic Exports	775	818 thousand million
Foreign Imports	64	104 thousand million
Foreign Debt	940	957 thousand million

And today while turning over the pages of Cardozo's *Annals*, there I lie upon the following sentence in the post-prayer speech on November 7, 1917 in 150:

<sup>14</sup> If the Governments, Central and Provincial, were true to the Congress requirements, there would be no spirituous liquors or intoxicating drugs nor a system of gambling. The law to be laid to other countries (i.e. India or Europe)."

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By Margaret Smith  
 AVAILABLE - SEE POLITICAL CHAIR

Revised 11/2018    Version 10.1    Revision 1000    10/1/2018

MANUSCRIPT ACCEPTED

DOI 10.1002/for

# HARIJAN

Feb. 12

1935

## THE IMMEDIATE TASK

(By Mahatma P. Desai)

Various kinds of exhibitions are being organised these days. It is natural that many of these are of the industrial variety. We now aim at developing our industries and giving general employment to all our people. It is obvious that this practice of holding exhibitions is helpful towards the achievement of this aim to a certain extent.

As is well known exhibitions are being held along with the sessions of the Indian National Congress. The practice began with the session held at Ahmedabad in 1911. It has continued without break since then. Before this practice was started the All India Industrial Conference used to hold its sessions along with the sessions of the Congress. Ways and means for the development of the industries of the country were discussed and considered at these conferences. The Social Reform Conference also used to hold its sessions in the same manner. During the Gandhian era both these activities found and took their proper place in the nation's march towards freedom and formed part of the country's comprehensive and larger endeavour. As a result both the Industrial and Social Reform Conferences withered away and the National Congress itself began to discuss and consider problems of development of industries as well as social reform in a certain manner.

One aspect of this process of the merging of these activities in the current of the nation's larger endeavour has to be particularly kept in mind. A line was set that the aim behind these activities had to be related to the endeavour of the Indian people as a whole and that it could not be permitted to be a separate or miscellaneous detail serving the narrow interests of some particular section or class of the people. And abstinence of such a line and want of strict adherence to it would have diverted the nation's mighty effort for freedom, would have turned the nation from united progress on the high seas of independence to some narrow backwaters to be used as there for want of direction or space to go ahead. This was why movements like those for communal unity and removal of untouchability which embraced the nation as a whole found a place in the nation's programme. That was also the reason why firms like Khadi and village industries which were from the native people's point of view the last resort of the helpless and the last way given a prominent place in the nation's activities.

The ill-considered, haphazard or disturbing ready other commercial, caste or religious details of social reform which might have been considered necessary. What was sought to be done was to keep in mind those broad topics on which people as a whole could concentrate so that the entire nation may share the endeavour on a footing of equality and gain strength.

This was why exhibitions held along with the Congress sessions were confined to Khadi and products of village industries. That was the limit set for those exhibitions. Products of the textile mill industry and factories found no place in them. This prohibition was based on the understanding that these industries needed no support and were strong and that the whole nation's energies need not be wasted on their encouragement. On the contrary if they were given a position of national importance it would result in tying together industries though small but of vast national importance which had become helpless for no fault of their own and industries though of lesser national significance but considered big and leaving the former at the mercy of the latter. Such misdirected sympathy would not have indicated any wisdom on the part of the nation nor would it have made it possible to fulfil the nation's objective of establishing economic unity by developing small industries spread over the whole country.

It is highly important that we keep in mind this peculiar aspect of our economic development even today. Since we have become independent all those who are running large scale mechanised industries and the class who own capital seek to expand their business and desire that Government as well as public opinion supported their cause. As a consequence exhibitions being organised these days are flooded with products of mills and factories. Their product, society mind of the people and industries which should be particularly brought in the notice of the people are not brought out or related so that they go unnoted. This valuable goodwill of most of these exhibitors needs to be reminded.

The first and immediate problem facing India is not one of setting up large scale industries. Because these industries do not exist here it is likely their products have to be imported. And if so-called these products have to be manufactured here the industrialists of the country can easily undertake private ventures and build up these industries. They can raise the money to start. The Five Year Plan allows scope for it too. What the nation however really needs today is the development of industries that would supply work and employment to the masses of the poor and backward people who live in our villages and suffer from compulsory unemployment. The nation must not only concentrate on the production

of this problem but the organisers should feel the effects of such concentration. The people should come to realise correctly that the nation has begun concentrating on the solution of the problem. Harijans can play an useful part in this direction. But they can do so only if they accept and act upon the purely national view of the problem as pointed out above.

Viewed from this angle the conception of developing the development of the industries of the country into a private and a public sector turns out to be illusory and proves mistaken. This division can apply only to the large scale centralised industries of the country. The socialist idea applies only to this field of development and needs to be taken into account. And the declaration by the Ayaz Committee that the Congress would throw its weight on the side of the public sector of large scale industries is certainly welcome to that extent. But the real task before the country is to minimise the vast unemployed population of the country by starting and encouraging village and cottage industries. This field of national development does not allow of a division into public and private sectors. It is the truly national task of the work for the masses. In that task the casteistic view of division into public and private sectors finds no place. The Harijans who have been ahead of the socialist idea and presents a new ideal. We could secure their work and more fruitful employment for the people and thus the hope of the emergence of the true welfare State is their hands only. If Governments based their industrial policies on this basis and work along with their firm conviction.

Finally, we have to remember that we want to bring in the Welfare State by the democratic method, we have discarded the communist way to it. This means that an atmosphere should be created wherein everyone of our citizens can contribute to the welfare of the State or the nation by his or her own labour and feel ashamed to do so on a footing of equality. If this is to be achieved the need of the most backward and the weakest and the last should receive first consideration. Thus only could an atmosphere of true democracy be created. This further means that village and village industries which are vital to the true sense of the word should receive prime consideration and that if large scale industries really need consideration they may get it without in any way being in opposition to or in competition of the other ones. Thinking on this problem that has developed in the country as far has not yet risen to this desirable level. Too often it did the better. Otherwise, we would be being defective in the way to the establishment of a democratic State, i.e. a State of justice and goodwill.

102/55

(This letter from the original is signed)

By Mahatma Gandhi

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## VINORA IN SANTHAL PARGANAS—IV

(By "Datta")

Government and Jinnah

"Ever since the achievement of freedom, the strength of the country seems to have been held up. The great masses believed it is that the eyes of all people are turned towards Delhi. But all the strength lies in the villages. They are all under the false impression that the strength lies in the water contained in the bottle placed above the mouth. On the contrary the strength lies in the fire burning in the mouth and the water above it is simply cold. If there is fire below the water can become hot, but those who think that water is the source of it are under a delusion. For if the fire ceases to burn, water can never become hot. The task of the village can make Delhi warm. But what Delhi can do with regard to the village is like extinguishing that fire. It is my contention that the voice of Delhi. What I want to say is that Delhi has a role which is not secondary. This country should be a source of contribution with only village too. The area has great ability but its intrinsic work is more. Without unity it is of no use. The unity represents the all-round power of the people. While the mass represents the official power. The mistake of mathematicians here, that real revolution are contained in three parts the qualities of mass. This cannot be possible that it has an independent strength of its own. Therefore the official power can be effective only if it is based on the people's power or the Jinnahism. This is what I do not want to do on the official power and always stress on Jinnahism. It is regrettable that nothing is being done to promote the Jinnahism. Since we realize to Jinnahism, your people will disagree and you will know as well like me." These observations were made by Vinora at a meeting of the Congress, workers of Santal Parganas district, who had gathered to hear him at Ranchi (the district headquarters) on Sunday noon, December 12, 1953.

Chairs of Old and New Generations

Vinora's post-prayer address of that day was a remarkable plea for the urgency of working out economic and social problems by peaceful and non-violent means. He said:

Every generation is inspired by a new idealism. Often the champions of the old idealism are not able to appreciate the new one. Vinora then compared of what of discipline in the new generation. The fact is that the old discipline does not suit the youth. New generation is in Vinora. They can only pursue the new ideal. Should they be expected from teaching it, they are charged along the wrong path. And this is my view, is "Jinnahism".

There does it is often heard that the students do not observe any discipline or discipline. True that sometimes they do things are very bad. But I would like to know a better one have been learned nothing. The truth is that our civilisation is really very backward and uncivilised. Even on old patterns they are sitting up! Our laws and girls had no discipline. Hence, those of the old generation but to discipline the new ideal. Hence that goes on in this a conflict between the two.

"You know that Peramburam was a great leader who taught against the Brahmins as well as the Harijans. But with a great man as he could not comprehend the spirit of Harijans. You might have read in the Harijans that Lankeswami criticised him. 'Who is Lankeswami? A youth of modern understanding? When I am giving it to Peramburam, the leader of that age! Let Lankeswami is glorifying that youth! He did not realize that it would forget his system. I am afraid that it such a dangerous task is enough to you boys and girls. They would find it hard to live in this. At long last Peramburam's resignation. Hence, from now before him and afterwards. Hence, hence, hence, but he was never really and spoke out. His name is in the Harijans while peace is in the Harijans. Peramburam added to it. Thus we find that even if a great man has to read the signs of the times and are themselves, moved down. In fact they realize the time is time and then the youth the latter would prove an effective system.









# HARIJAN



(PUBLISHED BY THE LUNA SHARDE)  
(BOMBAY) MANAGERIAL P. SHARDE

Vol. XXVII, No. 52 AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 29, 1956

TWO ANNAS

## NATIONAL & PROPRIETOR ECONOMICS (By H. C. Mathuradas)

In my article *Handloom and Khadi Economy*, IST-1951 containing Hajji's appeal to support handloom cloth, I said that the Government must see that mill-cloth did not kill handloom cloth or Khadi. Let me discuss the subject further.

### Proprietary Economy and Pricing

It is possible only if we revise our current ideas on Economics. Political or National Economy and Accounting must be differentiated from Individualist or Proprietary Economy and Accounting. In Individualist, Proprietary or Accounting, the cost-price of an article is calculated by merely adding up the actual out-of-pocket expenses for raw and accessory materials, wages, rent, interest, depreciation, charges of implements, etc. To this is added the expected earning of the proprietor. The amount of earning is expected to be sufficient to enable the proprietor to maintain himself and his dependents on a scale to which he is accustomed and to make some saving. If it is so, the industry is considered 'efficient'; if profitable or paying, if otherwise, it is 'inefficient'.

### Proprietor's Wage-earner

The proprietor is not concerned with the 'economic' sufficiency of the labourer's wage. If any will be sufficient even to meet the labourer's bare personal needs. If it does, the wage is regarded as liberal. The maintenance of the labourer's dependents is not the proprietor's concern. His continuous attempt is to reduce the cost price as much as possible and to increase his own earnings as much as possible.

### Wage-bill and Profit

It is well known that in every institution, including an industry, the salaries and wages-bill is the biggest item of out-of-pocket expenses. Every economy made in salaries and wages reduces the cost of the article to a greater extent than an economy made on any other item. Hence the proprietor's principal concern is to reduce the amount of the wage-bill.

### Reducing the Wage-bill

One way of doing this is to reduce the labourer's wage. Obviously, this method has a limit. The other method is to reduce the number of labourers without diminishing the quantity of production, by devising means for increasing the

hourly or daily output of each labourer. What is known as the 'industrial revolution' or 'industrialisation' is but the extensive application of the second method through power-operated machinery.

### The Machine Age

Science has enabled the industrialist to devise machines which need only one man to operate them, but can take out the work of as many as two hundred labourers. The result is that if that one labourer has to be paid even five or ten times more than the former labourer, the proprietor effects a great saving in his wage-bill. The one fortunate labourer who gets the employment feels that his condition has improved. The proprietor's earnings are increased, and, since the saving on the wage-bill is considerable and the production not less than before, he is able to reduce the sale price of the article. This makes the consumer also feel that he is getting things cheaper than before and he welcomes the machine age.

### The Unemployment Problem

The only people who suffer are the great body of the independent artisans or wage-earners, who have been 'disemployed' by this improved economy. Even with all the advances in science, the enormous multiplication of wants, the manufacture of new types of consumer goods, and the creation of new types of social and utility services, it has not been possible to absorb all the persons disemployed by the various machines. And the competition between the machine and the labourer is not yet over. Every year we see new labourer-reducing devices being invented. As a result all these millions of disemployed people who were formerly able to maintain themselves and their dependents with self-respect, have now become themselves dependent upon their relatives, friends and the State-giving public. But in the system of Proprietary or Individualist Economy and Accounting, this is not taken into account. Ultimately the disemployment of such large numbers becomes an intrinsic problem and the Government, whether it likes it or not, is compelled to attend to it.

### National Economy Acts Differently

But Government cannot tackle the problem unless it distinguishes between Individualist Economy and Accounting and Political or

National Economy and Accounting (1934) is based on the principle of Joint Family Economy. A point and important item which is omitted in calculating the cost of an article in Proprietary Accounting, but which cannot be so neglected in Family Accounting, is the cost of maintaining the dependents of the persons engaged in producing it.

#### Economy from Joint Family Economy

Let me explain this by an example.

Suppose the  $\beta$  is a family of tailors consisting of ten members, of whom four are capable of doing half day's work, three do some tailoring along with other duties, and three are too ill, or weak, or young to do any work, and have to be maintained or brought up by the family. Whether the family trade is thriving or dull, its monthly take-in is \$100. If it comes near this amount, it is forced to run into debt. If it runs short, it can save a little.

Suppose it manages to have a sewing machine. The machine is able to sew six times faster than the simple needle. But obviously, only one of the members can sit at the machine at a time. If, formerly, the family could sew six shirts a day, it can easily now sew a dozen now. The man who sits at the machine certainly sews more shirts than the rest. But according to the system of accounting followed as an undivided joint family, neither his earnings nor the expenses incurred on his account are distinguished from the earnings and expenses of the rest. All the shirts, whether sewn by hand or by the machine, would be charged at the same price, and the earnings of the family would be accounted together on a common account, so too, all the expenses. If the trade was brisk, the family might purchase a second machine, but that would not be the throwing those who sewed with the simple needle on the street, as so largely regarded. But would they be allowed to sit idle. They would still be sewing as many shirts as they could, and were in demand. If all the shirts they sew, whether on machine or with the hand, should be sold, all of them might relax their effort. Assuming that the family could only do tailoring work, and would have otherwise to sit idle, if it found that there was no sufficient work for two machines, it would dispose of one. But in a joint family no member would be turned out of the house. Either the whole family prospered or the whole was reduced to poverty. If some members were elsewhere to earn, it would be at the interest of the whole family.

#### True National Economy

This is the principle of Joint Family Economy and Accounting, and is different from that of Individualist Economy Political or National Economy is and ought to be an extension of the principle of Joint Family Economy and Accounting and not of the Individualist or Proprietary system.

Need of National or Common pool and pricing. Accordingly, the State, as the patriarch

of the nation, managed all cloth for any other article of the joint family, however produced, as of equal value. It first decide how much cloth it would get produced and by what method. A member of the nation working on power-driven looms or spinners, will necessarily produce far more cloth or yarn than one working on the handloom or the charkhi. That does not mean that the value of the former's labour is to be assessed higher than that of the latter, or that the sale price of the machine-made fabric is to be different from that of other cloth of the same quality. If the handlooms mode of production is also needed, either because more cloth is needed than what can be produced on the machine, or because there is no other work in which all able members of the national family can be profitably employed, that mode of production cannot be dispensed with. The State, as the patriarch of the nation, is to duly regard its members all of them and on an equal level. Accordingly, if any, and more of people are engaged in the different methods of producing cloth, and in ways on producing yarn by the different methods, the wages of all of them must be equal, and the total cost of cloth and yarn must be distributed on the entire production.

#### Economy of "Dote This Last"

To put this in another way, the introduction of a spinning or a weaving mill in the country cannot be for the purpose of competing with home-cloth or hand-spun yarn by selling its produce at cheaper rates. If the mills make hand-weaving and spinning superfluous by over-production, it should be the mills that should be retrenched and not the weavers and spinners, unless the State is able to provide alternative employment to the weavers, spinners and others disemployed by the mills. It should be realized that the persons thrown out of employment by the mills have to be maintained by someone or other, as long as they are not otherwise employed. And if the State does not find food and employment for them, it is not discharging its duty to the patriarch of the nation. The application of the Individualist method of Economy and Accounting to the State, must cause disruption, chaos and misery in the nation as it would in a joint family.

It is the duty of the State to see that either every handloom weaver and spinner is fully employed at some occupation, which will give him the same wage as is a mill worker and spinner, or to put the price of mill-produced goods on a par with those produced by handloom methods. All cloth of the same quality is similar, and must have the same price. So too, all producers of cloth must be regarded as on an equal footing and must get equal maintenance. If the implements of production at the hands of the producers are not all of the same type, and if such differences cause difference in the output of each worker in spite of equal labour, this cannot be made a reason for giving a less wage to or retrenching some of them.

Any other theory of 'economic efficiency' or 'economically paying' occupation is inconsistent with Political or National Economics and Accounting.

Wardha, 12-7-32  
Munpo, 15-3-32

[The above article of late Shri K. G. M. is reprinted here for a specific purpose. As the reader knows I have been lately pleading in these columns for the need to decentralise and remove competition between big-scale industries and small-scale or cottage and village industries like the latitudes, all etc. The way of articles resembles in its work Dr. Tagore was not entirely in favour of the writer's book. This is mainly done in a paralytic and unconvincing manner. The reviewer is unconvincible in its grouping manner and is taken to be for a short while. This is no way any encouragement to the writer that he feel free and easy. The proper thing to do would be to find a way for harmonious and respectful co-existence of both.

We have accepted that there should be a common production programme for various sections of the same industry. This implies a basis of co-operation among them, rather than rivalry and competitive considerations. This can be achieved by a co-operational idea that we must have a common price structure for all the sections. Shri K. G. M.'s article above provides us with a theoretical argument and philosophy for it.

I find that such a thing cannot be said to be altogether new. It has already been previously applied in iron and steel industry. The Tata Iron & Steel Company which is the largest producer of steel in the country with a production capacity of 1,00,000 tons produces steel most cheaply, while the cost of production of steel by the Mysore Iron & Steel Company (capacity 10,000 tons) is the highest. The cost of production of the Indian Iron & Steel Company (capacity 10,000 tons) comes somewhere in between. Left to natural economic forces, it would certainly have been impossible for the Indian Iron & Steel Company and the Mysore Iron & Steel Company to stand in competition with the Tata Iron & Steel Company and would certainly have been forced to close down but for the price policy that has been adopted by the Government of India. With a view to maintaining the steel production at a high level (even to a minor extent) in this country the Government of India adopted the policy of meeting the full cost of production, thereby a fair margin of profit to the various producers and marketing steel at an average pooled price.

This feature is just in line with the idea sketched above. I invite readers to discuss it with me even to tell me how far it can help us in arriving at a sound national policy and programme, wherein both the standards as also large-scale industries may benefit. In the short-run end of working but employment for all of us and economy and sufficient production for our needs of home use supplies and export also if necessary and desirable. Surely this will tend to having a socialist pattern of society also.

712-42

M. P. J.

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## MEDICAL EDUCATION AND RURAL UPLIFT\*

(By Baburam Anand, M.B.B.S.)

The medical profession as I have always held the subject of all professions and the preparation of the future doctor is a task in which it is impossible to devote too much attention.

When I was in the United States recently one of the things which struck me was the desire to generate the training of the medical student in such a manner as to enable him to see the patient not merely in terms of certain affected parts of the body or of some deranged functions, but as a personality, organically related to his social and physical environment and therefore to interpret disease as a failure of adjustment to that environment.

In order to build up this picture it is not thought enough for the medical student to see the patient in the out-patient department or in the wards of a hospital. It is necessary that he should follow him into the home, get acquainted with his family and domestic circumstances and see for himself how various economic, social and psychological factors are contributing to his state of ill health.

The student must be in a position to advise the patient and his family how to deal with some of these factors themselves and in other cases, to obtain from appropriate sources such as the public health authority and various voluntary bodies engaged in social welfare activities the necessary help to rectify the defects that exist. It is all this training the medical student is awarded by the Social Service Department of the Hospital with its team of efficient medical social workers and by his clinical teachers.

The way in which this type of training is woven into the structure of the medical curriculum may differ from medical college to medical college but the purpose is there and some diversity in the methods of approach to achieve that purpose is eminently desirable so that a fresh-take a comparison of the results that follow from individual methods.

In our country the emphasis has to be laid on rural uplift. I have therefore no doubt in my mind that all medical students should have a serious amount of their training in a village environment. This would not only give our students an idea of the intensity of our problems but would also render useful service to villagers in that particular area.

In my opinion there are no fundamental changes and I put forward the plea that our medical educationalists and managements of medical colleges should consider seriously how far and in what manner such improvements as are considered desirable can be woven into the web of our own teaching programme.

\* From an address the gave while performing the opening ceremony of the Medical College, Poona, 16-3-35.



the task of national reformation and rebuilding at every step.

However, we may not go into a controversy on what may be a matter of opinion. The right thing to do in this behalf would be to set ourselves to the immense duty of quickly improving upon that legacy, which is admittedly bad, requiring radical reforms. Unfortunately, the small and privileged class of people professed by English education as behaves as to break these efforts, and untenable apologetics for English education like the one quoted at the beginning are what that class puts up when challenged by the call of radical reforms in an educational system that stands condemned today by the very march of events and the nature of the demands made on it by the stirring times we now begin to live in and in which we want to function freely and effectively as one whole people.

11-2-55

### NOTES

#### The Bombay Milk Scheme

A press news says that the Bombay Municipal Corporation unanimously decided to request the State Government to reduce the price of whole milk supplied under the Government milk scheme. The mover of the resolution said that Government, instead of reducing the price of milk, was profiteering. Another member of the Corporation said that Government was now making hefty profit of Rs 10,000 each another member is reported to have said that he was not optimistic about the acceptance of the Corporation's request by the Government.

A very natural question, on reading as mentioned above, that arises in one's mind is, why the Corporation should not ask Government, to hand over the milk scheme itself to the Corporation. The city milk supply is really speaking a municipal affair if the scheme is practicable. It is the greater reason that the Corporation should take it over rather than request reduction of milk price. On the other hand, it will save the State Government from an undertaking which it may better relinquish in favour of its rightful and proper agency.

15-2-55

M. P.

#### Shri Vinoba's Health

The following is reproduced from a circular letter, dated 17-2-55, of the Secretary of the A. I. Sarva, Sarva Sangh:

"Shri Vinoba was keeping well up to February 13. He has been suffering from stomach trouble for the last three days. Dr. Shantachandra Mishra, M.D. of the Keshi Medical College examined him yesterday evening at Gandhinagar. He has given the following report:

"Shri Vinoba is having pain in his stomach about last three days. The pain becomes severe yesterday and continued throughout the day. Today morning the pain was also severe. He had history of indigestion about three years. With recognition of diet he was free from symptoms for the last two years. Lately he had made some alterations in his usual routine diet as a result

of which there has been a change of the symptoms of indigestion since. It has been associated today evening. There is pain in the stomach which is occurring at regular intervals when the stomach remains empty and relieved by taking a little milk. His general health shows an abnormality at indigestion, in spite of the pain he is having. He walking tour in the countryside and giving his participants discourses as usual. He is however apt to reduce the physical and mental strain in a sentence 'There is no cause for worry.'

15-2-55

"Vinoba had a good sleep in the last night and has no pain in the stomach at present."

15-2-55

#### Donation Figures

(Up to 16-2-1955)

S.N.	Name	Total Collection (Rupees)	Total Expenditure (Rupees)
1.	Amra	1,600	—
2.	Andhra	21,415	18
3.	Tikar Pradesh	5,18,819	47,586
4.	Orissa	1,26,814	708
5.	Karnataka	3,308	358
6.	Kerala	28,000	—
7.	Gujarat	55,150	2,158
8.	Tamilnad	37,394	318
9.	Goa	8,545	50
10.	Madhya	30,000	75
11.	Bengal	8,000	875
12.	Bihar	25,50,000	5,884
13.	Madhya Pradesh	60,000	10,700
14.	Manipur	20,000	400
15.	Madhya Bharat	80,400	81
16.	Mysore	5,400	—
17.	Coimbatore	5,30,500	8,000
18.	Uttarakhand Pradesh	7,000	500
19.	Tamilnad	41,000	—
20.	Uttarakhand Pradesh	2,000	—
21.	Kerala	1,80,300	20,000
22.	Bombay (Town)	100	—
Total		35,30,500	1,00,010

Entire villages received in Donations: 113

P. G. Dasgupta,  
Gaya (Bihar)

KRISHNAJIJI MONTA,

Chief Secretary,  
A. I. Sarva Sarva Sangh

#### Socialism and Centralization

The Editor,

The Worker

Dear Sir,

Capitalism is an evil; there can be no doubt about it. But is socialist economy a better alternative? In view of our knowledge about Soviet Russia which is the only example of a full fledged socialist economy provided by contemporary history, an affirmative reply to this question is not possible.

Socialists all over the world outside the Communist orbit are busy rejecting old values because they are fully cognizant of the evils of centralization inherent in a socialist economy. In search of the reason of the breakdown of Russian experiment on economic life, they have found that the two evils of socialist economy of that country, namely bureaucracy which has stifled local initiative and has given rise to a new and worse class of exploiters, and top-heavy administration which has brought about colossal waste

of Gandhi's human labour and material wealth, are essentially due not so much to the totalitarian nature of Gandhi's governing it as to the dissemination of means of production in the hands of one overlorded authority. A socialist economy necessarily involves a high degree of concentration of productive forces, and, therefore, whatever may be the social philosophy underlying it, these two paths, which defeat its very objective, cannot be avoided. Formed by such an analysis, democratic socialism is all over the world that in Gandhi's concept of decentralisation of economy is the far real creative thinking. But unfortunately we continue to pay a mere lip-homage to the principle.

New Delhi

Young Institute  
2 G. TOWER

### The Ghani-Oil Industry in India

India occupies a prominent place among the oilseed producing countries of the world. Out of three and a half lakh tons of the world's total production, India produces no less than half a crore tons.

Part of this is eaten whole, a part is exported and another part is stored for sowing purposes. The rest is crushed either in the plants or in the mills to produce oil. Thus in 1952 11 lakh tons of oil from various oil-seeds and one lakh ton of coconut oil was produced. On this basis the per capita consumption of edible oil in India is found to be as low as 0.55 oz. only, while according to the recognised world standard it should be 3 oz. or 3 times daily. To reach this target we should produce 4 lakh tons more oil-seeds than at present.

In 1943-50 it was estimated that the mills crushed 22.22 lakh tons of various oil-seeds while the oil-presses crushed 11.50 lakh tons.

The greatest problem facing the kishikigharas operating in the rural areas today is their inability to secure the supply of oil-seeds at the proper time. This is because, while the mill-owners have the money to store the seeds, the oil-men being poor cannot do so. It is therefore necessary that the latter are enabled to obtain loans from banks on easy terms so that they may stock the oil-seeds.

The percentage of oil-extraction in mills is greater than that in the plants. But as against this obvious advantage the village-presses provide employment to larger numbers and their oil is far better in quality.

In 1952 320 lakh people were engaged in the gharu industry. According to the statistics of the 1951 census this number has dwindled to two lakh even only. Thus in the last 30 years, while three lakh men lost their job, the mills provided employment only to 47 thousand people.

The 1% extract 40 per cent oil, while the plant on the average extracts only 25-30 per cent, though the improved plants extract a little more.

If it could be made possible to make full use of the producing capacity of the existing plants,

about 20 lakh tons more oil than at present could be produced which will give employment to twice the number of people engaged in this industry and distribute 10 crores rupees as wages in the villages which will obviously better the economic condition of the villages.

(Translated from *India Bharat Samaj* New Delhi Press, 28th January, 1953).

### TIMEBA WITH BENGALI LITERATURES (By Sharad Kumbhar)

During his twenty-five days of stay in Bengal Timeba got an opportunity to see the heart of Bengal. He came in intimate contact with several aspects of Bengal life. Special mention must be made of his meeting with Bengali literature which took place at Sahasrabudhi (Bhadrabad) on the 10th of January and on the day some of the most brilliant of them had gathered at the Adhyatma Ashram in a very quiet and suitable location.

It began with the recitation of Tagore's famous poem, *Aranyak*, by Professor Alexander Kumar Das. Then Professor Das introduced to Timeba the various poets of letters who had gathered there from different parts of Bengal. Thereafter they requested Timeba to give a few words of his own.

Timeba was deeply moved by this deep expression of love and respect, he went on to say, that a student and an audience with eyes closed for two minutes. Then began his own literary discourse with an epilogue for his intention to speak in Bengali which however he could not do and said before "I have tried to say so," he said. From Professor's two experiences of first with an audience all the languages of the country I could not do. So, I decided to speak in Bengali. I decided to speak in Bengali, because I imagine every time in course of my Bengali Tagore I have had frequent occasions, to meet the literature I was there in Calcutta in 1940 and later at Gaya and Patna. Now I have come to Bengal, the very home of literature. It is regarded as an ancient country where the literature is said to be better than anywhere. But it is difficult to point out which is best. For they have the best and moreover the words in regard to which what is best is also true and what is true is also best. Nevertheless, modern literary scene in that new literature of modern India was born in Bengal. You will recollect names of many who have shaped Bengali literature. The whole of the country then was under their influence. But there would hardly be a literature man not knowing the name of Bankim Chandra, Rabindranath and Kazi Chandra, three immortal names of Indian literature. Among them it can be said that after Kazi Chandra more has contributed Indian culture to Bengali and given impetus to it in its modern words in Bengali literature has done. Great poets have always been there. Rabindranath, Kazi Chandra, Kazi Chandra and others but they are of different category. They are religious, noble. Those who viewed life as a whole from the point of view of a man of letters and not with that of the religious feeling alone, might have been produced in the Punjab and Uttar Pradesh in the Hindi literature, period. But after the age of Kazi Chandra I can not say that Bengal became the home of literature. I am therefore particularly pleased to give you this opportunity given to me of seeing in contact with you.

Timeba later pointed out that he could not claim to be a literary figure, nor anybody could claim that change upon him. "You that I have written said 'he continues to be a literary man and to be true that' by the people. I have never step out and take it as literature but as religious thought. When I do not claim to be a literature but I appreciate literature and know its value. I am attached to it very deep of writing poetry. I used to compose a poem in two or three days. I used to write it and after that I was thoroughly satisfied with it. I went to the library, sat near the Chandra (Kazi) and conversed it in



chance for greed to prosper. Surely, no man is greedy for the sake of mere greed. Because of the money economy there is a craving for money. If we have such an order as will enable people to do work and get what they need, greedy men will have no more room."

With his doubts cleared, our friend became more specific and thought aloud. "The creation, in looks of a stimulus, self-sufficient order based on non-violence would eventually depend for its survival on the creation of similar societies in the rest of the world."

"No," observed Yanke, "I don't agree here. That my goodness should depend on that of others is not necessary. I can go against the whole world if I follow my path considering it the right one. One day or another others would also follow it. What you say is like the communists said: They say that communism in Russia or China alone is not sufficient, or secure as long as the whole world is not converted. This is not what we think. We believe that even one man alone against the whole world if he is on the right path."

"But men collectively, are isolated partly by material motives and have no conscience," argued our friend. "How can Satyagraha be then used as international relations?"<sup>14</sup>

"Do you mean to say," observed Vinod, "that good people turn into bad ones, when they come together?" After a pause he added, "How can it be?" If two good persons combine, goodness would be doubled; would grow stronger. But the assumption that they would counterbalance evil is not correct. Very may say that apart from individuals, governments, armies etc have no conscience. But why think of government without men or of army without soldiers? There is, you know, something like a social conscience. It is based not on the collective goodness of individuals. So I think your assumption is not correct."

Turning to the second part of the question, Vinoba remarked - "Narmada are very much afraid of each other these days. The U S A feels that she is not strong while the U S S R thinks that U S A is getting stronger. They live in fear in a vacuum circle which has to be broken up. If either of these two powers or some other takes courage to destroy its arms with its own hands, that would pave the way for non-violence and give a lead to the world. I do hope that they would really round to that path sooner rather than later."

"But how can," inquired our friend, "non-violence be the basis for life of such countries as depend on industry and commerce, which in their turn, rest on the exploitation of greed and an conscience?"

\* There is no nation in the world which does not produce food. Every country can develop its agriculture. But why should industry and com-

drive depend on exploitation and competition.<sup>5</sup> Industry means, says a long thing we don't have. Government means helping others. I don't think exploitation or competition should be necessary. Their basis my view is opposite. As I told you in the beginning, if the present economic structure is changed and money economy replaced by what I should say, human economy, things will be very much different. And we are working for the same through the Brazilian Yupa program.<sup>6</sup>

The 1st question was "How would India be able to attain her independence with forces making the world distribution?"<sup>14</sup>

"There is little to worry about if One's effort should be towards growing better and helping others to do so. Even his own crying together will have to shed their sadness in order to organize themselves. Don't you say that even thieves have morals?"

Our voluntary friend nodded in assent. "You're correct," he said. "Collective goodness will gradually attract Unrestricted business and be checked."

Summing up the whole Torah observed, "Well I put a power before you. When good men will come together goodness will increase, when bad men will come together badness will increase."

Vivian paused for a while and asked with a smile: "how so?"

"Yes, indeed!" confirmed our experienced visitor.

**Our New Relationship**

1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

## PERKINS—MY HISTORICAL GUN

Year	1940-45	1946-50	1951-55	1956-60	1961-65	1966-70	1971-75	1976-80	1981-85	1986-90	1991-95	1996-00	2001-05	2006-10	2011-15	2016-20	2021-25	2026-30	2031-35	2036-40	2041-45	2046-50	2051-55	2056-60	2061-65	2066-70	2071-75	2076-80	2081-85	2086-90	2091-95	2096-00	2101-05	2106-10	2111-15	2116-20	2121-25	2126-30	2131-35	2136-40	2141-45	2146-50	2151-55	2156-60	2161-65	2166-70	2171-75	2176-80	2181-85	2186-90	2191-95	2196-00	2201-05	2206-10	2211-15	2216-20	2221-25	2226-30	2231-35	2236-40	2241-45	2246-50	2251-55	2256-60	2261-65	2266-70	2271-75	2276-80	2281-85	2286-90	2291-95	2296-00	2301-05	2306-10	2311-15	2316-20	2321-25	2326-30	2331-35	2336-40	2341-45	2346-50	2351-55	2356-60	2361-65	2366-70	2371-75	2376-80	2381-85	2386-90	2391-95	2396-00	2401-05	2406-10	2411-15	2416-20	2421-25	2426-30	2431-35	2436-40	2441-45	2446-50	2451-55	2456-60	2461-65	2466-70	2471-75	2476-80	2481-85	2486-90	2491-95	2496-00	2501-05	2506-10	2511-15	2516-20	2521-25	2526-30	2531-35	2536-40	2541-45	2546-50	2551-55	2556-60	2561-65	2566-70	2571-75	2576-80	2581-85	2586-90	2591-95	2596-00	2601-05	2606-10	2611-15	2616-20	2621-25	2626-30	2631-35	2636-40	2641-45	2646-50	2651-55	2656-60	2661-65	2666-70	2671-75	2676-80	2681-85	2686-90	2691-95	2696-00	2701-05	2706-10	2711-15	2716-20	2721-25	2726-30	2731-35	2736-40	2741-45	2746-50	2751-55	2756-60	2761-65	2766-70	2771-75	2776-80	2781-85	2786-90	2791-95	2796-00	2801-05	2806-10	2811-15	2816-20	2821-25	2826-30	2831-35	2836-40	2841-45	2846-50	2851-55	2856-60	2861-65	2866-70	2871-75	2876-80	2881-85	2886-90	2891-95	2896-00	2901-05	2906-10	2911-15	2916-20	2921-25	2926-30	2931-35	2936-40	2941-45	2946-50	2951-55	2956-60	2961-65	2966-70	2971-75	2976-80	2981-85	2986-90	2991-95	2996-00	3001-05	3006-10	3011-15	3016-20	3021-25	3026-30	3031-35	3036-40	3041-45	3046-50	3051-55	3056-60	3061-65	3066-70	3071-75	3076-80	3081-85	3086-90	3091-95	3096-00	3101-05	3106-10	3111-15	3116-20	3121-25	3126-30	3131-35	3136-40	3141-45	3146-50	3151-55	3156-60	3161-65	3166-70	3171-75	3176-80	3181-85	3186-90	3191-95	3196-00	3201-05	3206-10	3211-15	3216-20	3221-25	3226-30	3231-35	3236-40	3241-45	3246-50	3251-55	3256-60	3261-65	3266-70	3271-75	3276-80	3281-85	3286-90	3291-95	3296-00	3301-05	3306-10	3311-15	3316-20	3321-25	3326-30	3331-35	3336-40	3341-45	3346-50	3351-55	3356-60	3361-65	3366-70	3371-75	3376-80	3381-85	3386-90	3391-95	3396-00	3401-05	3406-10	3411-15	3416-20	3421-25	3426-30	3431-35	3436-40	3441-45	3446-50	3451-55	3456-60	3461-65	3466-70	3471-75	3476-80	3481-85	3486-90	3491-95	3496-00	3501-05	3506-1
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DATE 08-01-2001 BY 60322 UCBAW

These two cases have been discussed in detail in the literature.

1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

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MATERIALS: CEMENT

Modèle de la machine	Année de la machine	Montant des dépenses
Modèle de la machine	Année de la machine	Montant des dépenses

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[illegible]

Subscriptions: *Notes on Italian* (New year, No. 1, 1964) \$6.00; (Old year, No. 2, 1964) \$6.00. Single issues, \$3.00.

Printed and Published by Stewart Stevenson, General Stationer, Glasgow, Scotland.

